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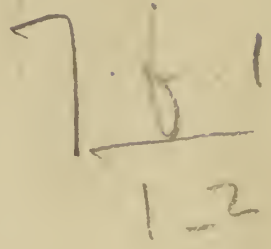

Phillip Krusius Ambassador:
The high and Mighty Prince
Otton Brugman Ambassador:
the Compleat MUSCOUY PERSIA & the Translated
History of TARTAR East INDIE by I.D
Adam Olearius Secretary of the Embassy:
Duke of Holstein:
John Albert Mandelslo Gentleman of the Retinue:
I. Chantry: scul

THE

Voyages and Travells

OF THE

AMBASSADORS

Sent by FREDERICK DUKE of *HOLSTEIN*,
to the Great Duke of *Muſcovy*, and the King of *Perſia*.
Begun in the year M. DC. XXXIII. and finiſh'd in M. DC. XXXIX.

Containing a Compleat

HISTORY

OF

Muſcovy, Tartary, Perſia.

And other adjacent COUNTRIES.

With ſeveral Publick Tranſactions reaching near the Preſent Times;
In VII. Books.

Whereto are added

The TRAVELS of JOHN ALBERT de MANDELSLO,
(a Gentleman belonging to the Embaſſay) from PERSIA, into the

Eaſt-Indies.

CONTAINING
A particular Deſcription of INDOSTHAN, the MOGUL'S Empire, the ORIENTAL ILANDS, JAPAN, CHINA, *&c.* and the Revolutions which happened in thoſe Countries, within theſe few years.

In III. Books.

The whole Work illuſtrated with divers accurate Mapps, and Figures.

Written originally by *ADAM OLEARIUS*, Secretary to the *Embaſſy*.

Faithfully rendred into Engliſh, by JOHN DAVIES, *of* Kidwelly.

The Second Edition Corrected.

LONDON,
Printed for *John Starkey*, and *Thomas Baſſet*, at the *Mitre* near *Temple-Barr*, and at the *George* near St. *Dunſtans* Church in *Fleet-ſtreet*. 1669.

To the Right Worſhipful,

The GOVERNOUR and FELLOWSHIP of ENGLISH MERCHANTS, for diſcovery of *New Trades*, in MUSCOVY, RUSSIA, &c.

Right Worſhipful,

HAd theſe been the Travels of ſome private Perſon, I ſhould have contented my ſelf with a perſonal Dedication thereof. But being the accompt of a Solemn Embaſſy, ſent to two of the greateſt Princes of Europe *and* Aſia, *upon ſo Publick and Noble a Deſign as that of the* Silk-Trade, *carried on with vaſt charge and many difficulties, for ſeveral years, the addreſs of my Endeavours herein is moſt properly due to that Body of* Merchants, *to whom the advancement of our Trade into thoſe Parts is particularly recommended. It is not unknown to you, what oppoſition this Negotiation met withall from the ſeveral Parties therein concern'd; and conſequently, you can beſt judge, what advantages may be made thereof, in order to the Intereſt of this Nation.*

The Travels of particular Perſons have their benefit and delight; but thoſe of Ambaſſadors have this further recommendation, that they contain ſuch Diſcoveries, as having been made to Them, out of a deference to their Publick and Sacred Character, were not to be expected by any others, Travelling only upon a Private Accompt. They were firſt publiſhed

335270

liſhed by Adam Olearius, *a Perſon, by his near Relation to the Embaſſy, (whereof he was Secretary) his Knowledge of the Mathematicks, but particularly his Acquaintance with the Languages of the Countries, through which they Travell'd, perfectly accompliſh'd for a Work of this Nature.*

What he writ of theſe Travels in his own Language, the German, *was ſo kindly receiv'd, that it ſoon after Travell'd into ſeveral others, Which gave ſome encouragement to the rendring of them into* Engliſh; *the more ſeaſonably at this time, in as much as this Kingdom, eſpecially this City, begins to diſperſe its Induſtrious Inhabitants, and ſpreads the Wings of its Trade into the moſt remote Cantons of the World. Which that it may do, till its Wealth at home, and Honour abroad, be ſo highly improv'd, as that this Corner of the Univerſe may give Laws to the Nobleſt parts thereof, ſhall be the conſtant and earneſt wiſh of,*

Right Worſhipful,

Your moſt humbly devoted Servant,

JOHN DAVIES.

TO

TO THE

READER.

ISTORY hath this advantage of *Philoſophy*, that it inſtructs more efficaciouſly; this, of *Romance*, that it is more divertive; inaſmuch as *Examples* make a deeper impreſſion than *Precepts*, and *Truth* Inſtils into rational minds a ſatisfaction, which they find not in *Fables*. But *Travels* have this over and above, that they do both incomparably better than *Hiſtory*. For as, on one ſide, a man, reflecting on the *Policy* and *Morality* of divers Nations, deduces thence uſeful Leſſons of *Prudence*, and delightfully ſurveys the ſtrange *Circulations* of humane Nature; ſo, on the other, he finds the greater divertiſement in the *Relations*, out of this regard, that he participates of the *Pleaſure*, which charms the Travellers, but not of the *hardſhips*, *hazards*, and *inconveniences* wherewith they are attended.

The Travels into *Muſcovy* and *Perſia*, publiſh'd by *Adam Olearius*, have been ſo well receiv'd by ſuch as were able to judge of the worth of that Piece, that I dare preſume, others will take it kindly, to find, in this Edition, what he had promis'd the World in his firſt. The aboad he had made at *Moſcou* and *Iſpahan*, and the knowledge he had acquir'd of the Language of the Country, had, as he affirmed then, brought him acquainted with the myſteries of their Religion; but printing his Book in ſome haſt, he omitted many things, which he ſhould otherwiſe have inſerted. He hath ſince done it at leiſure, ſo fully, that it ſeems to be quite another Relation, in as much as, conſidering this Reviſion, what is now publiſh'd is both a more curious, and more compleat Piece. They will find that

he hath added thereto the Maps of *LIVONIA*, *MUSCOVY*, the *CASPIAN-SEA*, *PERSIA*, and the *INDIES*, and, what may be justly accounted the greatest curiosity, the *Course of the Great River WOLGA*, whereof there had been little seen in these parts before, and without which, it were impossible to track the Travellors through all those remote Countries. Besides which, there is, in this Edition of ours, a Map of *CHINA*, and several other pieces of Sculpture, for the further satisfaction and entertainment of the Reader.

There is no necessity of repeating here what the Preface of the first Edition entertain'd the Reader withall, concerning the occasion of the Embassy, sent by the Duke of *Holstein* into *Muscovy* and *Persia*; the endowments and worth of that great Prince; the noble design he had fram'd to himself, for carrying on the *Silk-Trade* by Land; the difficulties, or rather impossibilities, which happened in the prosecution thereof; the insolent, rash, and extravagant carriage of the Ambassador *Brugman*, his treacherous designs, and unfortunate end: But I cannot forbear giving some account of the Illustrious *John Albert de Mandelslo*, the *Heroe*, of the Travels into the *East-Indies*, which title I give him, in regard there are in his Travels some miraculous adventures.

MANDELSLO, a Gentleman well born, had his Education at the Duke of *Holstein*'s Court, to whom he had been a Page. Hearing of an Embassy intended for *Muscovy* and *Persia*, he would needs be one in it; and as if he were that *Vertuous Man*, who looks upon the whole World as his Country, he would not depart, ere he had obtain'd his Prince's leave, to see the other parts of *Asia*. During his aboad at *Ispahan*, he got acquainted with some *English* Merchants, who, speaking to him of the *Indies*, rais'd in him a desire to go thither. The King of *Persia*, to engage his stay at his Court, proffers him a Pension of ten thousand Crowns; he slights the favour of so great a Prince, gets on horse-back, with no great Sums about him, and sets forward on his Journey, with a retinue of three *German* Servants, and one *Persian*, who was to be his Guide and Interpreter, but forsook him, when he stood in most need of his service and assistance. It was also a very strange Adventure, which made him find civil entertainment and hospitality at *Surat*; made him subsist at the charge of others; conducted him by Land to the Great *Mogul*'s Court; brought him safely back again to *Surat*; preserv'd the ship he was in after so many tempests near the Cape of *Good-Hope*; and miraculously deliver'd him at his first arrival into *England*, when he was given over for irrecoverably lost in the very haven, as may be seen neer the end of his Travels.

To these *Mandelslo* had a particular inclination, and knew so well how

how to make his advantages thereof, that *Olearius* himself makes no difficulty to confess, that he met with, in his Notes, many things, which might have been added to his Relation, and have found a kind reception even among the more Curious, had he been as forward to have his Travels publish'd, as he had been to prosecute them. But *Mandelslo*, instead of giving the world that satisfaction, and continuing with his Friend, who might have further'd him in his design, left the Court of *Holstein*, where he found not employment proportionable to his merit, and betaking himself to another Profession, he got into a Regiment of Horse, commanded by a *German*, who, purely by his Military accomplishments, had rais'd himself to one of the greatest dignities of *France*. He had therein the Command of a Troop, and, being a person of much courage, and endu'd with all the qualities requisite to the making up of a great man, was likely to have rais'd himself to a more than ordinary fortune, when coming to *Paris* to pass away the Winter, he there died, of the small Pox.

Being at *Surat*, in *December* 1638. he made a kind of *Will*, concerning his Papers, which he put before the beginning of his Relation, wherein he desir'd his Friend *Olearius*, not to suffer it to be publish'd, in regard he had not had the leisure to digest it into order, or if he did, that he would rather regard therein his reputation after his death, than the friendship they had mutually promis'd one another, and faithfully improv'd, during the four years of their joynt-Travels.

Mandelslo was no great Scholar, but could make a shift to understand a Latin Author, which helpt him much in the attaining of the *Turkish* Language, wherein he came to a considerable perfection. His Friend taught him also the use of the *Astrolabe*, so that he was able to take the Longitudes and Latitudes that are in several places of his Book, and without which it had been impossible for him, to be much skill'd in Geography, which makes the most considerable part of this kind of Relations.

Olearius hath indeed been very much his Friend, not only in reforming and refining his Style, which could not be very elegant in a person of his Profession, but also in making several observations and additions thereto, printing it in *Folio*, in a very fair character, and adorning it with several pieces of Sculpture.

Olearius's kindness to his Friend, in enriching his Relation, with many excellent remarks, taken out of *Emanuel Osorio*, *Maffæus*, and the chief Voyages of the *Dutch*, gave the *French* Translator thereof, *A de VVicquefort*, occasion to augment the said Book with whatever he found excellent in all those, who have given the best account of the *East-Indies*. So that it is to him we are oblig'd for the exact description of the Province of *Guzuratta*, the Kingdoms of *Pegu*, and

Siam, *&c.* the ſtate of the affairs of *Zeilon*, *Sumatra*, *Java*, the *Molucca*'s, and *Japan*, as alſo for the Religions of theſe people. So that there is, in this Edition of ours, eſpecially as to the Travels of *Mandelslo*, a third part more than there is in the largeſt of the *German* Editions.

The Reader will find therein many things, which will haply ſeem incredible to him, as, among others, he may haply be aſtoniſh'd at the wealth of a Governour of *Amadabah*, and at that of a King of *Indoſthan*, as alſo at the vaſt revenues of the Provinces and Lords of *China* and *Japan*; but, beſides that there is nothing of Romance in all this, and that there is no compariſon to be made between the wealth of *Europe* and that of *Aſia*, there are many perſons, in *France* and *England*, that will juſtifie our Relation, though it ſaid much more than it does.

I might here trouble the Reader with what I find in the Learned *Iſaac Voſsius*'s *Obſervations* upon *Pomponius Mela* (Lib. 3. c. 5. v. 16. concerning the length and breadth of the *Caſpian* Sea, wherein he differs from our Author, and prefers the meaſure of it by our Countryman *Jenkinſon*, before that of *Olearius*. But I chooſe rather to referr the more critical to the place it ſelf, and leave them to ſatisfie their own curioſity, by conferring what is there ſaid by *Voſsius*, with the account given by *Olearius*, of the ſaid Sea, *pag.* 190, 191, 192. of this *Engliſh* Edition of the Travels.

I have only this to add, that the *French* Tranſlator, *de Wicquefort*, promiſes the world (if it be not abroad already) a Piece of his own; which coming out under the authentick name of *Hiſtory*, will contain ſome thing beyond what may be expected from a Relation.

A JOUR-

A

JOURNAL

OF THE

TRAVELS of the Ambassadors from the Duke of *Holstein* into MUSCOVY, TARTARY, and PERSIA;

Which may serve for a Table to this Relation.

THE FIRST VOYAGE,

INTO

MUSCOVY.

M. DC. XXXIII.

OCTOBER.

THE 22. the Ambassadors from the Duke of *Holstein* leave *Gottorp*; the occasion of the Embassy; the names and qualities of the Ambassadors; their retinue. Pag: 1.

NOVEMBER.

The 6. they leave *Hamborough*; where they took order for their Voyage; come the next day to *Lubeck*, the 8. to *Travemunde*, where they embark'd the 9. *ibid*

The 10. they pass away neer the Iland of *Bornholm*, and anchor the 12. at *Cap de Domines*, in *Courland*, the 18. come to *Dunemunde*. p. 2.

The same day, come to *Riga*; the Magistrates Present; *Riga* described, its foundation; is made an Archbishoprick; subject to *Poland*; taken by the *Swedes*; its Fortifications, and Commerce. p. 3

The Ambassadors continue there neer a month.

DECEMBER.

The 14. they leave *Riga*, and come the 18. to *Wolmar*, 3. daies 18. 1. the 20. to the Castle of *Ermes*; the 21. to that of *Halmet*; the 22. to that of *Ringen*, and the 23. to the City *Torpat*, or *Derpt*. p. 3

A description of Torpat, *where they pass over the Christmass holy-daies.* *ibid.*

M. DC. XXXIV.

IANUARY.

The 3. (having left *Torpat*, the 29. of *December*), the Ambassadors came to *Narva*. *ibid.*

There they continue 5. months, JANUARY, FEBRUARY, MARCH, APRIL, *and* MAY, *during which, they send part of their Train, to* Novogorod, *and go themselves to* Reuel, *where the* Swedish *Ambassadors met them*, in *order to their going together into* Muscovy. p. 4

MAY.

The 15. leave *Reuel* and return to *Narva* the 18. *ibid.*

The 28. they leave *Narva*; come to *Gam-Fort*, *Kapurga*; the civilities of the *Muscovian* Ladies; come to *Iohannestal*, or St. *John's Valley*. p. 5.

IUNE.

The 1. they come to the *Neuschans*; to the Lake *Ladoga*; to *Noteborough*. *ibid.*

Spiring, a *Swedish* Ambassador; the *Swedish* Ambassadors depart; a *Suedish* resolution; the *Muscovites* sleep after dinner; the reception of the *Swedish* Ambassadors. p. 6

A *Muscovian* Collation; the situation of *Notebourg*, its description. *ibid.*

Here they continue six weeks.

IULY.

The Ambassadors come to *Laba*; their reception. *ibid.*

Another *Muscovian* Collation.

The

The Ambassadors are defrayd all the time of their aboad in *Muscovy*, according to the custom, and they take their allowance in money p. 7

The Musick and dancing of *Muscovy*. *ib.*

They embark upon the *Wolgda* (a distinct River from the *Wolga*.) The devotion of the *Muscovites*. *ibid.*

Wolgda described; a dangerous fall of water; troublesome flies and other insects; the Presents of a *Muscovian* Monk; the *Muscovites* do not condemn those of a contrary belief. p. 7. 8

The come to *Corodiza*; to *Soliza*; to *Grunza*, to *Wiseke*; to *Kriszeuiza*: to *Novogorod*: to *Brunitz*. p. 8

AUGUST.

The 1. a *Muscovian* Procession. *ibid*

They come that day, to *Crasmistansky*; the 2 to *Gam-Chresta*; to *Jazelbitza*; to *Simnagora*, to *Wolsolk*; to *Columna*; *and the 7. to Badena.* p. 9

The 8. come to *Torsock*, travelling in those eight dayes, 71. leagues. *ibid.*

The 9. come to *Tuere*, (upon a River of the same name, which falls into the *Wolga*). The 13. to *Nicholas-Nachinski*; the 14. to MOSCOU. *ibid.*

There they stay above four months.

Their reception, and entrance into Moscou. p. 10

The 19. they have their first Audience; *Their Cavalcade.* p. 11

The Presents made to the Great Duke. ib.

The Ceremonies of the Audience. 13.

The Great Duke treats the Ambassadors. *ibid.*

They are permitted to go abroad, contrary to the ordinary custom of the Muscovites. p. 14

SEPTEMBER.

The 1. was celebrated the Muscovian *New-years-day.* *ibid.*

Their Epoche *is the Creation of the World.* *ibid*

The Ambassadors of Holstein *negotiate jointly with those of* Sweden, *about the Silk-trade in* Persia. *ibid.*

The entrance of the Tartarian *Embassy.* 15

The entrance of a Turkish *Ambassador.* 16

The Turkish *Ambassador's Presents.* *ibid.*

Those of certain Greeck *Ecclesiasticks.* 17

OCTOBER.

A Muscovian *Festival, celebrated* Oct. *ibid*

The Cavalcade of the Great Duke and Dutchess. ibid.

NOVEMBER.

The 19. the Ambassadors have their last private Audience; the Great Duke grants them passage through the Country; Another Muscovian *Procession.* 18

A Cavalcade of Crim-Tartars, *72. in number, all Ambassadors; Our last publick Audience.* ibid.

The Great Duke's Present to the Ambassadors. 19

THEIR RETURN

towards

HOLSTEIN.

The Ambassadors leave *Moscou.* *ibid.*

Come *December* the 26. to *Twere*, the 20 to *Tarsock*, and the 31. to *Novogorod* 120. leagues, in seven daies. 20

M. DC. XXXV.

JANUARY.

1. Leave *Novogorod*, come the next day to *Mokriza*; the 2. to *Tuerin*, the 3. to *Orlin*, the 4. to *Zariza*, and the 5. to *Narva*, 38. leag. and a half in 9. daies. *ibid.*

7. Leave *Narva*, and come to *Reuel* the 10. *ib.*

Here they staid neer 3. weeks.

FEBRUARY.

Leave *Reuel*, *Jan.* 30. and come *Feb.* 2. to *Parnau*, taking their way by land, along the *Baltick*-Sea, and so through *Livonia*, *Curland*, *Prussia*, *Pomerania*, and *Mecklenbourg*.

The City of *Parnau* described. *ibid.*

The Ambassadors come to *Riga*, *Febr.* 6. and leave it the 13. and come to *Mittau* the 14. 21

Description of the Dutchy of Courland *and the Prince now reigning there.* ibid.

The Ambassadors come to *Bador* in *Poland*, 22 leagues in three daies. *ibid.*

Come the 19. to *Memel*, in the Dutchy of *Prussia*, 16. l. in 3. daies. *Memel* described. *ib.*

Leave *Memel*, *Febr.* 20. and come the 21. to *Koningsberg*, the Metropolis of *Prussia*, 16. l 2. daies. 22

Koningsberg *described, where they see, among other things, the Elector of* Branderburg's *Library.* *ibid.*

Leave *Koningsberg*, the 24. and exchange the Sledges for Waggons, come to *Elbing*, and thence to *Dantzick*, 20. leag. 3. daies. *ibid.*

There they continue 17. daies.

Dantzick *described, its situation, Magistrate, Privileges, Commerce*, &c. *ibid*

MARCH.

The 16. they leave *Dantzick*, and come the 25. to *Stetin*, which described. 23

Come the 29. *to Rostock*, in the Dutchy of *Mecklenbourg*. ibid.

A description of the City of Rostock *and its University.* *ibid.*

Leave *Rostock*, the 30. and come the same day,

day, to *Wisnar*, which described. *ibid*
Mar. the last, come to the Castle of *Schonberg*. *ibid*

APRIL.

The 1. Leave *Schonberg*, and come to *Lubeck*, which described. *ibid*
Leave *Lubeck* the 3. come the next day to *Arnsbock*, the 5. to *Pretz*, the 6. to *Kiel*, and the same day to *Gottorp*. 24

THE SECOND VOYAGE into Muscovy *and* Persia.

M. DC. XXXV.

OCTOBER.

The Ambassadors having made their report, and augmented their Train, leave *Hamborough*, *Oct.* 22. and come the 24. to *Lubeck*, 10. leagues. 25
Embark at *Travemunde*, the 27. come the 29. neer the Castle of *Bornholm*, touch against a Rock the night following, land in the Iland of *Oeland*, come to *Calmer*. 26
A description of the Iland of *Gotland*. 27
A description of the Iland of Hogland, *against the Rocks whereof the Ship is split, but the men, goods and horses are saved, the provisions are spoil'd and lost, and the Embassy reduc'd to great extremities in a desert Iland.* 28

NOVEMBER.

The 17. the Amb. leave *Hogland*, in two Fisher-boats, with much danger, and land in *Livonia*, the 18. 29

DECEMBER.

The 2. they come to *Ruel*, the Metropolis of *Esthonie*, where they continue three months. *ibid*
A description of Livonia, *its Frontiers, Lords, Fertility, Inhabitants, Order of Knights, the manner of life of the* Livonians, *the Ceremonies of their mariages, the Religion, Barbarism, and Superstition of the Peasantry of those parts, their Nobility, the Government of* Livonia. p. 30. &c.

M. DC. XXXVI.

MARCH.

The 2. the Ambassadors leave *Reuel*, and come the fifth to *Narva*, 17. l. 4. daies. 34
A description of Narva, *its Commerce, Political Government, the Castle of* Juanogorod, *A remarkable story of a mad Wolf and a Bear.* 35
The 7. they leave *Narva*, come the same day to *Lilienhagen*, the 8. to *Sarits*, the 9. *Orlin*, and, the same day, thence to *Tzuerin*, 3. daies 24. leagues, thence to *Dosan*, thence to *Mokriza*, 8. l. *ibid.*
A Pristaf meets them at Orlin, *and receives them in the Great Duke's name.* 36
The 11. they came to *Novogorod*, where they stay five daies. *ibid.*
A description of the said City, its situation on the River Wolgda, *its bigness, the cruelties exercis'd there by the Great Dukes of* Muscovy, *the fabulous voyage of* St. Anthony. 37
The 16. they leave *Novogorod*, pass through *Brunits, Miedna, Kressa, Jaselbitza, Simnagora, Columna, Wisnawolloka*, and *Windra-Pusk*, and came the 21. to *Torsock*, 59. leagues 6. dayes. 38
The 22. they leave *Torsock*, passe through *Troitzka Miedna*, and came the next day to *Twere*, 12. l. two daies, There they embark upon the *Wolgda* the 23. but the next day prosecute their journey by land, pass through *Garodna, Sawidowa, Saulka-spas, Klin, Beschick*, and *Zerkizowo*, and come the 28. to *Nichola Darebna*, 29. l. 6. daies. *ibid.*
The 29. they leave *Nichola Darebna*, and the same day make their entrance into *Moscou*, where they stay three months *ibid*

APRIL

Their Cavalcade *and reception; their lodgings in the City of* Moscou. 39
Their allowance of provisions; their first publick Audience; the Great Duke's treatment of them; their first private Audience. ibid
Their second private Audience; the Muscovian *Palm-sunday Procession; the* Muscovian *celebration of* Easter; *Easter-eggs, and other* Ceremonies. 40
The Amb. Brugman's *private Audience.* *ibid*

MAY.

Several Audiences and Conferences of the Ambassadors. *ibid.*

JUNE.

The 1. *was celebrated the birth day of the Prince of* Moscovy; *the Great Dutchess's* Cavalcade. 41
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They augment their Train; the entrance of Ambassadors from Poland; *the fierceness of a* Polish *Ambassador; the Great Duk'es pass.* *ibid*
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Bell; *its Churches and Chapels.* p. 42
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Archangel, Uſtingha, Vologda, Bielejezoro, Petzora, Obdory; *the ſource of the* Wolga. 47
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Its fertility, fruits, eſpecially Melons; *more fertile than* Livonia; *the ſeed-time and harveſt.* 48
Boranez, *what*; *flowers, aſparagus, veniſon and fowl*; *no Dear*; *furrs.* 49
No Carps in Muſcovy; *mines, and iron forges.* *ibid.*
The Samojedes, *a different people from the* Samogithes; *their habitations, manner of life, ſtature, cloathing.* 50
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Their cloathing, and ordinary exerciſes. 54
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Whence it comes that the Inhabitants of Septentrional-Countries are ſwarthy. 55
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They are great admirers of long beards. and great bellies. *ibid.*
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The Muſcovites *conſtant to their own faſhion.* *ibid*
Their manner of life; *they have an averſion for the Sciences, whereof they know nothing, eſpecially the* Mathematicks *and* Anatomy. 57
They are naturally ingenious; *liars, diſtruſtful, and calumniators.* 58
A pleaſant ſtory of a woman who falſly accus'd her husband. 59
They are indiſcreet, uncivil, quarelſom, and inſolent in their expreſſions. 60
Not addicted to any ſtudy; *ſhameleſs.* 61
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IUNE.

The 4. the Ambaſſadors leave *Tarku*, and travel over a great ſandy Plain, and come the 15. to *Aſtrachan*, 60. leagues in twelve daies.
The deſert of Aſtrachan, in which, being 11. daies journey, they ſaw neither City, nor Village, nor Houſe, nor Tree, nor any River, but that of *Kiſilar*, nor meet with ſo much as freſh water. 311
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AUGUST.

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SEPTEMBER.

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OCTOBER.

The 6. came to *Soratof*; the 24. to *Slamara*. *ibid*

NOVEMBER.

The 6. they come to the River *Caſan*, the *Wolga*, being frozen up, and go to the City of *Caſan*. 314

There

There they continue five weeks.

DECEMBER.

The 13. they leave *Casan*, by Sledges, are drawn along the *Wolga*, and come the 21. following to *Nisa*.

The 16. the *Muscovites* celebrated the feast of their Patron St. *Nicholas*. 314

M. DC. XXXIX.

JANUARY.

The 2. the Ambassadors make their entrance into *Moscou*. It was according to the accustomed manner; they have several conferences with the Officers of the Court.

The 8. the *Czaar*'s second Son dies. *ibid*

The Ambassadors continue at *Moscou* six weeks.

FEFRUARY.

The 3. the *Persian* Ambassador made his entrance into *Moscou*. *ibid*

MARCH.

The 15. the Ambassadors leave *Moscou*; come the 18. to *Tuere*; the 19. to *Torsock*; the 23. to *Novogorod*; the 27. enter *Ingermania*, and the last, make their entrance into *Narva*. *ibid*

APRIL.

The 4. they leave *Narva*, and come the 15. to *Reuel*, where the Author leaves them, and embarks for *Lubeck*. 316

They continue at *Reuel* three months.

JULY.

The 11. the Ambassadors leave *Reuel*, come the 23. to *Travemunde*, the 30. to *Kiel*.

AUGUST.

The 1. they put a period to their Travels into MUSCOVY, TARTARY and PERSIA, and came to *Gottorp*. *ibid*

The end of the JOURNAL *of the* AMBASSADORS *Travels.*

A Catalogue of all the Pieces of *Sculpture* contained in these TRAVELS.

1. The Frontispiece, containing, in one Plate, five Heads, viz. *Frederick*, Duke of *Holstein*; the two Ambassadors, *Crusius*, and *Brugman*; *Olearius*, Author of the Travels into *Muscovy*, *Tartary*, and *Persia*; and *John. Albert de Mandelslo*, Author of the Travels into the *East-Indies*.

2. A Map of *LIVONIA*, Part 1. lib. 2. pag. 30.

3. A Map of *MUSCOVY*, P. 1. lib. 3. pag. 45.

4. The Pourtraiture of *MICHAEL FEDEROVITS*, Great Duke of *Muscovy*, P. 1. lib. 3. p. 77.

5. The Characters of the *Muscovian* Language, P. 1. lib. 3. p. 95.

6. A Map of the Great River *WOLGA*, P. 1. lib. 4. p. 112.

7. A Map of *PERSIA*, P. 1. lib. 5. p. 145.

8. The Pourtraiture of *SCACH SEFI*, King of *Persia*, P. 1. lib. 6. p. 265.

9. A Map of the Province of *KILAN*, as it lies on the *Caspian* Sea, P. 1. lib. 7. p. 288.

10. A Map of the *EAST-INDIES*, P. 2. lib. 1. p. 13.

By the *First-Part* are meant the Travels of the Ambassadors into *Muscovy*, *Tartary*, and *Persia*; By the *Second*, those of *John Albert de Mandelslo*, into the *East-Indies*.

MARIS CASPII
OSTIVM
ad WOLGAM
Dolgor Insula
Astrachan
Hic piscatura omnium optima et Taberuce in quibus salo Condiuntur pisces
Iuantzur
Tatarski molobrza
Protoke perulski fl.
Declinat magnetis 22 grad Versus occasum
Mozakofski
Kainko
Salina
Gwostofski
Hic clauditur Wolga contra irruptiones montanas Cosacorum
Salina
Salina crystallina
ASTRACHAN
Biltzik fl.
Knilussa fl.
C. Kabangangar
I. Itzkiburki
Kabangmel Vadum
Pyruski
I. Katarinski
Coponogar mons
Kopono
I. Kisiar
Kisiar mons
Polowon medium vie inter Zarizam et Astrachan
I. Ossmo
Tzornoga
C. Stupingar
I. Wesowoi
Wesowoi fl.
Kamnagar mons 80. w. a Zornogar
I. Dubbowoi
I. Popowitzkajurga
Nassonofsko mons 40. w. a Sariza
I. Nassonofski
Rudera vrbis Zaresgorod
Hic Cosacorum latebræ
I. Denesschneri
Achtopska vstga
I. Serpinski
Riuulus ex flumine Tanai siue Don
Zariza
Buchwostowa flu.
Damlofsko vstga 135 w. a Astrachan
Mitucke fl.
Achtobe nisnaustga

THE TRAVELS OF THE AMBASSADORS FROM THE DUKE of HOLSTEIN INTO MUSCOVY, and PERSIA.

The First Book.

THE Most High and Mighty Prince, *Frederick*, by the Grace of God, Hereditary Prince of *Norway*, Duke of *Sleswick* and *Holstein*, of *Stormarie* and *Ditmars*, Count of *Oldenburg*, &c. having built the City of *Frederickstad*, in the Dutchy of *Holstein*, would settle there the Trade of Silks, the most important, no doubt, of any in *Europe*. *Persia* is the Kingdome, which of any in the World, yeilds most of it, upon which accompt, the said Prince resolv'd to court the friendship of the *Sophy*. But in regard there were several reasons, why the Silks could not be brought home by Sea, and that, to transport them by Land, he stood in need of the permission of the *Czarr*, or great Duke of *Muscovy*, he thought fit in the year 1633. to send a solemn Embassy to those two great Monarks. 1633. *The occasion of these Travels.* *An Embassy sent the King of Persia and Great Duke of Muscovy.*

He employ'd in this Embassy, *Philip Crusius*, a Lawyer and his privy Councellor, and *Otton Brugman*, a Marchant of *Hamborough*, whom he honour'd with the quality of Councellor. On the 22. of *October* in the year aforesaid, they departed from *Gottorp*, the place where Duke *Frederick* made his residence, and went to *Hamborough*, where they took order for their Voyage. *The Embassadors.* OCTOB.

There they entertain'd their retinue, which consisted of 34 persons, and departed thence the 6. of *November*. The next day they came to *Lubeck*; the 8. to *Tauemund*, where the Ambassadors took into their service an experienc'd Sea-Captain named *Michael Cordes*, who was to be their Pilot, especially upon the *Caspian* Sea. *Their retinue.* NOVEM.

The 9. we took leave of our Friends, who had come along with us from *Hamborough*, and embarqu'd in a Ship called the *Fortune*, whereof *John Muller* was Commander. We took abord along with us *Wendelin Sibelist*, a Physician, who was going to *Muscovy*, to be principal Physician to the Great Duke. *They embark.*

We got out of the Haven about 2. in the afternoon, and anchor'd in the Road at 8. fathom water. About 9. at night, the wind South-West, we set sail, and made that night 20. leagues. The next day, the Ambassadors thought fit to make some particular Orders to be observ'd during our Voyage, so to prevent the disorders which are but too frequent among those, who ordinarily leave not their own Country, but out of a hope to live with greater freedom elsewhere; and to see the execution of them the better performed, they named several Officers, giving the Secretary of the Embassy the quality of Fiscal, and to *Wendelin Sibelist*, and *Hartman Gramam*, our Physician, that of Assessors. They discharg'd their places well, and Justice was so duely administred, that at the end of our Voyage, which was but of five dayes, the penalties *Orders for civil behaviour.*

1633. came to above 22. Crowns, which were put into the hands of the Captain, with order they should be equally distributed between the Poor of *Riga* and *Lubeck*.

Bornholm. The same day, toward evening, we pass'd by the Island of *Bornholm*, leaving it a good league on the right hand. That Island is conceiv'd to be distant from *Lubeck* 40. German Leagues. The length and breadth of it is neer the same, *viz.* 3. leagues; it hath a Royal Palace, named *Hammershausen*, belonging to the King of *Denmark*. Towards the North-side of the Island are the Rocks called *Erdholm*, well known by reason of the frequent wracks, which make them so much the more formidable to Mariners in the Autumn, in regard the darkness of the nights keeps them from being discover'd, and that all about them those that sound meet with no bottom.

The 11. at noon, we were at 56. degrees of latitude, the weather continuing fair; but, towards night, the wind, still at South-West, rais'd such a tempest, that we were forc'd to take in all our sails, and go before the wind till the next morning. Those among us who were not us'd to the Sea, were so sick, that some vomited blood: but in regard we had the wind a-stern, it's violence hindred us not from keeping on our course, and making fifteen Leagues that night.

Sea sickness.

Its cause. Some are of opinion, that the stinch of the salt water, corrupting in the link, is that which provokes such vomiting. Others, on the contrary, affirm, that it is caused by the violent agitation of the Ship, which makes the head turn, and the stomack to cast up what is in it. But certain it is, that both contribute thereto, in as much as if the agitation trouble the brain, the stinch also offends it, and makes those heart-sick whose smelling is subtile, provoking vomiting, even without any violent motion, wherever they are, not only at Sea, but also any where else. Those who conceive, that people are not subject hereto upon Rivers are deceiv'd; for, besides that experience hath evinc'd the contrary, we have there the same motion, and fresh water being corrupted, stinks no less than the salt.

A Calm. The 12. we had so great a calm, that the Ship being as it were fastnen'd to the same place, we had the convenience to bring our Musical Instruments upon the deck, to sing a *Te Deum*, and to give God thanks for our deliverance, out of the imminent danger we had been in the night before.

Cap de Demesnes. About noon the wind came to South, which carried us to the *Cap de Demesnes*, in *Courland*, where we cast Anchor, and staid all night. The next day 13. the wind West, we weighed Anchor, doubled the Cape, enter'd into the Bay, and came, the 14. before the Fort of *Dunemunde*, so called, because situated at the mouth of the River *Dune*, where that River enters the *Baltick* Sea, within two leagues of *Riga*. And forasmuch as the thick mist hindred those of the Fort from seeing us, we caus'd the Trumpets to sound, to oblige them to send us a Pilot, without whose assistance we should hardly have got into the Haven. Those who had the oversight of the Customes, came immediately to search our Ship, but finding no Merchants goods in it, for which they might challenge ought, they return'd back, and sent us a Pilot, who conducted us that night as far as before the City of *Riga*. The Ambassadours being got ashore, at the entrance of the City found a coach, which the Governour had sent to meet them: but in regard they were not far from their Inn, they would make no use of it, and so kept on their way afoot.

Dunemunde.

The Ambassadors come to Riga.

The Magistrat's present. The 21th. the Magistrate sent his Presents to the Ambassadors, *viz.* an Ox, some Sheep, some Poultry, Hares, Patridges, and other Fowl, Wheaten and Ry-Bread, and half a Tun of Rhenish Wine. The 24th. The Ambassadors entertained, at Dinner, *Andrew Erichzon*, the Governour of the City, as also the Magistrate, the principal Minister, who amongst the *Lutherans* is look'd upon as a Bishop, and some Officers of the Garrison.

During our abode in this City, which was almost five weeks, in expectation the Fens of those parts should be frozen up, and the snow cover the Way, which we were to Travel in Sledges, we augmented our retinue with some necessary persons for that great journey, and we had the leisure to learn the condition of the City, whereof we shall here give a short description.

Riga *described.* *Clytræus*, in his History of *Saxony*, p. 19. says, That the City of *Riga* was built by *Albert* the third, Bp. of *Livonia*, in the Year 1196. but *Alnoul*, Abbot of *Lubeck*, an Author of the same time (as living under *Otho* IV.) says, in the continuation of the Chronicle of *Helmold*, l. 7. c. 9. that it was built in the year 1189. by *Bertold*, Abbot of *Locken*, in the County of *Shauenbourg*, in the Diocese of *Minden*, of the Order of *White-Friers*, successor to *Menard* in the Bishoprick of *Livonia*, the seat whereof he setled at *Riga*. In the Year 1215. it was rais'd to an Archbishoprick, and made Metropolitane of all *Livonia*, *Prussia*, and *Curland*. The Knights of the *Espadon*, and, afterwards, the Master of the *Teutonick* Order in *Prussia*, have, many times, divided the administration of Justice and the Soveraignty in that place, with the Archbishop, till that, in consequence of the Reformation of Religion, both lost the Authority they had in this City. It was forc'd afterwards to have recourse to the Crown of *Poland*, whose it became by a voluntary rendition, made in the year 1561. occasion'd by the War with the *Muscovite*. Since that, *Charles*, Duke of *Sudermania*, having usurp'd the Crown of *Sueden*, from *Sigismond*, his Nephew, who had been called to that of *Poland*, thought it not enough to fortify himself in the possession of what he had usurped, but conceiving

Its foundation.

Made an Archbishoprick.

Subject to Poland.

conceiving he might turn into an Offenſive War, that which even in the Defenſive was criminal, he enter'd *Livonia* in the Year 1605. where he beſieg'd the City of *Riga*. He was forc'd to raiſe the ſiege; as alſo to do the like in the year 1609. but *Guſtavus Adolphus* was ſo fortunate as to take it, in the year 1621. Ever ſince that time, the *Suedes* have been in poſſeſſion of it, though without any Title thereto; the Treaty agreed on between the two Crowns in the year 1635. allowing them the poſſeſſion of it no longer than till the Peace, which was to be made between the two Kings, ſhould reſtore it to it's lawful Prince, or beſtow it on him who was poſſeſs'd of it. The *Suedes* diſcover how unwilling they would be to reſtore it, by the care they took when we were upon our Travels, to carry on the Fortifications thereof. They conſiſt, on the land ſide, of ſix regular Baſtions, with their Half-moons, and their Counterſcarps Paliſadoed. It's ſituation is very pleaſant, in a ſpacions Valley, upon the River of *Dune*, which in that place, is a large quarter of a League broad. It is very populous, and very conſiderable becauſe of its Commerce, as well with the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders*, and the Hanſiatick Towns, in Summer time, while the *Baltick* Sea is Navigable, as with the *Muſcovites* when the froſt and ſnow can bear Sledges. The Traffick of it is ſo great, that it hath almoſt as many Shops as Houſes. All Proviſions are very cheap, becauſe there is ſuch an abundance of all, that an Ox may be bought for three Crowns, a Hog for one, and Fowl and Veniſon proportionably, all the Country Peaſants thereabouts having the liberty to Hunt, though they have not any other. Since the laſt reduction of it, they have no other Religion there than the Proteſtant, the Magiſtrate and Inhabitants being all Lutherans, and ſo zealous in their way, that they no leſs hate thoſe of the Reformation, than they do the Catholicks, and Muſcovites. There is no Inhabitant almoſt but underſtands the Highdutch, the Sclavonian, and Curland Language; but the Magiſtrate in his publick Acts makes uſe only of the Highdutch. The ſame is uſed by the Miniſters in their Sermons, unleſs it be that for the meaner ſort of people, who underſtand not the Highdutch well, there are Sermons made in the Sclavonian and Curland Language, in two ſeveral Churches.

1633.

Taken by the Suedes.

Its fortifications.

Its commerce.

Decem. 14. we diſpatch'd away 35 Sledges, with part of our Train and Baggage, and the next day, the Ambaſſadors follow'd, by the way of *Derpt*. The 18*th* we came to *Wolmar*, a ſmall Town, diſtant from *Riga* 18 leagues, and ſo ruin'd by the *Muſcovites* and *Polanders*, that the Inhabitants, to avoid the injuries of the weather, have been forc'd to make little buildings of wood upon the ruines of better foundations. The Governour came to meet us, and entertain'd us kindly. The 20*th* we got ſix leagues farther, to the Caſtle of *Ermes*, belonging to Colonel *De la Barre*, who treated us moſt magnificently.

DECEM.

The Ambaſſadors leave Riga.

Ermes *Caſtle.*

The 21*th* we got four leagues to the Caſtle of *Halmet*, where we ſaw a young Elk, which was higher than a Horſe, brought to us while we ſate at Table. The 22*th* we got four leagues further, to the Caſtle of *Ringen*; and the 23*th* we reach'd *Derpt* or *Torpat*. This City is within 6 leagues of the Caſtle of *Ringuen*, upon the River *Eimbec*, between the Lakes of *Worzero* and *Peipis*, in the heart of *Livonia*. Its buildings are very antient, but extremely ruin'd by the War. The *Muſcovites*, who call it *Juriogored*, were poſſeſs'd of it, till the year 1230. in which the Maſter of the *Teutonick* Order took it, and rais'd it to a Biſhoprick. *John Baſilovits*, Great Duke of *Muſcovy*, retook it the 19*th* of *July* 1558. without any reſiſtance, through a pannick fear of the Biſhop, the Nobility and the Inhabitants, who rendred it upon the firſt Summons. In the year 1571. *Reinold Roſe*, a Gentleman of the Country, attempted to put the City into the hands of *Magnus*, Duke of *Holſtein*, but this deſign being diſcovered, he was cut to pieces by the *Muſcovites*, who thereupon exercis'd all manner of cruelties upon the Inhabitants of that City, without any diſtinction of age or ſex. It return'd to the Crown of *Poland*, with all the reſt of *Livonia*, by the Peace made between the Great Duke, *John Baſilovits*, and *Stephen Battory*, King of *Poland*, in the year 1582. *Jacob de la Garde*, General of the *Swediſh* Army, took it from the *Polanders*, in the year 1625. ſince which time the *Suedes* have kept it, but by a Clauſe in the Treaty of 1635. *viz.* Until it ſhould be otherwiſe diſpos'd of, according to the event of the preſent War. The late King of *Sueden*, *Guſtavus Adolphus*, founded an Univerſity there, in the year 1632. at the inſtance of *John Skytte*, whom the ſaid King made Baron of *Duderof*, and, afterward, Senator of the Crown of *Sueden*, as a gratification for the pains he had taken, in laying the firſt foundations of Learning in him. But the Univerſity is not much known, either for the reputation of its Profeſſors, or number of its Scholars; there having not been above ten *Suedes*, and haply as many *Finlanders*, who ever could be perſwaded, there was any thing to be learnt in thoſe quarters.

Halmet *Caſtle.*

Ringen.

Come to Derpt.

An Epiſcopal City.

Re-united to the Crown of Poland.

Taken by the Suedes.

An Univerſity founded there by the King of Sueden.

Having kept Chriſtmaſs at *Derpt*, we left it *Dec.* 29. and got, the 3*d*. of *January* 1634. to *Narva*, where we were forc'd to ſtay almoſt ſix moneths, in expectation of the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors, who were to go along with us to *Muſcovy*. But though we had here, as well as at *Riga*, all divertiſements imaginable, keeping open houſe, and having Muſick at Meals, the Ambaſſadors entertaining all perſons of Quality, and endeavour'd to abate the weariſomneſs of our ſtay there, by banquets, hunting matches, and walking, for which there were dayly appointments made; yet did that courſe of life, with the impatience we were in to go on in our Tra-

JANUARY 1634.

The Ambaſſadours come to Narva.

1634. Travels, become in time insupportable to us. Upon which consideration, as also that it was conceived in a manner impossible the *Suedish* Ambassadors should come before the Spring; that then the way between *Narva* and *Novogorod* would be very ill for travelling, and that in the interim our people had daily quarrels with the Souldiers of the Garrison; it was resolved, that on the 28th. of *February*, Mr. *Paul Fleming* should be sent away with part of the Train and Baggage, and that he should goe by Sledges to *Novogorod*. Dr. *Wendelin* made use of that convenience, and so took his way for the City of *Mosco*. We had yet another inconvenience, in that, Provisions failing us, our Pourveyors, who were *Muscovites*, were forc'd to go 8 and 10 Leagues from the City to get Fowl and Mutton. And in regard we could not so soon expect the *Suedish* Ambassadors, ours went with a retinue of twelve persons to *Reuel*, where they were receiv'd with the shooting off the great Guns, complemented, and entertain'd with Presents, by the Magistrate, the Governour and principal Citizens, who did us much honour during the stay we made there, which was six weeks. Of *Reuel*, *Narva*, and the rest of *Livonia*, we shall speak in the ensuing Book.

FEBRUARY.

To Reuel.

MAY. *May* 10. *Philip Scheiding*, Governour of *Reuel*, named to be Chief of the Embassy which the Crown of *Sueden* sent to *Muscovy*, had information that his Collegues were come to *Narva*; so that being ready for his journey, we left *Reuel* the 15th following, the Governour causing the Artillery to be discharg'd at our departure. We came to *Narva* the 18th and within a League of the City, met with Colonel *Henry Fleming*, *Eric Gyllenstiern*, and *Andrew Bureus*, desig'n for the Embassy of *Muscovy*, with a very gallant retinue. The Governour caus'd all the great Guns to be discharg'd at our entrance, as he had done the first time. The Ambassadors resolv'd the next day, that to go to *Novogorod*, they would take the way of *Carlelia*, by Sea, or the Lake of *Ladoga*; whereof they sent notice to the Governour of *Novogorod* by an Express, that he might take order for our reception, and that we might not be stay'd upon the Frontiers. For it is the custom of *Muscovy* and *Persia* to make stranger Ambassadors stay on the Frontiers, till the Governour of the Province hath sent intelligence to the Court of their arrival, and receiv'd orders from his Soveraign, for their reception and entertainment. The reason whereof is, that the great Duke of *Muscovy*, as also the King of *Persia*, defrays the charges of the Ambassadours, both as to Provisions and Carriage, from their coming into their Countreys, and to that end allows them a Conductor, whom the *Muscovites* call *Pristaf*, and the *Persians*, *Mehemander*, who provide for their entertainment and conveyance of their baggage, and have a party of Souldiers for their Convoy.

Return to Narva, *and meet the* Suedish *Ambassadors.*

The Muscovites *and* Persians *defray Ambassadors charges.*

The *Suedish* Ambassadors, having dispatch'd a Messenger to *Novogorod*, left *Narva* the 22th. of *May*, by the way of *Kapurga*, where they made accompt to pass over *Whitsuntide*, so to be nearer the Frontiers of *Muscovy*. In the mean time, we stay'd at *Narva*; where I had the curiosity to go, *May* 24. being *Whitsun Eve*, to *Russian Narva*, and there to observe the Ceremonies of their Anniversary, and their Devotions towards their deceas'd Kinred and Friends. The Church-yard was full of *Muscovite* women, who had spread the Graves with Handkerchers, whereof the Corners were fring'd with silk of several colours, upon which they had lay'd dishes full of fish broyl'd and fry'd, Custards, Cakes, and painted Eggs. Some stood, others kneel'd, making divers questions to their Kinred, weeping over their Graves, and expressing their affliction by dreadful howlings; but with so little attention, that they slipp'd no occasion of speaking, nor indeed of laughing with those of their acquaintance who pass'd by. The Priest, attended by his Clerks, walk'd up and down the Church-yard, having in his hand a Censer, into which he ever and anon cast little pieces of Wax, to cense the Sepulchers. The women named to him, those of their Kinred and Friends whom they would recommend to his prayers, pulling him by the surplice to be serv'd one before the other. The Priest did this devotion very slightly, and with so little attention, that he was but too well pay'd with the piece of Copper they gave, so far was he from deserving the Provisions they brought him, which his Clerks had a care to secure for the advantage of their Master.

Anniversary Ceremonies observ'd by the Muscovites *for the dead.*

The 26th We did our Devotions, and having sent away our baggage, and part of our train, by water, as far as *Neuschans*, we left *Narva* the 28. Colonel *Port*, Governour of the place, did us all possible honour at our departure, and accompany'd us to *Gam*, which is a fortified place, or rather a Fort, in the Province of *Inguermannia*, not 12. (as the Baron of *Herberstein* sayes in his travels of *Muscovy*) but three leagues from *Narva*, upon a small River called the torrent of *Gam*. 'Tis a small place, but encompass'd with a good Wall, and fortified with five Bastions built of stone, having near it a Village inhabited by *Muscovites*, but subjects to the Crown of *Sueden*. There we took up fresh Horses, which brought us to *Kapurga*, six leagues from *Gam*, whether we got the 29th. *Burgislas Rose*, Governour of the Fort, received us kindly, and treated us sumptuously, both that night at Supper, and the next day at Dinner. We departed the 30th. at three, afternoon, being to Lodge that night at the house of a *Bojar*, or *Muscovite* Lord; but in regard we had still seven Leagues to go, we were forc'd to travel all night, and could not reach it till three next morning. The *Bojar* entertain'd us nobly, and gave us the divertisement of two Trumpets while we were at Dinner. And to honour us the more, as we

The Ambassadors leave Narva.

Gam *Fort.*

Kapurga.

riſs from Table, he caus'd his Wife and Daughter to come in; they were very rich in Cloaths, attended by a Gentle-woman or waiting-maid, who was extremely deformed, the more to ſet off the beauty of the Ladies, who indeed needed not that foil. They drank each of them a Cup of Aquavitæ, and preſented each of them as much to the Ambaſſadors. This is the greateſt honour the *Muſcovites* think they can do ſtrangers; unleſs it be, that, to make it a tranſcendent civility, they alſo ſuffer them to be kiſs'd. This civility Count *Alexander Slakou* did me, when the Duke my Maſter ſent me ſince into *Muſcovy*, in the year 1643. in acknowledgement of the honour he had receiv'd in our Court, during his Exile. This *Bojar's* name was *N. Baſilovits*. He was a very handſome perſon, and of an excellent good humour. He told us he had been in the Wars of *Germany*; that in the year 1631. he was at the battel of *Leipſig*, and ſhew'd us the ſcars of the wounds he had receiv'd there. 1634.

The civility of the Muſcovian Ladies.

The laſt of *May*, at one afternoon, we took leave of him, and got four Leagues that day, to *Johanneſtal*, or St. *John's* Valley, ſo called from the name of Baron *John Skytte*, who was then going to build a little Citie there. There it was we met with the firſt perſecution of Flies, Gnats, and Waſps, which the Fens thereabouts produce in ſuch quantity, that a man hath much ado to make his party good againſt them. There we received intelligence, that the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadours expected us at *Neuſchans*, which caus'd us to be on our way *June* 1. by three in the morning. *Neuſchans*, by others called *Nie*, is a Fort, two Leagues and a half from *Johanneſtal*, upon a Navigable River riſing out of the Lake *Ladoga*, diſcharging it ſelf into the Gulf of *Finland*, and ſerving for a common Frontier between *Carlelia* and *Inguermannia*. The *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors departed thence after a conference of two hours had with ours. We follow'd them the next day, *June* 2. and came the ſame day to *Noteburg*, where we ſtay'd above ſix weeks, in expectation of the Great Duke's orders for our reception. The Governour of the place, *John Kunemund*, croſs'd the River in a Boat, made, and cover'd like a Gondole, to come and meet us. The *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors kept open houſe during their ſtay at *Noteburg*, and every meal ſent their Mareſhall, a place like that of High Steward in the Courts of *Germany*, and the Gentlemen of their retinue, to invite and conduct to them the Ambaſſadors of *Holſtein*.

Johanneſtal.

JUNE. Neuſchans Ladoga, a Lake.

The Ambaſſadors come to Noteburg.

June 17. came to *Noteburg* Mr. *Spiring*, Farmer General of the Outland cuſtoms of *Sueden* and *Livonia*, one of the Ambaſſadors deſign'd from *Sueden*, for *Muſcovy*. *June* 25. the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors had intelligence that the *Weywode* or Governour of *Novogorod* had ſent a *Priſtaf*, to receive them upon the Frontiers, which oblig'd them to depart the next day to go to *Laba*. Ours accompany'd them four Leagues from *Noteburg*, and permitted me to follow the *Suedes* even to the Frontier, to ſee the Ceremonies of their reception. The 27. at four in the morning, we came to the River which is about 40 paces broad, and, in that place, ſerves for a Frontier between *Sueden* and *Muſcovy*. The Ambaſſadors having underſtood, that there were on the other ſide of the River ſeventeen Boats, for their waftage over, ſent immediately their Interpreter to the *Priſtaf*, to deſire him to ſend ſome of them to bring over the baggage, ſo to facilitate their reception. The *Priſtaf*, who was an aged man, made anſwer, that he durſt not do it, and that they were not to imagine, the expences of one day, which they ſhould not think much to loſe, would be any inconvenience to the *Czaar* his Maſter (ſo the *Muſcovites* call their Prince) and that he muſt begin with the reception of the Ambaſſadors. About noon he ſent to them his Interpreter, with four Musketiers, whom they call *Strelits*, whereof he had about thirty to wait on him at this Ceremony, to tell them, that he was ready to give them reception. One of the Ambaſſadors made him anſwer ſomewhat roundly, yet civilly enough, that they had been five weeks upon the Frontiers, and that the *Priſtaf* could not take it ill, if they made him ſtay one day; That his Collegues being then taking their reſt, he could not make him an abſolute anſwer, and that he ſhould have notice, when they could paſs the River with their convenience. The Ambaſſadors were indeed aſleep, which happen'd, as well in regard they had travell'd all night, as that, being come to the Frontiers of *Muſcovy*, they comply'd with the cuſtom of the Countrey, where ſleep is as neceſſary after Dinner as in the Night. One of the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors ask'd the Interpreter, when thoſe of *Holſtein* would be receiv'd; he told him he could not tell, but, as he thought, it would be three weeks firſt, that is, after the arrival of the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors at *Moſcou*, becauſe the ſame horſes and carriages were to bring them thither. About 4. afternoon, the Ambaſſadors gave notice they were ready to croſſe the River, and that the *Priſtaf* had no more to do but to receive them; whereupon they, with their Interpreter, went into one Boat, and I with ſome of their Gentlemen into another. The *Priſtaf* got into another, accompany'd by fifteen *Muſcovites* in very good order; but to expreſs the greatneſs of his Prince, the Boat-men, who were inſtructed how to behave themſelves, put off ſo ſlowly that they could hardly quit the ſhore, forbearing ever and anon to row, purpoſely to let the Ambaſſadors get before, which method was alſo obſerv'd by the Boat-man that carried over the Ambaſſadors. But *Philip Scheiding*, perceiving the intention of the *Muſcovites*, calls to the *Priſtaf*, telling him, that pride was not ſeaſonable at that time, that he ſhould come forward, and conſider, that that kind of proceeding would conduce as little to the advantage of the Great Duke, as to the diſadvantage of their Prince. At laſt the Boats being all come

Spiring, *a fifth Ambaſſador from* Sueden; *a* Holander *born, and ſometime an Arras-weaver.*

The Swediſh *Ambaſſadors depart.*

A Swediſh *reſolution.*

The Muſcovites *ſleep after Dinner.*

1634. come to the middle of the River, the *Priſtaf* advanc'd, and read out of a paper, That the Great Duke and *Czaar*, *Michael Federouits*, &c. had ordered the reception of the Ambaſſadors coming from the Crown of *Sueden*, and that he had given command, they ſhould be provided for, they and their retinue, with Proviſions and all things neceſſary, till they came to the Citie of *Moſco*. After the Ambaſſadors had anſwered the Complement, the *Priſtaf* brought them aſhore, and conducted them to a Gentlemans houſe who was of the quality they call *Simbojar*, not far from the River, where they were receiv'd into a little Stove, black as Hell, by reaſon of the ſmoakineſs, yet had they then made a fire, never conſidering the ſultrineſs of the weather, which indeed was extreme. They treated the Ambaſſadors with ſpic'd bread, ſome gobelets of a very ſtrong kind of Aquavitæ, and with two ſorts of very bad Hydromel. The Ambaſſadors only put it to their lips, and having paſs'd the Cup from hand to hand, the laſt preſented it to me, with this commendation, *addatur parum ſulphuris & fiet potio infernalis.* After this banquet, which laſted about an hour, during which time, the *Muſcovite* Muketiers gave ſeveral volleys ſuch as they were, the Ambaſſadors and the *Priſtaf* departed; the *Suedes* in twelve Boats, and the *Muſcovites*, with Colours and Drum, in three. I return'd to *Notebourg*, where our Ambaſſadors continued three weeks, as the *Priſtaf* had foretold.

The reception of the Swediſh Ambaſſadors.

A Muſcovian Collation.

The Countrey, which the *Muſcovites* call *Oſinca*, about *Notebourg*, is very pleaſant, ſo that we wanted no divertiſement, eſpecially that of hunting. Within a quarter of a League of *Notebourg* are two Iſles, diſtant one from the other, as far as a Musket will carry, both well ſtor'd with wood, and ſo furniſh'd with Fowl that our pieces could hardly be at reſt for them, and the Sea-dogs, whereof there is an incredible number in the Lake, found us excellent ſport, when they expos'd themſelves to the Sun along the Rocks. We had alſo the learned and divertive converſation of Mr. *Peter Crusbiorn*, who came, during that time, to *Notebourg*, with a deſign to go into *Muſcovy*, in the quality of Reſident from the Crown of *Sueden*. This place is ſituated at 63. degrees, 30. minutes, at the entrance of the Lake *Ladoga*, upon an Iſle, which the ſaid Lake makes there in form like a Nut, which gives it the name. The *Muſcovites* had built it, and encompaſs'd it with a wall, two fathom and a half thick, againſt the attempts of the *Suedes*, who took it, under the command of *James de la Garde*, after the extremities of the ſiege, and a contagious diſeaſe had conſum'd the whole Garriſon to two men, who yet made a very advantageous Capitulation. The place is pleaſant and delightfull, but not healthy, becauſe of the freſh-water Lakes and Fenns that ly about it. We were extremely troubled there with a kind of Fly much like thoſe which in Latine are called *Pyrauſtæ*, whereof there was ſuch abundance, that many times they depriv'd us of the ſight of Heaven, and would not ſuffer us to open our eyes. Theſe inſects are alſo very numerous in *Carelia*, but not neer ſo much as at *Notebourg*.

The ſituation of Notebourg.

JULY. *July* 16. Notice was brought us, that a *Priſtaf*, named *Simon Andrew Kareckshin*, was come to the Frontiers, to receive us; ſo that we put all things in order for our journey, and departed the 20. for *Laba*. We were no ſooner got thither, but the *Priſtaf*'s Interpreter, accompany'd by a Musketier, came to know, whether the Ambaſſadors deſir'd to be received? In anſwer whereto, we asking, whether he would receive us on this ſide, or in the middle of the River, as he had receiv'd the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors; he told us, we had no more to do but to paſs, and that thoſe Ceremonies were obſerv'd only with the *Suedes*, becauſe of the conteſt there is between them about the Frontiers.

The Ambaſſadors came to Laba.

Their reception.

Having paſs'd the River, we found the *Priſtaf* ſtanding within 8 or 10 paces of the ſhore, clad in a long Coat of red Damask. As ſoon as the Ambaſſadors had ſet foot on land, he came towards us, being ſtill cover'd, till ſuch time as he began to ſpeak. Then he took off his Cap, as he pronounc'd the Great Duke's name, reading out of a paper theſe words, *His Majeſtie, the Czaar*, Michael Federouits, *Conſervator of all the* Ruſſians, *&c.* hath ſent me hither, to receive thee, *Philip Cruſius*, and thee, *Otton Brugman*, Ambaſſadors from the Duke of *Holſtein*, and commanded me to accommodate you and your retinue, with Proviſions, Carriages, Horſes, and what elſe ſhall be neceſſary, till you come to the Citie of *Moſcou*.

His Interpreter, whoſe name was *Anthony*, ſpoke High-Dutch ſo ill, that we had much ado to underſtand him. The Ambaſſadours made anſwer by their own Interpreter, *John Arpenbeck*, who was very well vers'd in the *Muſcovian* Language. This done, The *Priſtaf* gave the Ambaſſadours the upper hand, and conducted them to the Inn, through a party of twelve Musketiers, all *Coſaques*. The volley they gave us was not ſo well diſcharg'd, but that the Secretary belonging to the Reſident of *Sueden*, who came along with us to ſee the Ceremonies of our reception, was ſhot in his Buff-coat. After a collation of Ginger-Bread, Cherries newly preſerv'd, and Aquavitæ, we took water again, and embark'd for the continuation of our Voyage. After we had dined with the Governour of *Notebourg*, who came along with us thither, and who treated us that day with ſeveral ſorts of pleaſant drinks, we were diſpos'd into ſeven Boats.

Another Muſcovian Collation.

The Ambaſſadors proſecute their Voyage.

The 22. we paſs'd the Lake *Ladoga*, which in that place is 12 leagues over. We landed neer a Monaſtery called *Nauolkus Konsky*, where he met with a Monk, who preſented us with bread

and

and dry'd Salmon. The *Priſtaf* who was to bear our charges, ask'd whether he ſhould provide for us, or that we had rather take the money allow'd by his Majeſty for our entertainment, and have our meat dreſs'd by our own Cooks. We made choice of the later, according to the cuſtome of thoſe Ambaſſadors who go into thoſe parts. So that we bought our proviſions our ſelves, which we found cheap enough, in compariſon to what the *Priſtaf* provided for us. Two *Copecks*, which make two ſols French, would buy a tame Fowl, and for a peny we had nine Eggs. We were allow'd every day two Roubles and five *Copecks*, amounting to four Crowns five pence, which found us very good fare. After dinner, we embark'd on a River which brought us to *Ladoga*, which is diſtant from *Laba* 17 leagues, whither we came the ſame night. We met by the way a *Priſtaf*, going to meet the *Swediſh* Reſident, with three Boats. In all our Travels had we not ſeen ſo many Children under 7 years of age, as we found at *Ladoga*. Some of ours being gone to take the Air, they run after us, having Goosberies to ſell, whereof we bought a hatful for a *Copeck*. 'Twas pleaſant to ſee thoſe Children, to the number of fifty together, leaping about us, as we lay on the graſs to eat our Goosberries, ſo dreſs'd as that we could not diſtinguiſh the Boies from the Girls, for both had their hair cut all off, excepting only two muſtaches, which were ſuffer'd to grow at their Temples, and were clad in ſhirts reaching to their ancles. Our Phyſician would needs make a diſcovery of ſexes among them, and having caught one of the Children by the ſhirt, it happened to be a Boy, who told him laughing, *Deske niet*, that he was no Girl, and thereupon pointed to ſome that were. 1634.

Come to Ladoga.

The 23. at dinner, was the firſt time we heard any of the Country Muſick, which conſiſted of a Lute and Violin, with ſome voices, ſinging aires to the honour of their *Czaar*, *Michael Federouits*, and perceiving they were permitted, they fell a-dancing after a ſtrange manner. The men and women danc'd much after the ſame manner, every one alone, making ſtrange faces, with as ſtrange geſticulations; the motions of the hands, ſhoulders, and hips, being more violent than thoſe of the feet, which they do but gently ſtir, not moving as it were from the ſame place. The women have commonly handkerchers in their hands, fring'd with ſilk of divers colours, which they caſt about their heads.

The Muſick of Muſcovy.

After dinner we embark'd upon the River *Wolgda*. Our Musketiers, or *Strelits*, begg'd the benediction of a Monk that happen'd to be by the River ſide; it being their cuſtom to beg it of all Monks, and in all the Churches they come to by the way, which if they have not the time to go into, they think it enough to do reverences to the Croſſes they ſee upon the Churches and Chapels, pronouncing theſe words, *Hoſpodi Buchmilo*, that is to ſay, Lord be merciful to me.

Wolgda.

The devotion of the Muſcovites.

The wind being with us, it was thought fit we ſhould make uſe of our ſails, but, the *Muſcovites* being not the moſt expert Mariners, one of the Ropes broke, and the ſail falling on one of the Musketiers, ſtruck him down ſo as that we gave him over for dead, but coming to himſelf again within an hour after, and having taken a conſiderable dram of the Aquavitæ bottle, he was as well as ever.

The *Wolgda* is as broad as *Elbe*, but runs much more ſlowly. It riſes neer great *Novogorod*, out of the Lake called the Lake of *Ilmen*, and falls into that of *Ladoga*. Seven *werſtes* (whereof five make a *German* League) from *Ladoga*, there is a ſtrange fall of Water in that River, and about a league and a half thence, another, where the water falls with ſuch violence, that it runs like a ſhaft, amidſt the many Rocks ſcatter'd up and down neer thoſe places: in ſo much that to draw the loaden Boats up the River, there needs above a hundred men. We got aſhore at the former, and ſaw our Boats paſs ſafely, all ſave the laſt, in which we had left *Simon Friſius*, a Merchant's Son of *Hamborough*, who being extremely ſick was forc'd to ſtay in it. This Boat being drawn up to the higheſt pitch of the water, the rope broke, ſo that the water forc'd it back with ſuch violence, that it would have ſplit againſt the Rocks, if, by an unexpected good hap, one end of the rope, which was faſten'd to the maſt, had not twin'd it ſelf about one of the Rocks, by which means the Boat was ſtay'd. till we had the convenience to diſ-engage it. There we were told, that a certain Biſhop, coming that way in a Boat laden with Fiſh, had been caſt away ſome few dayes before. The other fall we paſs'd without any danger, and came that night to a Convent, called *Nicolai Nepoſtiza*, where we took up our quarters, and ſtay'd the next day, expecting the Boats that were coming after us.

Wolgda *deſcribed.*

A dangerous fall of water.

From *Reuel* to *Moſcou*, are nothing but Woods, Fenns, Lakes and Rivers, which produce ſuch abundance of Flies, Gnats, and Waſps, that people have much ado to keep them off, in ſo much, that, in the night time, they are forc'd to wrap themſelves up in certain linnen cloaths, ſuch as Travellers make uſe of in *Livonia* and *Muſcovy*: thoſe among us who had not been carefull to cover themſelves, having their faces ſo ſpotted, as if they were newly recover'd from the ſmall pox. The Wagoners and Conntry people, who have not convenience enough of thoſe cloaths, are forc'd to make uſe of fire againſt the importunity of thoſe Inſects; inſomuch that *Muſcovy* being every where well furniſh'd with wood, they make good fires, and lye down by them; all which hinders not but that they are extremely troubled with them.

Troubleſome Flies and other inſects.

There were but four Monks in the Convent; the moſt aged among them made us a Preſent of Turneps, pickled Cowcumbers. ſome green Peaſe, and two wax candles. We gratify'd him with

The Preſents of a Muſcovian Monk.

1634. with a Crown piece, which he took so kindly, that he let us into his Church, contrary to the Custom of the Country, and put on his Sacerdotal Vestments, that we might see them. He shew'd us, in the Portal, the Miracles of S. *Nicholas*, painted according to the mode of the Country, very roughly, and without proportion. Upon the door was represented the last Jndgement, wherein the Monk pointed to a Man habited after the *German* fashion, and told us, That the *Germans* and other Nations were not uncapable of Salvation, provided they had a *Muscovite* Soul, and that they lived justly in the sight of God. He shew'd us also a Bible in his own Language (for no *Muscovite* knows any other than his own and the *Sclavonian*) and read to us the first Chapter of S. *John*'s Gospel, which we found absolutely conformable to our Text. To which he added, that being once at *Reuel*, he had there had a conference with some of our Pastors, concerning the Holy Scripture; but that he could give them no great satisfaction, because he did not well understand the *German* Interpreter. He would have shewn us all the Church, but our Musketiers coming in grumbled at it, and reproach'd him for having communicated too much to us. We gave him the tother Crown, for which he gave us many thanks, bowing his head to the very ground, and smiting it with his forehead. We intended to have made our repast upon the grass, but were hardly set, ere the wind turning for us, the Monk brings us another present of Turneps and Cowcumbers, telling us, that the kindness we had done him had obtain'd of S. *Nicholas* the good wind which was to carry us on in our Voyage.

The Muscovites do not condemn those of a contrary belief.

About 2. afternoon, we set off, made four leagues that day, and came at night to a Village called *Cerodiza*: but finding it more pleasant to be by the water side, than in a Village, we caus'd our meat to dress'd there, and supp'd, while the Marriners, who made accompt to goe thence that night, took some hours rest.

Corodiza.

We slept not, but made sport with a young Bear, the *Pristaf* had brought us, which could shew a thousand tricks. After midnight we set forward, and got four leagues to the Village *Soliza*; where the *Pristaf*, who had stay'd at *Corodiza*, overtook us, bringing along with him his Host, who was a *Knez*, or *Muscovite* Prince, named *Roman Jovanouits*. He had treated him so well, that both were got drunk: however, seeing they were still desirous to drink, we supply'd them so well with *Aquavitæ* and Sack, whereof we had good store, that we laid them asleep.

Soliza.

We got that day six leagues to a Village called *Grunza*, which the Country people had also absolutely forsaken, which oblig'd us to take up our Lodging in the Fields, in a Meadow near a great Pool, where we made three great fires: and in regard we had slept almost all day in the Boat, we spent some part of the night in telling of stories, and diverting our selves with the Bear. The Musketiers, who had been somewhat busy with the Aquavitæ, entertain'd us with some feats of their activity. Here we saw abundance of Cranes, and counted, upon the Pool, above 300 of them.

Grunza.

The next day, *Jul.* 26. about three in the morning we prosecuted our Voyage, and before noon got four leagues, to the Village of *Wisoko*. The *Pristaf*, whom we had invited to dinner, hearing the name of *Jesus* pronounc'd, made the sign of the Cross several times upon his breast, and desir'd to have our Prayer in writing, and liked it so well, that he said, he could not have believ'd, that the *Germans* were so good Christians, and so just men.

Wisoko.

The 27. all day, and the night following, we prosecuted our Voyage, so that the 28. with the day, we were come to the Village of *Krifseuiza*. There we staid that day, to give the *Pristaf* time to acquaint the Governour of *Novogorod* with our arrival, and to know his pleasure concerning our reception.

Krifseuiza.

This Village is within 2 leagues of *Novogorod*, and about 600 paces from it is a very fair Monastery, which some call *Nachatim*, , but it is commonly called *Krifseuiza Chutina Spasof Monastir*. It is well built, and better situated, having an Abbot, 60 Monks, and 400 Country people to husband the grounds belonging to it: but it is oblig'd out of its Revenue to maintain a hundred men of the Garrison of *Novogorod*, for the service of the Great Duke.

The Ambassadors came to Novogorod.

The 29. we continu'd our Voyage, and came to *Novogorod*, within a league of which we met with some of our retinue, whom we had sent away from *Riga*, and who had expected us for several moneths with much impatience. They met us in a Boat, and expres's'd much joy at our arrival. The *Weywode* sent to our Inn, one Tun of Beer, another of Hydromel, and a Barrel of Aquavitæ; and we sent him a silver Cup, Vermilion gilt. We left *Novogorod* the 13. of *July*, and went 4 leagues farther by water, to *Brunits*, whence we finish'd our Journey by Land.

Brunits.

AUGUS. As we were dis-embarking our Baggage at *Brunits*, *August* 1. came to the River side a *Muscovian* Procession, to bless the water thereof. In the first place march'd two men, one carrying a Cross, having at the four corners the four Evangelists; the other, an old Image, painted, and cover'd with a clean linnen cloath. After them came a Priest pontifically vested, holding in his hands a wooden Cross, a good half foot wide, and singing in consort with a little Boy who carri-

A Muscovian Procession.

carried a Book after him. Then came the Country people with their Wives and Children, those who were of age carrying a wax Candle. After all came one who seem'd to be the Clark of the Parish, having ten Tapers fastned together, all lighted. The Priest being come to the River side, spent half an hour or better in singing and reading: Then he took the wax Candles from the Clark, and extinguish'd them in the Water, in imitation of whom, the people did the like with theirs. Then the Priest dipp'd his Cross three several times in the Water, when he took it out letting it drop into a Basin destin'd for the preservation of that Water, which they esteem'd most sacred. This Ceremony over, the Women put their Children, great and small, into the Water, some with their shirts on, others naked. Those who needed not the assistance of others leap'd in themselves. Nay some brought their Horses to drink, that they might also participate of the vertue of that Holy Water. This done, the whole Procession return'd to the Church, where the Priest, having given the people his benediction, dismiss'd them. 1634.

About 4. afternoon, we got on Horse-back, after we had dispos'd our Baggage into 50. Wagons, and travell'd that day five leagues, to a Village nam'd *Crasmistansky*. The next, *August* 2. we travell'd eight leagues, and came at night to *Gam Chresta*. *Gam*, among the *Muscovites*, are those places where Travellers take fresh Horses. Crasmistansky. Gam Chresta.

The 3. we came to *Jazelbitza*, a little Village which the Country people had forsaken. There we met with this mistortune, that our Cook being gone two leagues further to provide our Supper, we could not come up to him, by reason of the badness of the way, so that we had a sleepless night of it. We met that day with several Officers, who, upon the Peace concluded between the *Polanders* and *Muscovites* at *Smolensko*, had desired leave to go to their own Habitations. Jaselbitza.

The 4. we met at *Simnogora*, where are fresh Horses to be taken up, with Colonel *Fuchs*; and the 6. at *Wolsolk*, with Colonel *Charles*. They both honour'd our Ambassadors with their visits, which occasioning entertainments, begat also those excesses and disorders which ordinarily attend them in *Germany*; in one whereof our Trumpetter mortally wounded one of our Musketiers, without any injury done him by the other. We left the wounded person behind, and gave money to those who were to look to him. The Trumpetter was kill'd afterwards, after he had been entertain'd into the Great Dukes service, at our return from *Persia*. Simnogora. Wolsolk.

The 5. we pass'd through a Village, which the Inhabitants had forsaken, to avoid quartering the *German* Souldiers, who had been disbanded neer *Moscou*. We lodg'd at night in the Village *Columna*. In those parts, we found many great blue stones, which the Tyrant *John Bassilouits*, had caus'd to be taken out of the Sepulchres, when he took the City of *Reuel*, having design'd them to be brought to *Mosco*; but news being come that he was dead, they were unloaden in the high-way, where they have remain'd ever since. Columna.

The 7. we came *Budeua*, a Village also; but at our entrance into it, our Horses began to wince, stand upon their hinder feet, and beat the ground, as if they had been bewitch'd, whereof we could not imagine what should be the cause, till that having alighted, we found them cover'd all over with Bees, which were beginning to fall upon us, and prosecuted their animosity so far, as to force us to keep them off with our Cloaks, and other Garments, and to go and take up our quarters in the Fields. We understood since, that it was a Stratageme of the Inhabitants, who had incens'd the Bees, purposely to prevent our lodging in the Village. Budeua.

The 8. we came to a Stage where were fresh Horses, and so to *Torsock*, a little Town situate upon the descent of a Hill, not far from the High-way, fortified with Ramparts, and Bastions of wood. Bread, Beer, and Hydromel were there excellent good. The Ambassadors caused Huts to be made of boughs of Trees without the Town, where we Supp'd and Lodg'd that night. Torsock.

The 9. we passed over two Torrents, one neer *Torsock*, the other half a League from *Miedna*. We came at night to the Citie of *Tuere*, which is also on a Hill-side, as *Torsock*, but somewhat bigger. These two places have each of them their *Weywode*, or Governour. The latter hath its name from the River *Tuere*, which passes by it, as well as the *Wolga*, which continuing its course from this City, through *Muscovy* and *Tartary*, disembogues its self above 600 *German* Leagues thence (which make above 1500 *French*) in the *Caspian* Sea. It is already so broad in those quarters, that we were forc'd to make use of a Ferry-boat to cross it. We were lodg'd the other side of the City, in the Suburbs. This was our last stage for fresh Horses, till we came to *Moscou*. Tuere. *The River* Wolga.

August 13. we came to a Village called *Nichola Nachinski*, two Leagues from *Moscou*, whence our *Pristaf* dispatch'd an Express to give notice of our arrival. Nichola Nachinski.

The 14. the *Pristaf*, attended by his Interpreter and Secretary, came to Complement the Ambassadors, giving them thanks for the kind treatment he had receiv'd from them, and making an Apology for the ill they might have receiv'd from him. We presented him with a Vermilion Gilt-Cup, and gave some ten or twelve Crowns among the rest. The same day, the Messenger sent by the *Pristaf* return'd from *Moscou*, and oblig'd us to prepare for our Entrance, which we made the same day in the order following.

1634. 1. The *Strelits*, or *Muſcovian* Musketiers, who had convoy'd us, march'd in firſt.
2. After them, *Jacob Scheve*, our Harbinger, *Michael Cordes*, Captain of the ſhip, and *John Algueyer*, Clark of the Kitchin, all three abreaſt.
3. Three led Horſes, to be preſented to the Great Duke; one, black, and two, dappled-grey.
4. A Trumpetter.
5. Marſhall, or Steward.
6. Three of our Gentlemen a-breaſt.
7. Three more of our Gentlemen.
8. The Secretary, Phyſician, and Controller.
9. The Ambaſſadors, attended each, by a Guard of four, with their Carabines, having on their right hand, but a little diſtance, the *Priſtaf* who had conducted them.
10. The ſix Pages, in two ranks.
11. A Coach with four grey Horſes.
12. The Maſter of the Waggons, with eight others, three in a rank.
13. The Preſidents deſign'd for the Great Duke, carry'd in five Litters, covered with *Turkie* Tapiſtry.
14. An open Waggon, wherein *Simon Friſins* lay ſick.
15. Forty ſix Waggons loaded with baggage.
16. Three Servants.

Having march'd in this order, very ſlowly, till we came within half a League of the City, we met ten *Courriers* (or Meſſengers) who came one after another with full ſpeed towards us, to acquaint the *Priſtaf* with the place, where they were whoſe Office it was to receive us; with order, one while, to march on very ſlowly, another, to make more haſte, to the end we ſhould be much about the ſame time with them at the place appointed for our reception. We ſaw alſo ſeveral *Muſcovites*, very well mounted and richly clad, who only rid at ſome diſtance from us, and return'd having taken a view of us. Within a quarter of a League of the City, we paſs'd through a Body of above 4000 *Muſcovites*, all excellently well mounted and ſumptuouſly clad. Moſt of the *Suediſh* Ambaſſadors retinue came alſo to meet us, but were not permitted to come neer us, ſo that we could only ſalute them at a diſtance.

Within a Piſtol ſhot thence we ſaw coming towards us, two *Priſtafs* clad in coats of Purfled Satin mounted on two gallant white Horſes. Inſtead of Bridles, they had Chains of ſilver, whereof the links were two inches broad, but no thicker than the back of a knife, and of ſuch a compaſs as that a man might thruſt in his fiſt into them, which made a ſtrange noiſe as the Horſes went along. The Great Duke's Maſter of the Horſe followed them, with twenty led Horſes all white, and was accompany'd by a great number of perſons both a foot and a horſ-back. When the Ambaſſadors and *Priſtafs* were alighted, the antienter of the two uncover'd himſelf, and

The reception of the Ambaſſadors.

ſaid; *The Grand Seigneur, Czaar, and Great Duke*, Michael Federouits, *conſervator of all the Ruſſians, Prince of Vladimer, Moſco, Novogorod, Czaar of Caſſan, Czarr of Aſtrachan, Czaar of Siberia, Lord of Pleſcou, Great Duke of Tuersky, Jugersky, Preinsky, Wadsky, Bolgarsky, &c. Lord and Great Duke of Novogorod in the Low Countries, Commander of Roſansky, Roſtofsky, Geraſtafky, Beſolerski, Udorski, Obdorski, Condinski, and of all the North, Lord of the Countries of Iveria, Czaar of Kartalinski and Inguſinski, Prince of the Countries of Kabardinski, Cyrcaski, and Iorkski, Lord and Soveraign of many other Seigneuries*, receives you, as great Ambaſſadors from the Duke of *Sleſwick, Holſtein, Stormarie* and *Ditmars*, Count of *Oldenbourg* and *Delmenhorſt*. He grants you and the Gentlemen of your retinue the favour to make your entrance upon his own Horſes, and hath appointed us *Priſtafs* to have a care of you, and ſo to furniſh you with all things neceſſary, during your aboad at *Moſco*. To which Complement when the Ambaſſador *Cruſius* had made anſwer, there were brought two very ſtately white Horſes, with Saddles after the *German* faſhion, Embroider'd with Gold and Silver, with Footh-cloaths, and Harneſs ſuitable.

As ſoon as the Ambaſſadors were mounted, the *Priſtaf* and Musketiers, who had conducted us from the Frontiers, were drawn off. There were brought alſo ten other white Horſes for the chiefeſt of our retinue, with Saddles after the *Muſcovian* faſhion, of Cloath of Gold and Purfled Satin. The *Priſtafs* took the Ambaſſadors between them, though in *Muſcovy*, he is thought to have the more honourable place, who hath the right hand free. After them march'd the *Muſcovian* Grooms of the ſtable, who had the coverings of their Saddles of Leopard-skins, Cloath of Gold, and Scarlet. The Cavalry we had ſeen in the fields, and the other *Muſcovites*, came powring into the City with the Ambaſſadors, and accompany'd them to their Lodgings, within the white wall, in that quarter which is called *Czarskigorod*, that is to ſay, the City of the *Czaar*. We had aſſign'd us two Citizens houſes built of wood, the *Priſtaf* making this excuſe, in the name of the Great Duke, that a fire having not only conſum'd the ordinary houſe for the entertainment of Ambaſſadors, but alſo another great houſe appointed for our Lodgings, we could not poſſibly be better accommodated for the preſent; And indeed, at

The Priſtafs take the upper hand of the Ambaſſadors.

Their Lodgings.

our

our entrance into the *City*, we had obſerved whole ſtreets burnt down, the fire having been ſo violent, that it had reduc'd to aſhes above five thouſand houſes: inſomnch that moſt of the Inhabitants were forc'd to lodge in Tents and Huts. 1634.

Ere we had taken a view of our Lodging, the preſents from the Great Duke's Kitchin and Cellar were brought us; *viz.* eight Sheep, thirty Capons and Pullets, great ſtore of white and brown bread, and 22 ſorts of drinks, Wine, Beer, Hydromel and Aquavitæ, all brought in by 32 *Muſcovites*, who marching all in a file made the ſhew ſo much the greater. This done, the doors of our Lodging were lock'd upon us, and a Guard of twelve Musketiers ſet, to prevent all communication between us and the Inhabitants, till after the firſt Audience. The *Priſtafs* in the mean time fail'd not to viſit us every day, to aſſure us of their readineſs to ſerve us. They had alſo left with us an Interpreter, to facilitate the ſervice which the Musketiers were oblig'd to do us in the buying of our Proviſions and other things. This Interpreter was a *Muſcovite* born, and had been taken priſoner by the *Polanders*; by which means he fell into the hands of Prince *Ianus Radzivil*, who brought him to *Leipſig*, where he learnt the *German* Tongue.

The Great Dukes preſenting preſent to the Ambaſſadors. They are under a Guard.

Aug. 15. The *Muſcovites* celebrated the Feaſt of our B. Lady's aſcenſion, and the ſame day ended a Faſt they had begun the firſt of that moneth. The 17. was deſign'd for our firſt Audience; but the Great Duke being gone out of the City to do his Devotions, we ſpent the day in giving God our humble thanks for his happy conduct of us to the place for which our Embaſſy was deſign'd. We caus'd *Te Deum* to be ſung, with Muſick, and our Miniſter to make a Sermon, at which, as alſo at the Dinner which follow'd it, was preſent, by permiſſion of the Great Duke, M. *Balthazar Moucheron*, who manag'd the Affairs of the Duke of *Holſtein* at *Moſco*, in the quality of Commiſſary. He told us, that the *Muſcovites* thought our entrance very handſome, and wondred much that *Germany* ſhould have Princes able to ſend ſo conſiderable an Embaſſy. They give all ſtrange Princes the quality of *Knez*, though their *Knez* are properly no more than what Gentlemen are with us, and, thoſe excepted who have publick employments relating to the State, the reſt have no great Eſtates, it may be, about 800. or 1000 *per annum*.

The 18. The two *Priſtafs* came to acquaint us that the Great Duke would give us publick Audience the next day. They deſir'd alſo, in the Chancellors name, a Catalogue of the preſents we were to make his Majeſty. After Dinner, the younger *Priſtaf* came to confirm the notice they had given us in the morning, *viz.* that on the morrow we ſhould have the honour to kiſs the Great Dukes hand. We ask'd him what the diſcharging of the great Guns the day before meant, and the ſhooting we had ſeen out of our Windows in a great Meadow. He told us, it was only to make tryal of ſome pieces which the Great Duke had lately order'd to be caſt. Others ſaid, that they had been diſcharg'd, only to make it appear that the *Muſcovites* had not loſt all their Artillery before *Smolenſco*, as ſome would have had it believ'd.

Aug. 19. The *Priſtafs* came to ſee whether we were ready for Audience; and having perceiv'd that our men had put on their beſt Cloaths, and that all was in readineſs, they went immediately to give notice thereof at the Caſtle, whence were brought us the white Horſes which we had at our Entrance. About 9 of the Clock the *Priſtafs* return'd to us, having their ſtript ſatin Coats carried after them, as alſo their Caps of Martins skins, which they left in the Ambaſſadors Antichamber. We mounted with our Cloaks on, but no Swords, none being permitted to wear any in the Great Dukes preſence, and rode towards the Caſtle, the Cavalcade being as followeth.

The Ambaſſadors Cavalcade

In the front, march'd 36 Musketiers.
After them our Steward.
Three Gentlemen of the Ambaſſadors retinue.
Three other Gentlemen.
The Commiſſary, Secretary, and Phyſician.
After them went the Preſents, led and carried by *Muſcovites*; viz. One Horſe coal-black, with a rich covering. *The Preſents.*
One, dapple grey.
Another, dapple-grey.
Harneſs for one Horſe, ſet out with Silver, and enrich'd with Turkiſh Stones, Rubies, and other precious Stones, carried by two *Muſcovites*.
One Croſs of Chryſolite enchac'd in Gold, about half a foot long, carried in a Baſin.
An Ebony Cabinet, garniſh'd with Gold, like a little Apothecaries Shop, with its Boxes and Vials of Gold, enrich'd with precious Stones, full of ſeveral excellent Chymical extractions, carried by two *Muſcovites*.
A ſmall Veſſel of Rock-Chriſtal, garniſh'd with Gold, and beſet with Rubies.
A great Looking-Glaſs, being an ell and a quarter high, and half an ell broad, in an Ebony frame, with Boughs and Fruits carv'd thereon in Silver, carried by two *Muſcovites*.

1634. A Clock, on which was repreſented, in painting, the Parable of the Prodigal Child.
A Walking-Staff, Vermilion Gilt, in which was a piece of Perſpective.
A great Ebony Clock, in an Ebony Caſe, garniſh'd with Silver.

Next went two Gentlemen of the Chamber, carrying up on high in the Air, the Credential Letters from his Highneſs, one to the Great Duke, the other to the Patriarch his Majeſties Father. His name was *Philaretes Nikidits*; He dy'd after our departure from *Holſtein*, but we were told it would not be amiſs to make it known we had Letters of credence for him.

Then follow'd the Ambaſſadors between the two *Priſtafs*, having before them the Interpreters, on each ſide four Lacqueys, and behind them, the Pages.

It was, from our Lodging to the Caſtle a good quarter of a *German* league, there being above 2000 Strelits or Muſketiers diſpos'd on both ſides of the ſtreet, to make us free paſſage to the place of Audience. The ſtreets, windows and houſes tops were full of people, who were come from all quarters of the City to ſee our Cavalcade. We march'd in very good order, halting and advancing according to the orders, which the Courriers, who rid with full ſpeed from the Caſtle, brought our *Priſtafs*; to the end we might come to the Hall of Audience, juſt as the Great Duke were ſate in his Throne.

Being come into the Caſtle-Court, we paſs'd before the *Poſolsky Precaſe*, or the Chancery for ſtrangers affairs, where we alighted. After the Officers, and Gentlemen had taken their places, to wit, the Steward, in the head of the Preſents, and the Gentlemen, with the other Officers, immediately before the Ambaſſadors, we were brought to Audience. The Hall for Audience is on the right hand of the Cour: when there come any Ambaſſadors from *Perſia*, *Turky*, or *Tartary*, they are carried up a ſtone pair of ſtairs on the right hand; but in regard we were Chriſtians, we took the left hand, and were led through a vaulted Gallery, purpoſely that we might paſs by a very fair Church, where they were then at ſervice. Before we came into the Hall, we ſaw, in a ſpacious vaulted appartment, abundance of people, and among others many antient Men, venerable for their long ſnowy beards, whereof ſome ſate, others ſtood along the walls, all clad in long Coats of ſtript Satin, and Caps of Martins skins: they told us they were his Majeſties *Goſes*, that is, his principal Merchants or Factors, who had thoſe habits out of the Great Dukes Wardrobe, that they might honour him in thoſe kinds of Ceremonies, conditionally they return'd them aſſoon as they were over.

The Ambaſſadors being come to the door of the Antichamber, they met with two *Bojares*, or Lords, clad in Coats of Purfled Satin, cover'd with an embroidery of great Pearls, who were to receive them at their Entrance. They told them that his *Czaarick* Majeſty did them, and the Gentlemen of their retinue, the favour of admitting them into his Preſence. The Preſents were ſtay'd in the Antichamber, and they conducted into the Hall the Ambaſſadors with the Officers, Gentlemen, and Pages, there going before them *John Hermes*, the Great Dukes principal Interpreter. As ſoon as he had ſet his foot within the Hall; he ſaluted his Majeſty with a loud voice, wiſhing him all proſperity and long life, and acquainted him with the arrival of the Ambaſſadors. The Hall was ſquare, and vaulted, hang'd and floor'd with Tapeſtry. The roof was gilt, and had ſeveral Sacred Stories painted therein. The Great Duke's Chair was oppoſite to the door, againſt the wall, rais'd from the floor three ſteps, having at the four corners Pillars which were Vermilion Gilt, about three inches about, with each of them, at the height of an ell and a half, an Imperial Eagle of Silver, near which the Canopy or upper part of the Chair reſted upon the ſame Pillars: beſides which the ſaid Chair had at thē four Corners as many little Turrets of the ſame ſtuff, having alſo, at the ends, Eagles, after the ſame manner. We were told there was another Chair of State a-making, about which were beſtow'd 1600 Marks of Silver, and 120 ounces of Ducat-gold for the gilding, and that it would amount to above 25000 Crowns. The deſigner of it was a *German*, born at *Nuremberg*, his name, *Eſay Zinkgraf*

The Great Duke ſate in his Chair, clad in a long Coat, embroider'd with Pearls, and beſet with all ſorts of precious Stones. He had above his Cap, which was of Martins-skins, a Crown of Gold, beſet with great Diamonds, and in his right hand a Scepter of the ſame Metall, and no leſs rich, and ſo weighty, that he was forc'd to relieve one hand with the other. On both ſides of his Majeſties Chair ſtood young Lords, very handſome, both as to Face and Body, clad in long Coats, of white Damask, with Caps of a Linx's skin, and white Buskins, with Chains of Gold, which croſſing upon the breaſt, reach'd down to their hips. They had laid over their ſhoulders each a Silver Ax, whereto they put their hands, as if they had been going to give their ſtroke. On the right ſide of the Chair, upon a Pyramid of Silver carv'd thorough, ſtood the Imperial Apple, of maſſy Gold, repreſenting the World, as big as a Canon-bullet of 48 pound weight; and at a like diſtance, on the ſame ſide, a Baſin and Ewer and a Napkin, to waſh and wipe the Great Dukes hands, after the Ambaſſadors and thoſe of their retinue had kiſs'd them. The principal *Bojares* or Lords of the Court, to the number of fifty, were all ſet upon Benches by the wall-ſide, on one ſide, and oppoſite to the Great

Duke

Duke, very richly clad, with great Caps, of a black Fox furr, a good quarter of an ell high. 1634.
The Chancellor ſtood on the right hand, ſome five paces from the chair.

They having made a low reverence at their Entrance, were plac'd in the midſt of the Hall oppoſite to the Great Duke, and about ten paces from him, having behind them the Officers and Gentlemen of their retinue, on the right, the two Gentlemen who carry'd the Credential Letters, which they held before them, and on the *left*, the Interpreter *John Helmes*. This done, the Great Duke made a ſign to the Chancellor, that he ſhould tell the Ambaſſadors, that his Majeſty granted them the favour to do him reverence. The Ambaſſadors went one after another, and kiſs'd his right hand, which he very gracefully reach'd to them, and with a ſmiling countenance, taking the Scepter in the mean time in his left hand. Now it is to be obſerved, that in theſe ceremonies, he who kiſſes the Great Dukes hand is not to touch it with his own, and that only the Ambaſſadors of Chriſtian Princes have the honour to kiſs it, which the *Turks* and *Perſians*, much leſs the *Tartarians*, have not. *The Ceremonies of the audience.*

This Ceremony ended, he caus'd the Chancellor to tell them, that if they had ought to propoſe from their Prince, they might do it. Whereupon the Ambaſſador *Cruſius* made him a complement from the Duke our Maſter, and his condoleances for the death of the Patriarch his Father, adding, that his Highneſs hoping we ſhould have found him living, had given them Letters of Credence for him, and that they had brought them along with thoſe his Highneſs writ to his Majeſty. Whereupon he took the Letters from thoſe that held them, and was advancing to deliver them; but the Great Duke made a ſign to the Chancellor to take them, and having commanded him to come to him, he whiſper'd in his ear the anſwer he would make the Ambaſſadors. The Chancellor being return'd to his place, ſaid; *The Grand Seigneur Czaar*, and *Great Duke, &c.* tells thee, *Philip Cruſius*, and thee, *Otton Brugman*, Ambaſſadors from the Duke of *Holſtein*, that he hath received the Letters of his Highneſs, that he will order them to be tranſlated, and he will acquaint you with his intention by his *Bojares*, and that he will make anſwer thereto. The Chancellor, who had not uncover'd himſelf, no more than the other Lords, took off his Cap when he pronounc'd the name of his Majeſty, or that of his Highneſs of *Holſtein*.

This done, The Ambaſſadors were ſeated on a Bench cover'd with a *Turkie* Carpet, which was ſet behind them, and the Chancellor told them, that the Great Duke was pleas'd that their Officers and Gentlemen ſhould have the honour of kiſſing his hand. Which done, the Great Duke rais'd himſelf up a little in his Chair, and ſaid to the Ambaſſadors, *Knez Frederic jeſcha ſdorof?* Is Duke *Frederick* in good health? Whereto it was anſwer'd, that at our departure we had left him very well. *God grant a good life and a long, and all happineſs to his Majeſty and Highneſs.*

Then was brought in a Liſt of the Preſents, which were ſent in with it, and ſtood ſome time before the Great Duke, till the Chancellor ordered them to be taken away. The ſaid Chancellor preſently after told the Ambaſſadors, that the *Czaar and Great Duke of all the Ruſſians, Lord and Soveraign of many Seignories, &c.* was further pleas'd they ſhould ſpeak of their Affairs; but they deſir'd, that, to avoid doing any thing prejudicial to the Treatiſe made between the Crown of *Sueden* and his Highneſs, concerning the Commerce of *Perſia*, they might have a private Audience together; which was accordingly granted. After this, the Great Duke caus'd them to be asked, whether they were in health, and whether they wanted any thing, giving them notice, that that day he would do them the favour to treat them with meat from his own Table. This was the firſt publick Audience the Ambaſſadors had. They were brought back to the Antichamber by the ſame *Bojares* who had receiv'd them at their entrance. We mounted at the ſame place where we alighted, and return'd to our Lodgings, accompany'd by our *Priſtafs*, in the ſame order as we had gone thence. We were hardly alighted ere there came in one of the Gentlemen of the Great Duke's Chamber. He was of the quality of the *Knez*, to which his countenance and behaviour was ſuitable, being of great ſtature, magnificently clad, excellently well mounted and attended, and had been ſent by the Great Duke, to treat the Ambaſſadors at Dinner. Aſſoon as he was come in, he caus'd the cloath to be laid, on which were in the firſt place ſet, a Salt-ſeller, and two Vinegar-diſhes of Silver, and certain drinking-cups, whereof three were of Gold, and two others of Silver, and ſo big, that they were above a foot diameter, a great Knife and ſome Forks. This Lord, ſeating himſelf at the end of the Table, ordered the Ambaſſadors to ſit down by him, the Gentlemen ſtanding before them. He caus'd to be ſet on the Table before the Ambaſſadors three great veſſels full of Sack, Rheniſh-Wine, and Hydromel, and caus'd the meat to be ſerv'd out, on 38. great Silver Diſhes, which conſiſted in boil'd, roſted and paſtry. All being ſerv'd, the *Knez* riſe, caus'd the Ambaſſadors to come before the Table, and told them, there was the Proviſion which the *Czaar* had commanded him to entertain them withall, praying them to be pleas'd with the treatment. Then he took the great Cup, which he caus'd to be fill'd with excellent good Hydromel, made with Raſpices and having drunk his Majeſties health, he caus'd as much to be given the Ambaſſadors, and all their retinue, obliging us to drink the Great Duke's health all at the ſame time. Some of us would *The Grand Duke treats the Ambaſſadors.*

1634. would have reach'd their arms over the Table, to take the Gobelet, but the *Muſcovite* would not ſuffer it, ſaying, that Table then repreſented the Great Duke's, who permits none to go behind his Table, and ſo oblig'd them to come round about and take the Cup. This health was follow'd by that of our Prince, which he began to the Ambaſſadors, ſaying, *God grant health and proſperity to his Highneſs, and make him long to continue in a good correſpondence and amity with his Majeſty.* The third health was that of the Prince, the Great Duke's ſon. This done, they ſate to the Table, and ſome Gobelets of a Wine made of Cherries and Mulberries were drunk about. The Ambaſſadors preſented him with a Vermilion-gilt cup, of the weight of three Marks and a half, which he caus'd to be carried before him, as he return'd to the Caſtle.

Aug. 20. The *Priſtafs* came to tell us, that the Great Duke was pleas'd we ſhould go abroad, and gave us the liberty to walk about the City, and to that end Horſes ſhould be brought us from his own ſtables, when ere we ſhould deſire it. We were alſo permitted to viſit the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors, and to receive their Viſits: All which were thought ſo great favours, that the *Muſcovites* themſelves were aſtoniſh'd at it; for till then it had not been ſuffer'd, that the Domeſticks of ſtrange Ambaſſadors ſhould walk about the City, but, when their occaſions oblig'd them to go abroad, they were accompany'd by one or more of the Musketiers. Two dayes after, the *Priſtaf* accompany'd by a Groom of the Great Duke's ſtables, brought us ſix horſes, and conducted us to the Lodgings of the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors, whom we ſaw ſeveral times after, and held a very fair correſpondence with them.

Aug. 23. The Ambaſſadors would have invited to Dinner Dr. *Wendelin*, the Phyſician, the Apothecary, and ſome other ſervants of the Great Duke; but the Chancellor would not ſuffer them to come, and forbad them ſeeing us for three dayes; of which rigorous treatment we could have no accompt, till afterwards, that we were told, it was, becauſe, the Preſents had not yet been valu'd, among which was the Cabinet made like an Apothecaries ſhop, we ſpoke of before, which could not be valu'd but by them.

The 24. Came before *Moſcou Arnald Spirin*, Farmer General of the Cuſtoms in *Livonia*, through which he had paſs'd, and was ſent by the Crown of *Sueden* to be preſent at the Negotiation, which the Ambaſſadors thence were to manage for Commerce, wherein he was very well vers'd. The *Muſcovites*, who knew him, made ſome difficulty to entertain him in that quality; but perceiving the *Suedes* took it ill, they were at laſt content to do it, and ſent a *Priſtaf* to meet and receive him.

SEPTEM. *The* Muſcovian *New-years day.*

September 1. The *Muſcovites* celebrated the firſt day of their New year; for having no other Epoche than that of the Creation of the World, which they believe to have been in Autumn, they begin the year with the Moneth of *September*, and they accompted then 7142 years, according to the opinion of the *Greeks*, and the Eaſtern Church, which count 5508. from the Creation of the World to the birth of Chriſt; whereto add 1634. you will find the number 7142. whereas we accompt from the Creation of the World to the ſame year 1634. but 5603 years. Their Proceſſion was handſom enough, conſiſting of above 20000 perſons, of all ages, who were admitted into the outer Court of the Caſtle. The Patriarch, attended by almoſt 400 Prieſts, all Pontifically habited, and carrying a many Banners, Images, and old Books open, came out of the Church, which is on the right hand of the ſecond Court, while the Great Duke came out on the left hand of the ſame Court, accompany'd by his Councellours of State, *Knez*, and *Bojares*. The Great Duke and the Patriarch advanc'd one towards the other, and kiſs'd, the Duke having his Cap in his hand; and the Patriarch, who had a Mitre on his head, held in his hand a Golden Croſs, about a foot long, beſet with Diamonds and other precious ſtones, which he preſented to the Great Duke to kiſs. That done, the Patriarch gave his Majeſty his Benediction, as alſo to all the people, wiſhing them all proſperity in the New year. There were many *Muſcovitis* who held their Petitions in the air, and, their way of preſenting them to the Great Duke, was, to caſt them with no ſmall noiſe at his feet, whence certain Officers gather'd them up, to be carried to his Majeſties chamber, that they might be anſwer'd. This done, the Proceſſions parted, and return'd to the place from whence they came.

Sept. 3. *Gillenſtiern*, *Bureus*, and *Spiring*, who were to Negotiate joyntly with us concerning the Paſſage into *Perſia*, were conducted to their publick audience, with the ſame Ceremonies as we had been, while the two other *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors, Mr. *Philip Scheiding*, and Col. *Henry Fleming* were to treat in private, of the difference which were between the Crown of *Sueden* and the Great Duke. The Three former deſired in their audience to be receiv'd joyntly with us, to treat with thoſe whom it ſhould pleaſe his Majeſty to appoint for that purpoſe: which was granted.

Hereupon, all the Ambaſſadors, as well the *Swediſh* as ours, went the 5th to the Caſtle. They were at firſt conducted into a ſpacious appartment, on the left hand, where they found the ſame *Goſes*, or Merchants, and in the ſame habits, as we had ſeen at our firſt Audience. Thence they went into a Hall, where the four Commiſſioners appointed to treat with us, were ſate at a Table expecting us. They were, two *Bojares*, and two Chancellors, or Secretaries

of

of State, very richly clad, having Coats of ſtript Satin, embroidered with very great Perls and other precious ſtones, and great Golden Chains which made a Croſs upon their breaſts. The *Bojares* had Caps, after the faſhion of calotts, beſet with Perls, having in the midſt a cluſtre of Diamonds and precious Stones. The other two had their Caps of black-fox fur, according to the ordinary faſhion. They receiv'd the Ambaſſadors very civilly, and intreated them to ſit down by them; but with all their civility they took up the beſt places themſelves, at one corner of the Hall, where the benches joyn'd. The Ambaſſadors took up theirs neer them againſt the Wall; and there was brought a ſeat without any back, for the Chancellors or Secretaries of State, oppoſite to the others. *John Helmes*, the Great Duke's chief Interpreter, ſtood among our *Priſtafs*, and all the Gentlemen, with all the reſt of our retinue, ſtay'd in the Antichamber, except only the two Secretaries of the *Swediſh* Ambaſſy and ours, as many Interpreters, and a *Muſcovite* Clark, who was taken in to take notes of what was treated of. All having taken their places, one of the *Bojares* ask'd the Ambaſſadors, whether they were ſupply'd with neceſſary proviſions, or wanted any thing? The Ambaſſadors made anſwer, that they had occaſion rather to commend thoſe who had the management thereof, and that they gave his Majeſty their moſt humble thanks for his care of them. After this complement, all riſe up, and being uncover'd, the more conſiderable of the two *Bojares*, ſaid, *The Grand Seigneur Czaar and Great Duke* (reciting all his Titles, and being all ſat down again, he went on) gives you to underſtand, you Lords Ambaſſadors from the Crown of *Sueden*, and Duke of *Holſtein*, that he hath caus'd your Letters to be tranſlated into the *Muſcovian* Language, and that he hath alſo hearkned to the Propoſitions you made to him, at the publick audience he gave you. Upon that they all roſe again, and the other *Bojare*, uncovering himſelf, ſaid, *The Grand Seigneur, Czaar and Great Duke*, &c. (not omitting any of the former titles, and ſo ſitting down, continued) wiſhes the Queen of *Sueden* and the Duke of *Holſtein* all proſperity, and victory over their Enemies, and tells you, that he hath read their Letters, and that he well underſtands their intention. The third Commiſſioner proceeded with the ſame Ceremonies, ſaying, *The Grand Seigneur*, &c. hath ſeen the Letters you have brought him, is ſatisfy'd, that all credence is to be given you in what you ſhall ſay and propoſe, which ſhall accordingly be done. To which the fourth added, That his Majeſty, the *Czaar*, had appointed them Commiſſioners, to receive from them, what they had to propoſe and deſire; and thereupon read the names of the Commiſſioners, who were: 1634.

Knez Boris Michaelouits, Likow Obolenſcoi, Weywode of *Tuere*
Knez Vaſili Juanouits Streſnow, Weywode of *Tarſchock*.
The two Secretaries of State, whom they call *Dumnoi Diaken*, were,
Juan Taraſcouits Grammatin, Lord Keeper of the Seals or Chancellor, &c.
Juan Offonaſſiowſin Gauaarenow, Vicechancellor.

This done, they all riſe, and one of the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors, *Eric Gillenſtierna*, having given his Majeſty thanks on the behalf of his Miſtriſs, for their admiſſion to a private audience, read to the Commiſſioners their propoſition, contained in one ſheet of paper, written in the the *German* tongue. We would have done the like with ours; but being larger than the other, to forbear importuning the Commiſſioners, we thought it enough to put it in with that of the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors. The Commiſſioners, having receiv'd them, went up to the Great Duke's Chamber, to communicate them to him, leaving us alone, ſave that the *Priſtafs* and Gentlemen of our retinue were permitted to come into the room to entertain us. Having expected a good half-hour, the Vice-chancellor came down to tell us, that we ſhould have no other anſwer at that time, than that his Majeſty would cauſe the propoſitions to be tranſlated, and would let us know his reſolution with the ſooneſt.

Sept. 10. The *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors had their laſt private audience, as to what concern'd the affairs of that Crown.

The 12. We ſaw a Cavalcade of three *Tartarian* Ambaſſadors, ſent by the Prince of *Caſſan*, a Vaſſal of the Great Duke's. They had no other retinue or company than that of ſixteen ſervants, who follow'd them, with their Bows and Arrows in their hands. Their Caſſocks, were of a very coarſe red cloath; but at their return from audience, they were in Damask coats, ſome red, ſome yellow, which the Great Duke had beſtow'd on them by way of preſent. There hardly paſſes a year, but theſe Gentlemen, as well as the other Tartars their Neighbours, ſend ſuch an Ambaſſy to *Moſcou*; not ſo much for any buſineſs they have, as to get ſome Furs, Martins skins, and ſilk Veſtments. *A Tartarian Cavalcade.*

The 15. Our *Priſtafs* came to tell us, that the Great Dutcheſs was, the day before, deliver'd of a Daughter, who was already Chriſtned, and nam'd *Sophia*, according to the cuſtom of the *Muſcovites*, who baptize their Children immediately after their birth, and without any Ceremonies or entertainments, as they do in other Countreys. The Patriarch was her Godfather, as he had been to all the reſt of the Great Duke's Children, who would nevertheleſs have

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1634. have us to participate of that joy, upon which accompt, our ordinary allowance was doubled.

The entrance of a Turkiſh Ambaſſador.

The 17. Came in a *Turkiſh* Ambaſſador, who was receiv'd with great Ceremonies; and though they ſent 16000 Horſe to meet him, yet in all that Army there were ſeen but ſix Colours. The firſt, which was that of the Duke's Guard, was of white Satin, and had in the midſt, within a circle of Laurel, an Imperial Eagle with a triple *Crown*, with this Motto, *Virtute ſupero.* One of Crimſon Damask branch'd, having in the midſt a *Janus* with two faces. One of a plain red Damask; and the other three, blew and white, whereof one had a Gryffon, another, a Snail; the third, a naked Arm coming out of the *Clouds*, and holding a ſword. 'Tis thought theſe were the deviſes of the *German* Officers, during the War at *Smolenſco.* Every *Colours* was attended by Timbrels and Hautbois, but the white had ſix Trumpets, which made a wretched inharmonious noiſe. The *Knez* and Lords that were ſent to meet this Ambaſſadors, were excellently well mounted, upon Horſes that came out of *Perſia, Poland,* and *Germany*, very richly ſet out, having with them out of the Great Dukes Stable, twenty led Horſes, with great ſilver *Chains* inſtead of Bridles, ſuch as we have mention'd before.

We, with the Gentlemen and Officers of the *Sueditſh* Officers retinue, made up a Troop of fifty Horſe, under the command of *Wolfwolf Spar*, Gentleman of the Horſe to the *Sueditſh* Embaſſy, who, as our *Captain*, march'd in the head of the Troop. We went a good league to meet the Ambaſſador, who no ſooner perceiv'd us, but he look'd very earneſtly upon us, and we upon him. We kept along with him a good while, to take the better notice of his retinue, and *Cavalcade*, which march'd in the order following.

Firſt, march'd 46 Strelits, having, inſtead of Muskets, Bows and Arrows, and *Cimitars* by their ſides. After them came a *Priſtaf* clad in a *Coat* of Brocado, and follow'd by eleven Men, clad in Red Branched Velvet, whereof ſome were *Grecian* and *Turkiſh* Merchants, ſome *Greek* Eccleſiaſticks. After them march'd the Ambaſſador's Steward, alone, and behind him a Guard of four, with Bows and Arrows. After them two *Cavalliers* very richly clad, immediately preceding the Ambaſſador, who march'd alone. He was a middle-ſtatur'd Man, much tann'd in the face, his Beard very black: His under-coat was of a White-Flowr'd Satin, and his upper Garment of Satin purfled with Gold, lined with Martins-skins. His Turbant was white, as were alſo thoſe of his retinue. He was in a ſorry Wagon, of a white kind of Wood, but all cover'd with rich Tapeſtry. The reſt of his Train conſiſted in above forty Waggons of Baggage, which were every one kept by one or two Boys. Being come within a quarter of a league of the City, near, as he imagin'd, the place where the *Muſcovites* would receive him, he mounted an excellent *Arabian* Horſe. Nor indeed had he rode a Piſtol-ſhot, ere he met the two *Priſtafs* appointed for his reception, with the Great Duke's Horſes, according to the cuſtom. The *Priſtafs* continued on Horsback, till the Ambaſſador had alighted; but he, on the other ſide, ſtirr'd not his Turbant, though the *Muſcovites* took off their Caps, when they pronounc'd the Great Duks name.

After this firſt Complement, the *Priſtafs* immediately mounted; the Ambaſſadour did what he could to be in the Saddle as ſoon as they, or ſooner; but they had brought him a very high Horſe (with a Saddle yet much higher, according to the *Muſcovian* faſhion) and ſo skittiſh withal, that he not only found ſome difficulty to get up, but very narrowly ſcap'd being hurt by him. Being got up, the *Priſtafs* took him between them, and conducted him to the ordinary place for the entertainment of Ambaſſadors, which had been built up ſince our coming thither. As ſoon as he was got in, the doors were ſhut, and ſeveral Guards of Musketiers plac'd about it.

Our Ambaſſadors intended to have gone that day to thoſe of *Sueden*, who had invited them to dinner, to ſhew them the *Turks*, who were lodg'd near them, the *Suedes* having a proſpect into their *Court*: but the *Chancellor* ſent to deſire us not to ſtir abroad that day, for reaſons he could not diſcover.

The 19. We had the ſecond private Audience with the *Sueditſh* Ambaſſadors.

The Turkiſh Ambaſſadors firſt audience.

The 23. The *Turkiſh* Ambaſſadour had his firſt publick Audience, to which he went in this order.

In the Front march'd 20 *Coſaques*, mounted on white Horſes, out of the *Great* Duke's ſtables: after them, the *Turkiſh* and *Greek* Merchants; and then the Preſents, *viz.*

Twenty pieces of Satin ſtript with *Gold*, carried by ſo many *Muſcovites*, who march'd all in a file.

A *Golden Croſs*, about a fingers length, beſet with ſeveral large Diamonds, carried by a *Muſcovite* in a Baſin.

A Veſſel of Rock-*Chryſtal*, adorn'd with *Gold*, and enrich'd with precious Stones.

A Belt or *Girdle* for a *Cimitar*, enrich'd with *Gold*, and beſet with precious Stones.

A Pearl of great bigneſs, laid on a piece of water'd Taffata, in a Baſin.

Harneſs for two Horſes, embroider'd with Gold, and ſet with Pearls.

A very fair Diamond-ring, in a Basin. 1634.
A Ruby, as big as a Crown piece of Silver, enchac'd in Gold, in a Basin.
A very fair Battel-Ax, which they call *Bulaf*, form'd like a Scepter.

After the Presents march'd eight *Turks*, two a-breast, and after them, two very handsome young men, carrying upon great pieces of silk, the Credential Letters, which though folded, were yet at least half an ell wide. The *Greek* Ecclesiasticks were not in the Cavalcade, but had their Audience by themselves the 28. following. Two *Muscovy* Priests went to them at their Lodgings, and conducted them to the Castle, where they met a great number of Priests, who accompany'd them to their audience. Their presents were;

Six Basins with Relicks, or a parcel of Bones, whereof some were gilt.
Linings for a Priest's Cope, embroider'd with Gold and Perls.
A Head-stall for a Horse, beset with precious Stones.
Two pieces of Satin purfled with Gold.
One Priest's Cope.
One piece of silver'd Taby, with flowers of Gold.

The *Greeks* march'd after the Presents, clad in Violet Chamlet, and had a Cross carried before them.

Our Ambassadors had also Letters from the Elector of *Saxony* to the Great Duke, and thought fit to deliver them at a Publick Audience, for which was appointed St. *Michael*'s day, *Sept.* 29. We went in the same order as the time before, and the Letters were carried M. *Uchterits* upon black and yellow *Taffata*, which are the Elector's Colours. The Great Duke receiv'd them with much kindness, enquir'd after the health of his Electoral Highness, and commanded we should once more be furnish'd with meat from his own Table; which indeed was brought us, not ready dress'd as the former, but we were left to order it as we would our selves.

October 1. the *Muscovites* keep as one of their most solemn Festivals, or *Prasnick*: the Ceremonies, these. The Great Duke attended by the whole Court, and the Patriarch, accompany'd by all the Clergy, went in Procession to the Church which is in the outer Court of the Castle, called by the *Muscovites*, that of the *Blessed Trinity*, by the *Germans*, *Jerusalem*. But before they went into it, they turn'd aside to a place balcony'd about much after the form of a Theatre, on the right hand as you go to the Church, neer which place are two great pieces of Canon, whereof the bore is at least half an ell diameter. The Great Duke and the Patriarch, being got into it, not admitting any other, the Patriarch presented to his Majesty an Image painted upon a piece of past-board, which folded as it had been a book, enrich'd with silver in the middle, and at the four corners, to which Image the *Czaar* made a most low reverence, and touch'd it with his fore-head, the Priests in the mean time muttering over their Prayers. Which done, the Patriarch approaching the Great Duke again, presented him, to kiss it, a Golden Cross, of about a foot length, beset with Diamonds. He also touch'd his forehead and temples with it: whereupon they all went into the Church, where they concluded the service. OCTOB. *A Muscovian Festival.*

The *Greeks* that came along with the *Turkish* Ambassador, went in also, by a priviledge particular to them, of all Christians, whom the *Muscovites* suffer not to enter their Churches; but they permit the *Greeks*, as such as profess the same Religion with them.

Octob. 8. we had our third private Audience, with the *Swedish* Ambassadors, and were above two hours in conference with the Great Duke's Ministers.

The 12. the Great Duke went on Pilgrimage, to a Church half a league from the City. He rode alone on horseback, with a whip in his hand, and was follow'd by above 1000. horse. The *Knez* and *Bojares* who attended him, march'd ten a-breast, which made a noble show, and expres's'd the greatness of the Prince. The Great Dutchess, with the young Prince and Princess, followed them in a large Chariot, all of Joyners work, cover'd with Scarlet, the curtains of yellow Taffata, drawn by sixteen white horses. After the Dutchesse's, the Court-Ladies were carried in 22. other Chariots, of wood, painted green, covered with Scarlet, the curtains drawn close, so that those within could not be seen. I had the happiness, the wind having blown those of the Great Dutchess, a little on one side, to have a glimps of her, and I thought her very handsome, and very richly clad. On both sides march'd above a hundred *Strelits*, having white staves in their hands, to keep off the people, who were thronging to bless their Princess, for whom the *Muscovites* have a particular respect and devotion. *The Great Duke goes a Pilgrimage.*

The 23. we had, with the *Swedish* Ambassadors, our fourth private Audience, wherein we concluded our Negotiation, The 28. the *Swedish* had their last publick Audience in order to their departure, returning from which, they caus'd the Answer to their Letters, to be carried by two Gentlemen. The 7. and 10. of *November* they departed from *Mosco*, in three troops, some taking the way of *Livonia*, others that of *Sweden*.

Nov. 19. we had our fifth and last private Audience, at which it was told us, that his *Czaarick* Majesty, having taken our propositions into serious consideration, had at last resolv'd to gratifie his Highness the Duke of *Holstein*, as his Friend, Uncle, and Ally, as to NOVEM.

1634. what he had desir'd of him, and to grant him, what he had deny'd many other Princes and Potentates of *Europe*, to wit, a passage through *Muscovy* to go into *Persia*, and that his Ambassadors might go thither, but with this proviso, that they should first return back to *Holstein*, and bring him the ratification of the present Treaty.

The Great Duke grants the Ambassadors a passage through his Country.

Having so happily, though with much difficulty, perfected our negotiation, we thought it not amiss, to divert our selves, for some days, among our friends; as we did at the Christening of a Child of the Residents of *Sueden*, at a feast which Dr. *Wendelin* made, at the marriage of a Kinsman of his, and at the magnificent entertainment which *David Ruts*, one of the chiefest Dutch Merchants there, gave us at his own house.

The 22. The *Muscovites* made a solemn Procession to a Church, near the ordinary place where the Ambassadors are entertain'd, at which the Great Duke and the Patriarch were present. There was a passage made with Deal-boards, from the Castle to the Church, along which came first several pedling Merchants, who sold wax Candles; after them, some that swept the passage and kept it clean. The Procession was thus.

First, went a man carrying an Ewer, and a Napkin.
Three men carrying Banners, like Cornet's Colours, half Red, half White.
Sixty one Priests, in their Copes.
Four Cherubins carried upon long poles.
A man carrying a Lantern at the top of a long pole.
Forty Priests.
Eight Priests, carrying a great Cross, fasten'd in a great piece of timber, double-cross'd.
A hundred Priests and Monks, carrying every one a painted Image.
A great Image cover'd, carried by two men.
Forty Priests.
A great Image, adorn'd with abundance of precious Stones, carried by three men.
Another lesser Image.
Four Priests singing.
Another Image.
A Cross of Diamonds, in a Basin.
Two men, carrying each a lighted Taper.

The Patriarch, in Pontificalibus, very richly clad, under a blew Canopy, and led by the Arms by two Men, having behind, and on one side of him, about fifty Priests and Monks.

The Great Duke under a red Canopy, supported by two Lords of his Counsel, and attended by his *Knez* and *Bojares*.

The Great Duke's Chair of State, of red Velvet, carried by two men.
The Great Duke's Horse.
His Sledge, drawn by two white Horses.

This Procession was occasion'd upon the finding of an Image of our Lady's in a certain place, where, since, there is a Church built.

A Cavalcade of Crim-Tartars.

December 12. We saw a Cavalcade of seventy two *Crim-Tartars*, who all took the quality of *Ambassadors*, and were going to have Audience, which the Great Duke gave them, and whereat he had the patience to endure them for the space of three hours. Being come into the Hall of Audience, some sate on the ground, others lay along, and there was given every one a Gobelet of Hydromel; to the two Chief of the Embassy, Garments of Brocado, to others of Scarlet, and to the most inconsiderable among them, Cloaths of some more common Stuff, with some Furrs, and Caps of Martins-skins, which they had upon their other cloaths, as they return'd from Audience. 'Tis a Nation absolutely barbarous and dreadful to look on. Though they are at a great distance from *Muscou*, towards the South, yet they do the Great Duke abundance of mischief by their incursions, and the robberies they incessantly commit upon his Subjects. The *Czaar*, *Fædor Juanouits*, the present Great Duke's Father, endeavour'd to prevent their incursions, by causing the Woods to be cut down, and by means of a Causway and a Moat, which he had caus'd to be drawn a hundred leagues together, to hinder their entrance into his Country: but they never rested till they had pull'd down one, and fill'd the other; so that, to keep them at home, the Great Duke is oblig'd from time to time, to suffer these Embassies, the design whereof is only to get Presents, whereof the expence would not trouble the Great Duke, if they would keep the Barbarians quiet, but they continue in peace but till they perceive they can make any advantage by the breach of it.

The Ambassadors have their last Audience.

The 16. we had Audience, in order to our departure, to which we were conducted with the same Pomp and Ceremonies as to the first, save that by reason of the Ice and Snow, which hinder great Lords to make use of horses, they sent us two sumptuous Sledges, whereof one was lin'd with a Crimson water'd Satin, the other, with Damask of the same colour. There were within them some white Bears-skins, and over head rich *Turkie* Tapistry, to serve for a cover-

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ing. The Buckles of the Harneſs were cover'd of all ſides with Fox-tailes, which is the richeſt Ornament, that the Great Lords, nay indeed the Great Duke himſelf, can make uſe of. The *Priſtafs* had each his Sledge, and went on the right hand of the Ambaſſadors. At our alighting, we were receiv'd by two *Bojares*, after the accuſtomed manner. As ſoon as the Ambaſſadors were come into the Great Duke's preſence, and that the Chancellor had given him an account of their health, a ſeat was brought, and they were intreated to ſit down. Whereupon the Chancellor ſaid, *The Grand Seigneur, Czaar, and Great Duke*, Michael Federouits, *Conſervator of all the Ruſſes, &c.* tells you the Lords Ambaſſadors, that his Highneſs, Duke *Frederick* of *Holſtein*, having ſent you to his *Czaarick* Majeſty with the Letters which he hath received, he hath, upon your intreaty, caus'd your propoſitions to be communicated unto and examined by his *Bojares* and Counſellors, *Knez Boris Michaelouits Lukou, Vaſili Juanouits Strenou*; and the *Dumnoi, Diakan, Juan Taraſſouits*, and *Juan Ganarenow*, upon which all ſides are agreed to a Treaty which you have ſigned. His Majeſty hath alſo received the Letters you brought him from *John-George*, Elector of *Saxony*, the contents whereof he hath alſo conſidered. You ſhall immediately receive his Majeſties anſwer, both to Duke *Frederick*, of *Holſtein*, and to the Elector *John-George*. Whererpon he deliver'd them the Letters before the Great Duke's Chair, and the Ambaſſadors having receiv'd them with much reſpect, the Great Duke ſaid, *When the Ambaſſadors ſhall have arriv'd at the Court of the moſt Serene* John-George, *Elector of* Saxony, *and his Highneſs, Duke* Frederick *of* Holſtein, *they will ſalute them from me.* Which done, they were told by the Chancellor, that his Majeſty was pleas'd to grant the Ambaſſadors, and Gentlemen, and Officers of their retinue, the favour of kiſſing his hand once more. 1634.

That done, they told us, we ſhould have meat ſent from the Great Duke's own Table. The Ambaſſadors gave the *Czaar* thanks for all the favours they had receiv'd from him, wiſhing his Majeſty long life and a happy Government, and, to the whole houſe of the *Czaar* all proſperity. Having taken their leaves, they return'd to their quarters. About an hour after, the meat from the Great Duke's Table was brought, in forty ſix diſhes, moſt fiſh, boyl'd, broyl'd, and fry'd in Oyl, ſome Sallets and Paſtry; but no fleſh, by reaſon of the Faſt which the *Muſcovites* very rigorouſly obſerve before Chriſtmas. *Knez Juan Wolf*, came along with them, to treat us, with the ſame ceremonies as we were treated with at our firſt publick audience. After Dinner, we were viſited by the Groom of the Stables, the Butler, and the Pourveyer, who came to demand their Preſents. The *Knez*, the Groom, and the Butler, had each of them a drinking Cup of Vermilion-gilt. The reſt, who were about ſixteen, had beſtow'd among them 32. Roubles, which amount to about 64. French Crowns.

The next day, the two *Priſtafs*, accompany'd by their Interpreters, *John Helmes*, and *Andrew Angler*, of whom the former had ſerv'd us in our Negotiation, with the Great Duke and the *Bojares*, the other, in our private affairs, came to ask us how many Horſes we ſhould ſtand in need of for our return. We demanded 80. and preſented each of them with a large drinking Cup, of Vermilion-gilt. We did the like to the chief Secretary of the Chancery, and ſome of the great Lords.

The 21. Our *Priſtafs* preſented to us another *Priſtaf*, named *Bogidan Tzergenits Gomodof*, who had orders to conduct us to the Frontiers of *Sueden*.

The next day were brought us the Horſes appointed for our journey, and at the ſame time came, with one of our *Priſtafs*, the Lord Treaſurers Secretary, accompany'd by 12. *Muſcovites*, loaden with Martins-skins, to be preſented, from the Great Duke, to the Ambaſſadors, and thoſe of their retinue. The Ambaſſadors had for their ſhares eleven Zimmers (every Zimmer makes twenty pair) of the beſt kind of Sables; The Officers, Gentlemen, Pages, Harbinger, the Clerk of the Kitchin, and the Maſter of the Wagons, had each a Zimmer of Martins-skins. The reſt had ſome two, ſome but one pair. We gave the Secretary a drinking Cup, of Vermilion-gilt, and to the reſt 30 Crowns. The Great Duke ſent alſo to tell us, that if we would make a little longer ſtay at *Moſcou*, by reaſon of the approaching Feſtivals of Chriſtmas, and the cold weather, which indeed was to extremity, he ſhould take it kindly, and, though we had our diſpatches, yet ſhould we be furniſh'd with the ordinary proviſions; but the deſire we had to return into *Germany*, would not permit us to accept of his favour, ſo that we put all things in readineſs for our journey. To that end, we bought Sledges, that we might travel with more convenience; they ſtanding us in but three or four Crowns apiece. But in regard we were to travel into *Perſia*, having obtain'd the Great Dukes permiſſion to do it, it was thought fit, that *Michael Cordes*, with ſix other perſons of our retinue, ſhould be ſent to *Niſa*, which is a hundred Leagues from *Moſcou*, there to order the building of ſuch ſhips as we ſhould ſtand in need of, as well upon the River *Wolga*, as the *Caſpian* Sea. *The Czaar's preſent.*

Decemb. 24. Was the day of our departure from *Moſcou*, in order to our return. The two *Priſtafs* came about noon, accompany'd by a certain number of Musketiers, who had brought with them thoſe two Sledges, which we had made uſe of at our laſt audience, and conducted us in very good order a quarter of a League from the City; where we took leave of them, as alſo of thoſe friends who had brought us ſo far on our way.

1634. That day, and the night following, we made 90 Werſtes, or eighteen *German* Leagues, to a Village named *Klin*, where the next day we had a Sermon, it being Chriſtmas day. In the afternoon, we parted thence, and kept on our way all night, ſo that the next day in the morning, *Decemb* 26. we arriv'd at *Tuere*, where we took freſh Horſes, with which departing that night, we came the next day to *Tarſock*. Four days after, viz. *Decemb.* 31. which was the 7th. after our departure from *Moſcou*, we came to the City of *Novogorod*, which is diſtant from the other 120 *German* Leagues. Which is not to be much wondred at, for that *Muſcovy* is a plain Country, and during the cold weather, many times the Horſes travel upon the Snow ten or twelve *German* Leagues together without ever drawing bit.

Klin. Tuere. Tarſock. Novogorod.

1635. *January* 1. 1635. After Prayers and Sermon, we left *Novogorod*, and got forwards 36 Werſtes, or ſeven Leagues, to *Mokriza*. The 2. We came to *Tuerin*, ſix leagues and a half. The 3. to *Orlin*, ſix Leagues; the 4. to *Sariza*, 8 Leagues; and the night following we made four Leagues, to *Lihenhagen*, belonging to Dame *Mary Stop*, the Relict of *John Muller*, who, living, had been Agent from *Sueden*, in *Muſcovy*. We were very well treated there; and the next day we got ſeven Leagues, and came to *Narva*.

JANUARY. Mokriza. Tuerin. Orlin. Sariza. Lihenhagen. Narva.

The 6. We ſent away our baggage. The Ambaſſadors follow'd the next day, and three days after, *viz.* the 10. we came to *Reuel*, whence we ſtirr'd not for the ſpace of three weeks. But conſidering at laſt, that the *Baltick* Sea was not Navigable that time of the year, and being withal unwilling to ſtay there the reſt of the Winter, we conceiv'd it would be our beſt courſe to be gone thence with the ſooneſt, and to proſecute our journey by Land, through *Pruſſia*, *Pomerania*, and *Mecklenbourg*.

Reuel.

The Ambaſſadors left *Reuel Jan.* 30. having tabled moſt of their retinue with Mr. *Henry Koſen*, and with a retinue of ten perſons, took their way to *Riga* The two firſt nights we paſs'd over at *Kegel*, a houſe belonging to *John Muller*, Counſellor of the City of *Reuel*, my Father-in-law; where we were very well entertain'd.

Feb. 2. we came to *Parnau*, at which place God was pleaſed to favour me with a great deliverance, which was thus; diſcharging their Canon at our entrance, the Tampion, which they had forgotten to take out of one of the pieces, paſs'd very near me, and ſtruck againſt the wall of the City Gate, where it broke, the ſplinters of it flying about my head with ſuch violence, that, being ſtunn'd thereby, it was half an hour ere I recover'd my ſelf.

FEBRUARY.

The City of *Parnau* is but a ſmall one, but hath a good Caſtle, built of wood, and after the *Muſcovian* fortification; to which the Houſes, the Gates, and the Churches are ſuitable. It is ſeated upon the little River of *Parnau* or *Parnou*, which gives it the name, and which riſing out of the great Forreſt near the little River *Beca* and the Caſtle of *Weiſſenſtein*, and receiving in its paſſage the waters of the Rivers *Fela* and *Pernkeia*, diſembogues it ſelf into the *Baltick* Sea, near this City, which is divided into two parts, the Old and the New. 'Tis numbred among the Hanſeatick Towns, though it hath not in a manner any other Commerce than that of Wheat. *Eric*, K. of *Sueden*, took it from the *Poles*, in the year 1562. but they recovered it again by ſtratagem, in the year 1565. The *Muſcovites* became Maſters of it *July* 9. 1575. but it was re-united to the Crown of *Poland*, with the reſt of *Livonia*, by the Treaty of Peace made between that Crown and the Great Duke. In the year 1617. the *Suedes* took it, and have kept it ever ſince.

The Deſcription of Parnau.

We met there with the Counteſs Dowager *La Tour*, named *Magdalene*, of the houſe of *Hardek*, in *Auſtria*. The Ambaſſadors ſent me, with two more of our retinue to complement her, and to make proffers of ſervice to her in their names. She took it ſo kindly, that not content to make us drink his Highneſſe's health three times over, ſhe forc'd us to take the bowls out of her own hands, and in the mean time entertain'd us with much excellent diſcourſe, in commendation of his Highneſs and that Embaſſy; as alſo concerning the manners and Religion of the *Muſcovites*, with a ſweetneſs and gravity which cannot well be expreſs'd. She would needs have the young Counts, *Chriſtian*, and *Henry*, her ſons, go to the Inn where the Ambaſſadors were Lodg'd, to complement them; which the young Lords perform'd handſomly; and to heighten their civility, they alſo ſtay'd Supper with them.

The next day, the Counteſs ſent us all manner of Proviſions, and Letters for Count *Mathew Henry de la Tour*, her father-in-law. She ſent alſo to deſire the Ambaſſadors to recommend her ſons to his Highneſs, and to aſſure him of their ſervices, when they ſhould be of an age, and in a capacity to do him any. As we were getting on horſ-back, our Hoſt ſhew'd himſelf an honeſt man, and refus'd to take our money, telling us, the Counteſs had ſent in moſt of the Proviſions for the Ambaſſadors Supper, and that the reſt was not worth the reckoning: ſo that to requite his ſincerity we gave him twenty Crowns. But we were not got a League off the City, ere we were overtaken by a man he had ſent, to return us our money, and to tell us the Preſent was too ſmall, in requital of the trouble we had given him. We ſent back our Harbinger, with the Meſſenger, who gave the Hoſt twelve Crowns more, wherewith he ſeem'd to be ſatisfy'd.

The

The 6. We enter'd *Riga*. The next day, the Governour visited the Ambassadors, and the 10. he made a great Feast for them, to which he invited the chiefest of the City. Some days following were also spent in Feasting, among some or other of our friends. 1635. *The Ambassadors come to* Riga.

Febr. 13. The Ambassadors left *Riga*, having in their Company a certain Ambassador of *France*, who was called *Charles de Tallerand*, and assum'd the quality of Marquess of *Exidueil*, Prince of *Chalais*, Count of *Grignol*, Baron of *Marueil* and *Boswille*. *Lewis* xiii. King of *France* and *Navarre*, had sent him with *James Rousset* upon an Embassy into *Turky* and *Muscovy*. But *Rousset*, his Collegue, had done him such ill Offices with the Patriarch, that the Great Duke sent him to *Siberia*, where he continu'd three years a prisoner; till such time, as the malice and artifices of *Rousset*, who endeavour'd nothing so much as to inflame the differences between the Princes, being discover'd, he was set at liberty, after the Patriarch's death. During his restraint, his diversion had been to learn by heart the four first books of *Vergil*'s Æneids, which he had, as they say, *ad unguem*. He was a person of an excellent good humour, aged about 36. years.

We took our way through *Courland*, and came the 4. about noon to *Mittau*. This little City is situated in that part of *Courland*, which is called *Semgalles*, six Leagues from *Riga*, and it is the place where the Duke ordinarily resides. The Dutchy of *Courland* was some time part of *Livonia*, from which it is divided by the River *Dune*: but all this Province having been miserably ruin'd by the *Suedes* and *Muscovites*, and the Archbishop of *Riga* and the Master of the *Teutonick* Order having submitted to the Crown of *Poland*, with all they were still possess'd of there, *Sigismond Augustus*, King of *Poland*, rais'd *Courland* to a Dutchy, and gave it to *Godard Ketler*, of *Nesselrot*, last Master of the *Teutonick* Order in *Livonia*, to be held immediately from the Crown of *Poland*. *Godard* dies, *May* 17. 1587. leaving, by *Anne*, the Daughter of *Albert* Duke of *Meklenbourg*, two sons, *Frederick*, who died without issue, and *William*, who succeeded his brother in the Dutchy of *Courland*. This *William* having been dispossess'd by *Sigismond* III. and the States of *Poland*, was forc'd to live in Exile, till that, upon the mediation of several Foreign Princes, he was re-establish'd in the year 1619. During the first War between *Poland* and *Sueden*, the City of *Mittau* was taken by the *Suedes*, who fortifi'd it, and restor'd it not to the Duke of *Courland*, till oblig'd thereto by a Cessation agreed on between those two Crowns, in the year 1629. *James* (*William*'s son) who now hath the Dutchy, and assumes the quality of the Duke of *Courland*, *Livonia*, and *Semgalles*, is married to *Louise-Charlotte*, Daughter to *George-William*, Elector of *Brandenbourg*, and *Elizabeth-Charlotte*, of *Baviere*. It is not long since, that this Duke of *Courland*, having dispatch'd a Gentleman for *Moscou*, to manage some affairs there, the *Weywode* of *Tleslau* would not give him passage, and sent him word, that *Courland* being dependent on the Crown of *Poland*, could not have particular Agents and Ministers, but was to negotiate Affairs by means of the Ambassador, which the King his Master had at *Muscovy*. But this Prince hath been so fortunate, as, since this last War, to obtain the neutrality of all the neighbouring Princes, so that it is very likely, the Treaty to be agreed on between them will be such, as that he shall have no dependance on any of them. Mittau. *Courland made a Dutchy.*

At night we came to a Village, called *Doblen*, three Leagues from *Mittau*. The Innkeeper, who took us for Souldiers or Gypsies that were in distress for Lodging, made some difficulty to let us into his house: but at last he was perswaded, and lodg'd us. All we had to supper, was, hard Cheese, very brown Bread, and sour Beer. Doblen.

The 15. we travell'd 7. Leagues, and came to *Bador*, in *Poland*, where an antient Gentleman, who had sometime been a Captain of horse, named *John Amdod*, lodg'd us, and treated us extremely well, especially with all sorts of drinks, as *Lithuanian* Hydromel, excellent Sack, and good Beer, which made us spend some part of the night in carowsing: the Wine having the vertue of contracting a great friendship between the Ambassadors and him. The next day he gave us a very sumptuous entertainment, and the divertisement of Timbrells; and that all might be compleat, in the treatment, he would needs bring in his two Daughters, whom we had not seen the night before. He also presented the Ambassadors, one with a Fire-lock, the other with a Sword: and the Ambassadors gave him each of them a fair Watch. This breakfast, which lasted till the afternoon, hindred us so, that we could get but four Leagues that day, to *Hasshoff*, where we went to bed supperless. The 18. we travell'd six Leagues, to a Village called *Walzau*. Bador. Hasshof. Walzau.

The 19. we came to *Memel*, six Leagues from *Walzau*. 'Tis a pleasant little Town, at the entrance of the Gulf called the *Courishaf*, or Lake of *Courland*. The *Courlanders*, in their Jargon, call this Town *Cleupeda*, and *Cromerus*, in his History of *Poland*, calls it *Treipes*. The Castle belonging to it is pleasant, and well fortify'd, and its Haven very commodious. The River *Tange* compasses it round, and not far thence falls into the Gulf. It was built in the year 1250. and was at that time part of the revinue of *Livonia*. The Friers of the Order of *Livonia*, in the year 1328. sold this City to the Master of the Order of *Prussia*, and it is, with that Dutchy, come to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, who hath been possess'd of it, ever since the *Suedes* restor'd it, by vertue of a cessation of 26. years, which *France* got concluded, in the Memel.

year

1635. year 1635. between the Crowns of *Poland* and *Sueden*. The 20. we got upon the *Haf*, or Gulf of *Curland*, and din'd that day at *Snenzel*, three leagues from *Memel*, and lodg'd at *Bulcapen* five leagues from the ſaid *Memel*.

Swenzel. Bulcapen. Konings-berg.

The 21. we travel'd 8 leagues, and came to *Koningsberg* where, the ſnow beginning to fail us, we were forc'd to quit our Sledges. This city, called by the Polanders *Krolefsky*, is ſeated by the River *Pregel*, the chiefeſt of that part of *Pruſſia*, which is called the *Ducal*, becauſe it hath its Duke, or particular Prince, under the Soveraignty of the Crown of *Poland*. 'Tis a Production of the thirteenth age, in which the Knights of the *Teutonick* Order built it, and named it *Coningsberg*, or *Royal-mount*, in honour of *Primiſlas Ottocarus*, King of *Bohemia*, and in acknowledgement of the aſſiſtance he had brought them againſt the Heathens in thoſe parts. It is now much bigger than it was then, inaſmuch as, beſides the ſuburbs, which are very great, there was added in the year 1300. that part of the city which is called *Lebenicht*, and in the year 1380. that of *Kniphof*, both which have their ſeveral Magiſtrates, both as to policy and adminiſtration of Juſtice. The Palace owes its perfection to *George Fredrick*, of *Brandenburgh*, Duke of *Pruſſia*, who built it, about the later end of the laſt age. Among other remarkable things, there is a Hall, that hath no pillars, and yet is 274 Geometrical feet in length, and 59 in breadth; and a fair Library well furniſh'd with abundance of excellent Books; among which, in drawers full of Books adorn'd with ſilver, is to be ſeen, that which *Albert* of *Brandenbourg*, firſt Duke of *Pruſſia*, made and writ with his own hand, for the inſtruction of his Son, and goverment of the country, after his death. The Univerſity was founded by the ſame Prince, who made it his buſineſs to render this city one of the moſt conſiderable of all the North, The River *Pregel*, or *Chronus*, which riſes in *Lithuania*, and falls into the Gulf, called the *Friſhaf*, a league below the City, contributes very much to the improvement of its commerce; and the City is ſo populous, that many times there are ſeven or eight families in a houſe. They generally ſpeak the *German* language, though there are few Inhabitants but have alſo the *Poliſh*, with thoſe of *Lithuania* and *Courland*. There are brought thither, from *Poland* and *Lithuania*, Oak for Joyners work, Soap-aſhes, Wax, Honey, Hydromel, Leather, Furrs, Wheat, Rye, Flax, and Hemp; and the *Sueditſh*, *Dutch*, and *Engliſh* Ships, bring Iron, Lead, Tinn Cloath, Wine, Salt, Butter, Cheeſe, *&c.* We ſay nothing here of *Pruſſia*, out of a fear of making too great a digreſſion, and medling with ought relating to the Hiſtory of *Germany*, which hath nothing common with our Travells; but only, that the Crown of *Poland* hath quitted all pretenſion of Soveraignty over the Dutchy of *Pruſſia*, by the laſt treaty it made with his Electoral Highneſs of *Brandenbourg*.

Elbing.

We left *Coningsberg*, *Feb.* 24. and came the next day to *Elbing*, a City ſeated upon a River of the ſame name, between the Lake of *Drauſer*, and the *Friſhaf*, in the Royal, or Poliſh *Pruſſia*. It is not very big, but its ſtreets are ſtreight and ſpacious; and its fortifications, made by the late King of *Sueden*, during the laſt War of *Poland*, before his entrance into *Germany*, are very regular. If he who is Maſter of it, were alſo Commander of the Fort of *Pilau*, which the Elector of *Brandenburg* is poſſeſs'd of, at the entrance of the *Friſhaf*, it might be made a very conſiderable place for Commerce.

Dantſig.

The 27. we came to *Dantſig*, where we ſtaid 16 or 17 days, during which time, the Magiſtrates treated us with the ordinary Preſents of refreſhments, and the principal Inhabitants gave us ſeveral noble entertainments. The *Polanders* call this place *Gdansko*, whence comes the modern *Latine* word *Gedanum*. It is not very antient, and yet it cannot be certainly affirm'd whether it was built by the Dukes of *Pomerania*, or by the *Danes*, ſince it ſeems to have its name from the later. It was a long time poſſeſs'd by the Dukes of *Pomerania*, and afterwards by the Kings of *Poland*, and by the Maſters of the *Teutonick* Order in *Pruſſia*. In the year 1454 it redeem'd it ſelf out of ſubjection to the Order, and made a voluntary rendition of it ſelf to *Caſimir*, King of *Poland*. It is ſituated in *Caſſuba*, upon the *Viſtula*, and *Rodauna*, which they ſay is the *Eridanus* of the Antients (becauſe in that place there is found much yellow amber) and near the *Moſlava*, which falls into the *Viſtula*, a quarter of a league below the City. But the River is ſo ſhallow there, that great Ships cannot come up to the City: Towards the Weſt, it hath ſeveral mounts of ſand, which they were forc'd to bring within the fortifications, becauſe they commanded the city: though Canon cannot be diſcharg'd to any great purpoſe, when they ſhoot point-blank downwards, and that there would not have been ſpace enough between the mount and the ditch, to put forces in order, and to give an aſſault. Towards the South and North, it hath a pleaſant Plain, and on the Eaſt, the River. It is well built, but the ſtreets not over-clean. The publick Structures are magnificent, and thoſe of private perſons very commodious, and handſome. On the other ſide of the *Moſlava*, lies part of the Suburbs, called *Schotland*, or *Scotland*, as large as a pretty little City, but it depends not on the City of *Dantſig*, but on the Biſhop of *Cujavia*. It hath its ſeat and ſuffrage in the Diets of *Poland*, even in thoſe which are called for the election of the King. 'Tis one of the four Cities, which have the ſuperintendency of all the *Teutonick* Aſſociation, or *Hanſeatick* Towns, and hath ſo many other Privileges, that, though it contributes

tributes to *Poland*, and gives the King half the duties raiſed there, yet does it in a manner enjoy an abſolute freedome. There is ſo great a Commerce of Wheat in this City, that it is thought, there are ſold every year above ſeven hundred and thirty thouſand Tuns, whereof two make a Laſt. The Magiſtracy conſiſts of fourteen Senators, and four Burgomaſters; whereto are to be added the Governour, appointed by the King of *Poland*, ſome Eſcheuins, or Sheriffs, for civil and criminal cauſes, and a hundred Counſellors for affairs of importance. Criminal cauſes are finally judged, without admitting any appeal, as alſo Civil, not exceeding a thouſand Livers. It makes Statutes, and impoſes taxes upon the Inhabitants, according to the exigencies of publick Affairs, without ſtaying for any ſuperiour Permiſſion, and regulates the exerciſe of thoſe Religions that are permitted by the Laws of the Empire. 1635.

March 16. We left *Dantſig*, and came the 25 to *Stetin*, the chief City of *Pomerania*. It Stetin.
is at 53 deg. 27. min. latitude, and 38 d. 45. m. longitude, ſeated in a very pleaſant place, upon the deſcent of a Hill. The River *Oder* divides it ſelf there into four branches, whereof that which runs by the City keeps its name (the others taking thoſe of *Parnits*, and the greater and leſſer *Kegelitz*) and ſtraggles ſo, as that to come to the City from *Dam*-ſide, a man muſt paſs over ſix bridges, which, put together, are in length, 996 *German* ells, and 24 foot broad, and are all joyn'd by a noble Cauſey, well paved, and having in the middle a Royal Fort. The ſtructures of it are beautiful, and it is excellently well fortify'd, eſpecially ſince the *Suedes* became Maſters of it. *John Frederick* Duke of *Pomerania*, in the year 1575. laid the firſt foundations of the ſumptuous Palace which is there built after the Italian Architecture, with very noble appartements, where, before theſe laſt Warrs, there were worth the ſeeing, a noble Library, a Magazine of Arms, many rarities, and the rich Wardrop and Plate of the Dukes of *Pomerania*. 'Tis one of the *Hanſeatick* Towns, and enjoyes many great Privileges, among others, that of obliging ſtrangers to disburthen in the City all the Merchandiſes which paſs through it, what nature ſoever they are of: as alſo that the Gentlemen thereabouts cannot build any Caſtle or ſtrong place any way within three Leagues from it; nay, that the Dukes of *Pomerania* themſelves cannot build any Fort upon the *Oder*, or the *Suine*, or upon the *Friſhaf*, between that and the Sea. But this advantage is loſt by it's coming into the hands of the *Suedes*.

Mar. 29. being Eaſter-day, we came to *Roſtock*, a City ſeated on the River *Warne*, in the Roſtock.
Dutchy of *Meklenbourg*, where heretofore lived the people called the *Varini*. *Pribiſli* II. the ſon of *Niclot*, laſt Prince of the *Obotrites*, incompaſs'd it with a wall, in the year 1160. and made it a City out of the ruins of that of *Keſſin*, which *Henry le Lyon*, Duke of *Saxony*, had deſtroy'd. Its Port is not commodious, in regard Veſſels of burthen are forc'd to unload at *Warnemunde*, two Leagues below the City, at the mouth of the River. The City is handſome enough, having three great Market-places, 27 ſtreets, 14 little gates, and four great gates. Its Univerſity is one of the moſt antient in all *Germany*, and was founded, by *John* and *Albert*, Couſin-Germans, Dukes of *Mecklenbourg*, who, together with the Magiſtrate, opened it in the year 1419. Among its Profeſſors are many very great Perſons, of whom one was *Albert Crantz*, Rector of it in the year 1482. This City, having been taken by the Imperialiſts, in the year 1629. with all the reſt of the Dutchy of *Mecklenbourg*, the late King of *Sueden*, *Guſtavus Adolphus*, beſieg'd it in the year 1631. and took it the 16. of *Octob.* the ſame year.

The 30. of *March*, we left *Roſtock*, and came the ſame day to *Wiſmar*, ſeven Leagues. Thoſe Wiſmar.
who ſay this City was built by *Wiſmar*, King of the *Vandals* about the year 340. tell a fabulous ſtory, whereof the vanity is ſo much the more viſible, in that it is certain, that it was no City, till *Henry* of *Jeruſalem*, Duke of *Mecklenbourg*, made it ſuch, by the privileges he beſtow'd on it, in the year 1266. It is near as big as *Roſtock*, and its Port, which no doubt is one of the beſt upon the *Baltick* Sea, brings it very great Traffick. Its ſituation, being amidſt Fenns, and upon the Sea, is very advantageous, and its Citadel fortify'd with five regular Baſtions, makes it one of the moſt conſiderable places in all *Germany*. *Adolphus Frederick*, Duke of *Mecklenbourg*, and General *Todt*, took it, *Jan.* 10. 1632. from Colonel *Gramma*, who had the command of it, for the D. of *Fridland*; ever ſince which time the *Suedes* have kept it, as one of the moſt precious Jewels of their Crown.

The laſt of *March*, we came to the Caſtle of *Schonberg*, belonging to the Duke of *Mecklen-* Schonberg.
bourg, where ſome friends of our Comrade, *John Albert de Mandelſlo*, received us, and treated us very nobly. For my part, I am particularly oblig'd to acknowledge their kindneſs, for, being caſually ſhot in the arm with a piſtol by one of our company, I was forc'd to ſtay there two or three dayes, during which time I receiv'd very great civilities from them.

Apr. 1. the Ambaſſadors left *Schonberg*, but M. *Mandelſlo* and my ſelf ſtay'd two dayes after APRIL
them, and the third of *April* overtook them at *Lubeck*. This City is ſo well known, that I need not Lubeck.
give any particular deſcription of it, after ſo many other Authors that have written of it. Only I ſhall ſay, that it is ſituated between the Rivers of *Traue* and *Wagenits*, at 28. d. 20. m. longitude, and at 54. d. 48. m. latitude, two leagues from the *Baltick* Sea. Thoſe who have chiefly contributed

1635. buted to the building of it, were, *Adolphus* II. Count of *Holſtein*, *Henry le Lion*, Duke of *Saxony*, and *Henry* Biſhop of *Aldenbourg*. The Emperor *Frederick* I. re-united it to the Empire, and *Frederick* II. his Grand-Son, gave it ſome of thoſe Privileges, which it enjoyes to this day. It lies in the *Wagria*, at the entrance of the Country of *Holſtein*, and is very well fortify'd, according to the modern fortification, having, beſides the other advantages which it hath equally with the other Imperial Towns, that of the overſight of the *Teutonick* Aſſociation, whereof all the *Archivi* are kept in the Guild-Hall of this City. How conſiderable it is in the Empire, may be judg'd by the contributions it payes towards the charges of the journey to *Rome*, which amount to 21 horſemen, and 177 foot, and, reduc'd to money to 1980 Livers a month. As for its rank at the Diets, it hath a place alternatively with the city of *Wormes*. In this city the Peace between the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. and *Chriſtian* IV. King of *Denmark*, was concluded, in the year 1629. The Biſhoprick of *Wagria*, which was transferr'd from *Aldenbourg* to this city, is now poſſeſs'd by *John*, Duke of *Holſtein*, brother to *Frederick*, Duke of *Holſtein*, who lives at *Oitin*. Here alſo I eſcaped another great misfortune; as I alighted off my horſe, I fell upon my wounded arm, but ere I could get up again, *Mandelſlo*'s horſe, which was furious and skittiſh, ſtarting thereat, ſtood up on his hinder feet, and very narrowly miſs'd my head with his fore-feet. We travel'd on, in the Afternoon, and came that night to an Inn in
Arnsbock. the ſuburbs of *Arnsbock*. This little city, lying in *Wagria*, between *Lubeck* and *Pretz*, belonged heretofore to the *Carthuſians*; but now it is poſſeſs'd by *Joachim Erneſt*, Duke of *Holſtein*, by the branch of *Sonderborg*, who is married to *Dorothea Auguſta*, our Prince's Siſter. Upon which accompt it was that he ſent a coach and ſix horſes to bring us to the Caſtle, where the Ambaſſadors and ſome of the retinue ſupp'd at his own Table, and lay there the night following.

Pretz. The next day we broke our faſt at the Caſtle, which done, we were brought in the Duke's coach to our Inn, whence we continued our journey, and got the ſame day to *Pretz*, where there is a very rich and ſumptuous Monaſtery of young Ladies Nobly deſcended, who are maintain'd there, till they leave the place to embrace a married life.

Kiel. *April* 6. about noon, we came to *Kiel*, a city ſituated upon the *Baltick* Sea, and famous for a Fair kept there yearly at *Twelf*-tide, which brings thither all the Nobility about the coun-
Gottorp. try, and a very great number of Merchants. We got the ſame night to *Gottorp*, for which we are to give Almighty God our humble thanks; and the next day, the Ambaſſadors made a report of their negotiation. And ſo much by way of accompt of our firſt Voyage into *Muſcovy*.

THE

THE TRAVELS OF THE AMBASSADORS FROM THE DUKE of HOLSTEIN INTO MUSCOVY, and PERSIA.

The Second Book.

HIs Highneſs had no ſooner underſtood, that the Great Duke of *Muſcovy* had permitted his Ambaſſadors to paſs through his country, to go into *Perſia*, but all his thoughts were buſied about the proſecution of the ſecond Voyage, whereof the expence was incredible, which he gives order for, cauſing all neceſſary preparations to be made, and preſents to be ſought out worthy ſo great a Monarch. 1635. *Preparatives for the ſecond Voyage.*

He alſo augmented the Ambaſſadors retinue, and ordered, that, till the time of their departure, the Gentlemen, Officers, and Servants, ſhould be entertain'd at *Hambooough*, at the houſe of *Otton Brugman*, one of the Ambaſſadors; where they were very well treated, every one according to his condition and quality, the Trumpet always ſounding when the meat was carried up, which was alſo done all along the Voyage.

The retinue conſiſted of a Mareſhal, or Steward, a Secretary of the Embaſſy, four Gentlemen of the Chamber, and eight other Gentlemen for ordinary attendance, among whom were the Miniſter and interpreter, four Pages of the Chamber, four other Pages, four Grooms of the Chamber, four Maſicians, a Controler, a Harbinger, two Sumpter-men, an Overſeer of the Servants, two Trumpetters, two Watch-makers, eight Halbaldiers, who were of ſeveral profeſſions, as Bakers, Shoe-makers, Taylors, Smiths, Sadlers, &c. ten Laqueys, a Clark for the Kitchin, with two Head-cooks, and one Under-cook, a Maſter of the Waggons and his Servant, ten Servants belonging to the Gentlemen, an Interpreter for the *Muſcovian* Language, another for the *Perſian*, and a third for the *Turkiſh*. The Sumpter-men, the Muſicians, and the Trumpetters had alſo their boys, eight in number, beſides twelve other perſons for the ordering of things belonging to the Ship, and 30 Souldiers, and four *Muſcovian* Officers, with their Servants, whom we entertain'd into our ſervice in *Muſcovy*, with the Great Duke's permiſſion. *The Ambaſſadors retinue.*

All Summer, and ſome part of Autumn, were ſpent in preparation for this Voyage, inſomuch that we could not get from *Hamborough*, till the 21 of *October* 1635. The 24 we got to *Lubeck*, where we ſtaid two days, during which, our Baggage, and Horſes, which were 12. were embark'd at *Trauemunde*. The 27. we followed, and went aboard about noon, with all our people, into a new Ship, that had never been at Sea before. The wind ſerv'd as well as could be wiſh'd, to get out of the Harbour, and yet we met with ſuch a ſtrong current of water, that we could not avoid falling foul on two great Ships that were in the Port, between which we were ſo intangled, that we could not in three hours diſ-engage our ſelves. Which many *They embark.*

1635. among us took for an ill omen of the misfortune that happen'd to us some few dayes after.

Oct. 28. about five in the morning, after prayers said, we set sail with a West-South-West wind, which growing higher at noon, was at night heightned to a dreadful Tempest. It continu'd all night, during which, we discover'd, that our Mariners were as raw as the Ship was new, which had never seen the Sea till that time; and it was our continual fear that the Mast would slip out of its place, in as much as,the ropes,being new,stretch'd so,that they seem'd not to have any hold of it.

The 29. we found our selves to be on the Coasts of *Denmark*, which our Captain took for the Isle of *Bornholm*, and we perceived, that we had directed our course streight towards the Country of *Schonen*; so that if we had not at the break of day, discover'd Land, and found we were at 4. fathom water, which soon oblig'd us to alter our course, there had been an end of both us and our Ship. About 9. of the clock we discover'd the Island of *Bornholm*, and the wind being fair, made all the sail we could. But about ten at night, when we thought our selves most secure, and made accompt to rest our selves after the precedent night's toil, even, while *Brugman*, one of the Ambassadors, was charging the Master's Mate to be carefull, and the other answer'd, there was no danger, since we had Sea-room enough, the Ship, being then under all the sail she could make, struck against a Rock which was cover'd by the water. The shock made such a horrible noise, that it made all start up. The amazement we were in surpris'd us so, that there was not any one but might easily be perswaded, that the end of both his Voyage and Life were neer at hand.

The Ship strikes against a Rock.

At first we knew not where we were, and in regard the Moon was but newly chang'd, the night was so dark, that we could not see two paces from us, We put our Lantern at the Castle, and caus'd some Muskets to be discharg'd, to see if there were any help to be had neer us. But no body made answer, and the Ship beginning to lye on one side, our affliction began to turn into despair; so that most cast themselves on their knees, begging of God, with horrid cries, that he would send them that relief which they could not expect from men.

The Master himself wept most bitterly, and would meddle no further with the conduct of the Ship. The Physician and my self were sitting one close by the other, with a design to embrace one another, and to die together, as old and faithful friends, in case we should be wrack'd. Others took leave one of another, or made vows to God, which they afterwards so Religiously kept, that coming to *Reuel*, they made up a portion for a Poor, but Virtuous Maid, who was married there. The Ambassador *Crusius*'s Son mov'd most compassion. He was but 12. years of age, and he had cast himself upon the ground, importuning Heaven with incessant cries and lamentations, and saying, *Son of David have mercy on me*; whereto the Minister added, Lord, if thou wilt not hear us, be pleas'd to hear this Child, and consider the innocence of his age. At last God was so gracious as to preserve us, though the Ship struck several times, with great violence, against the Rock.

About one in the morning, we saw fire, whence we inferr'd that we were not far from Land. The Ambassadors commanded the Boat to be cast out, with design to get into it, with each of them a Servant, and to go streight towards the fire, to see if there were any means to save the rest: but no sooner had they thrown in two Cabinets, in which were the Credential Letters and some Jewels, ere it was full of water, which had almost occasion'd the loss of two of our people, who had leapt first into it, thinking to save themselves; in so much that they had much ado to get into the Ship ere the Boat sunk. We were forc'd to continue there the rest of that night, expecting to see a period of that danger.

At break of day we discover'd the Isle of *Oleand*, and saw the ruins of a *Danish* Ship, which had been cast away thereabouts a month before. The wind being somewhat abated, two Fishermen of the Isle came aboard us, and Landed the Ambassadors, having a very considerable reward for their pains, and after them, some of their retinue.

About noon, we found the two Cabinets, and when the Sea was a little calm'd, many people of the Isle came in to our relief, to get off our Ship from among those Rocks: but with this misfortune, that as they would have let down the Anchor, which they had carried in the Boat about a hundred paces from the Ship, the Boat over-turn'd, so that those in it were toss'd into the Sea. Our Masters Mate went immediately with one of the Isle boats to their relief; and in regard, as they were over-turn'd, some caught hold of the Boat, others of an Oar, or somewhat else, as also that the Wine they had drunk a little before, had somewhat heightned their Courage, we had the time to send twice to them, and to save all but our Carpenter, who was lost for want of having fasten'd on somewhat that might have kept him above water.

While they were getting off our Ship, the waters increas'd so, as that the wind, coming to the North-West, made our passage thence into the Sea the easier. Whither we were no sooner gotten, but the wind turn'd again to South-West, and brought us safely through the streight of *Calmer*, which is so much the more dangerous in that season of the year, in as much as the Sea thereabouts is full of Rocks, and that even in the Summer time, it is ill sailing there by reason of the banks of Sand. The Ship stay'd for the Ambassadors, at *Calmer*, whither they got by Land,

The streight of Calmer.

Land, upon the first of *November*, and came aboard neer an old ruin'd fort, called *Ferstat*. 1635.
Being come to *Calmer*, we sent back a Page and a Lacquey to *Gottorp*, to get other Credentials, the Sea-water having spoil'd those we had at first. It was there also taken into consideration, whether it were not our best course to take our way by Land, through *Sueden*, or prosecute our Voyage by Sea. The latter was resolv'd on; and that we might do it with the less danger, we laid out for a skilfull Master for the *Baltick* Sea; but there being none to be had, we took only two Pilots, who conducted us half a League through the Sand banks, till we were got into the main Sea. NOVEM.

The 3. we continu'd our course, and pass'd by a Rock called, the *Suedish Lady*, which we left on the lar-board. From *Calmer* thither are accounted eight Leagues.

About noon, we spy'd the Castle of *Bornholm*, in the Isle of *Oeland*. At night we doubled the point of the Isle, with such a Tempest from the North-East, that the fore-part of the Ship was more under water than above it, and ever and anon our sails were wash'd by the Waves.

Another misfortune was, that our Pump was out of order, in so much that till it could be made to do its Office, all the Kettles and other Vessels were little enough to empty out the water. This trouble lasted till the next day at noon, with so much danger to us, that if the wind had not chang'd, it would have been impossible for us to escape shipwrack. But the wind being somewhat better for us than it had been, we kept on our course, and came towards night in sight of *Gotland*.

The Isle of *Gotland* is opposite to the Province of *Scandinavia*, or *Schoven*, which hath also the same name given it, at 58. degr. of Latitude. It is in length 18. *German* Leagues; in breadth, between three and four. The Country is full of Rocks, Firre-Trees, and Juniper-Trees, having East-wards, many commodious Havens; as those of *Ostergaar*, *Sleidaf*, *Sanduig*, *Naruig*, and *Heiligolm*. *Ostergaar* is a small Isle standing at an equal distance from the two points of the great one, with a convenient Harbour, for those who can avoid the Sand-banks, which thereabouts reach out a good way into the Sea. *Sleidaf* is higher towards the North, than *Ostergaar*, and hath a safe Harbour against all winds, the Ships lying under the shelter of four little Isles, or rather Mounts of Sand, which break the violence of the Waves. There's but one Town in all the Island; but there are above 500. Farms, and the Churches are built within a League distance one of another, as they are in the Isle of *Oeland*, so that the Steeples give a great direction to the Ships that sail that way. The Inhabitants are *Danes*, and the Island was subject to the King of *Denmark*, till that after a tedious War it submitted to the Crown of *Sueden*, to which it payes annually 100. lasts of Pitch. All their Traffick lies in Cattel, and Wood, for building and fire, and thence the best deal Boards come. I would needs, with some other Camerades, go and see the Town of *Wisby*. It is built on the descent of a Rock, upon the Sea side, encompass'd with a good Wall, and fortify'd with some bastions. The ruins of 14. Churches, and several Houses, Gates, and Walls of Free-stone and Marble, which we observ'd there, argue it hath been bigger than it now is. It is said, that the foundations of it were laid, about the end of the eighth Age, and that it hath been since so populous, that it had 12000. Inhabitants, for the most part Merchants, not accounting the *Danes*, *Suedes*, *Vandols*, *Saxons*, *Muscovites*, *Jews*, *Greeks*, *Prussians*, *Poles*, and *Livonians*, who traded thither. There, they say, were made the first Orders concerning maritime affairs, which *Lubeck*, and the other *Hanseatick* Cities still make use of; But now the Port is quite lost, so as that Ships cannot get into it. *The Isle of* Gotland.

The 5. the wind became more boisterous than before, so that the Vessel, at every great Sea, was all under water. About 10. at night, we sounded, at 12. fathom; whereupon we chang'd our course, and got into the main Sea, for fear of running against the Land, which if we had, we must needs have been cast away.

The 6. we met a *Holland* Vessel, which directed us towards the Isle of *Tageroort*, whither we came at night; but, the same night, we were again forc'd into the main Sea. Tageroort.

The 7. at noon, we were upon the point of *Tageroort*; but the Masters Mate was mistaken, who, thinking the wind would have carried us North-ward, would perswade us it was *Oetgensholm*, and upon that presumption, imprudently engag'd himself in a most dangerous passage, called the *Hondesshuig*. He was not convinc'd of his error, till he saw the Church-Steeple; so that we were forc'd to return into the main, with greater hazard than we had run, at our entrance into that passage. That day, we met a bark, which had lost its course; so that understanding we intended for *Reuel*, she follow'd us a while, but at night left us, and cast Anchor before *Tageroort*, and, as we heard since, came safely the next day to *Reuel*. All the afternoon we lost not sight of the coasts of *Livonia*, and at night were within a League of the Isle of *Narga*, which is at the entrance of the Haven of *Reuel*. Our Master and his Mate, would neither go into, nor anchor before *Tageroort*, choosing rather the main Sea, though in a great Tempest, which kept us in action all that night, and took away our Main-mast, which was soon follow'd by the Mizen, and the fore-castle, and it was no less than a miracle, that our compass was left us, without which it had been impossible for us to have kept on our intended course. Oetgensholm. Hondeshuig. Narga.

The 8. we perceiv'd that we had pass'd the Haven of *Reuel*, and about ten, the weather be-

1635. came ſo foul, that it ſeem'd rather an Earthquake, that ſhould turn the World upſide down, than a ſtorm. Our danger and fears encreas'd till three in the afternoon, that one of the Seamen having got up into the ſcuttle of the ſprit-ſale, told us, he diſcover'd *Hogland*. We got thither by 7 at night, and caſt Anchor at 19 fathom water. There we ſtayd the 9. and reſolved, that thence-forward, Prayers ſhould be ſaid twice a day, to give God thanks for our deliverance the day before, from a danger we could not have avoided, otherwiſe than by paſſing among the Rocks upon the Coaſts of *Finland*, as we muſt have reſolv'd to do, if we had not diſcover'd that Iſland. The Ambaſſadors went aſhore, to obſerve the ſituation of the Country, and refreſh themſelves. At night it was conſider'd, whether we ſhould continue our Voyage by Sea to *Narva*, or return to *Reuel*; but the diverſity of Opinions was ſuch, that nothing was reſolv'd on. About 9 at night, the Maſter came to the Ambaſſadors Lodgings, to tell them, that the wind being Eaſt, and forcing the Ship towards the Shore, he ſaw no liklier way to be ſafe than by making for *Reuel*. The Ambaſſadors bade him do what he thought moſt convenient, and went aboard: but as they were weighing Anchor, the wind riſs ſo, that there was no poſſibility of taking the courſe intended, ſo that the Maſter and his Counſel chang'd their deſign, and thought it beſt to ly ſtill at Anchor, for fear of running-a-ground. But all to no purpoſe. For being near the ſhore, the Orders given could not be put in execution with diligence enough to avoid ſhipwrack. All could be done was to let down the Boat, and to ſet the Ambaſſadors aſhore with ſome of their retinue. After the Ship had ſtruck ſeveral times againſt certain pieces of Rocks, whereof there is abundance all along the Coaſt, it ſplit and ſunk. All the men were ſav'd, a good part of the goods, and ſeven horſes, whereof two dy'd the next day.

We ſhelter'd our ſelves in Fiſhers huts, along the Sea-ſide, where we met with ſome *Livonians* that dwelt thereabouts who could ſpeak nothing but the jargon of the country. That poor refuge ſav'd their lives who had eſcap'd the wrack; elſe, their cloaths being all wet about them, moſt of them would have been ſtarv'd to death in the ſnow, which fell the night following.

The 10. we thought fit to try whether any more of the goods could be gotten out of the Ship; but the rough weather continuing, none would venture going near it with a Boat, till that in the afternoon ſome things were gotten out. Our Cloaths, Books, and other things we laid out a-drying, the Sea water having injur'd ſome, and utterly ſpoil'd others.

The greateſt of our loſſes was that of a Clock, worth four thouſand crowns, which the horſes had broke to pieces, by ſtriving to get looſe.

This misfortune was follow'd by another, which though we ſaw at ſome diſtance, yet diſtracted us no leſs; and that was, want of proviſions. The Sea-water had ſpoil'd ours, and our fear was, that the froſt forcing us to winter in the Iſland, we muſt either be ſtarved, or reduc'd to the extremities of feeding on the barks of trees, as ſome that had been caſt away there ſome years before, were conſtrain'd to do. We had but little bread left, and the Bisket was ſo ſoak'd in Salt-water, that we were forc'd to boyl it in freſh, with a little Cummin or Fennel, and ſo made a Pottage of it for our Servants. One day, we took in a Brook which falls from the Mountains, as many ſmall Fiſhes as found us two good meals.

The Iſland of Hogland. *Hogland* hath its name from the *height* of its ſituation, it being ſeen a great way into the Sea, and is about 3 leagues in length, and one, in breadth. You ſee nothing but Rocks, Firr-trees, and Thorns. We indeed ſaw ſome few Hares, which in Winter turn white, as they do all over *Livonia*; but our Dogs could not follow them through the VVoods, and over the Rocks.

In the mean time, it was reported at *Reuel*, that we were all loſt, rais'd by this, that there had been dead bodies found upon the coaſt of *Livonia*, clad in red, which was our Livery; as alſo with this addition, that, the Bark, ſpoken of before, had related, that ſhe had ſeen us carried away with the ſtorm beyond the bay of *Reuel*. Beſides, it was eight days before they heard from us; ſo that thoſe of our people whom we had left there, at our return from *Muſcovy*, were ſeeking out other ſervices, when M. *Uchterits* (then Chamberlain to the Ambaſſadors, and now Gentleman of the Privy-chamber to his Highneſs of *Holſtein* at *Gottorp*) brought them an accompt of us. We had the convenience to ſend him thither in one of the two *Finland* barks, which the tempeſt had forc'd to that Iſland on the 3 of *November*.

A dangerous attempt of the Ambaſſadors. The 17. The Ambaſſadors embark'd themſelves, each of them with a retinue of five perſons, in two Fiſher-boats, to paſs over to the continent, from which this Iſland is diſtant above 12. leagues. Nor were we in leſs danger now than before, for as much as the Boats, being ſmall and old, were not caulked, and were ty'd above, only with cords made of barks of trees. The ſail was a great many rags faſten'd together, and ſo order'd, that there was no uſe to be made of it but when the wind blew right a-ſtern: ſo that the wind beginning to ſhift, after we had come five leagues, the Fiſher-men would have tack'd about, but we prevail'd with them to let down the ſail, and to make uſe of their Oars, to get to an Iſland which was within half a league of us, and where we arriv'd that night. We found there only two ruin'd hutts; we made a fire,

and

and pass'd over the night, but having neither Bread nor Meat, we made our supper on a piece of *Milan* Cheese we had left. 1635.

The next day, we prosecuted our Voyage with a very good wind and fair weather, though the Sea was a little rough. Having made two leagues, a sudden blast coming from the East, though the wind were North turn'd the Boat, in which I was, with the Ambassador *Brugman*, so much upon one side, that it took in water; the surges at the same time rising half an ell above the brinck of it. All the Fisher-men could do was to let down the sail, and to run to the other side of the boat to weigh it down. The blast being over, we kept on our course, till a second put us to the same trouble. We had three of them in less than two hours; and this I think the greatest danger we had met with, in our Voyage: in as much as the Boat being old, and having in it, eight Persons, all the Silver Plate and other luggage, which in a manner fill'd it, so as that one wave might have overwhelm'd it, and cast us all away. But afterwards, when the Fisher-men saw the blast coming, they turn'd the side of the Boat to the wind, that the wave might not come with its full force upon it, and by that means we avoided the danger. Within three Leagues of Land we had also a violent shower of hail; but what is most to be admir'd in all this, was, that the Boat which carried the Ambassador *Crusius*, though within Pistol-shot of us, felt nothing of all this, but had fair weather all along.

Being gotten within half a League of Land, the wind, shifting to the South, was just in our teeth, and had oblig'd our Fisher-men to return, if the hope of a three-pint-Flagon of strong water, which we promis'd them, had not given them the courage to let down the sail, and to row us ashore. This was the 18. at night, in *Esthonie*, after we had roved two and twenty dayes upon the *Baltick* Sea, with all the danger that is to be expected by those, who trust themselves to the mercy of that Element in so uncertain a season. *The Ambassadors come into* Livonia.

The 22. came to *Hogland* two other barks forc'd thither by foul weather: Those we had left of ours in the Island pass'd in them to the continent, whither they came the 24. with the horses and baggage. We went thence to *Kunda*, a house belonging to my late Father-in-Law, *John Muller*, distant two Leagues from the Sea, where we staid three weeks, to refresh our selves after so much hardship at Sea. Most of us fell sick, yet none kept their beds above three dayes. Thence we went to *Reuel*, whether we came the second of *December*, with an intention to sojourn there some time, which we spent in ordering our Cloaths, and the Presents, which the salt-water, and the other inconveniences ensuing upon the wrack, had much prejudiced. *To* Reuel. DECEM.

The Ambassadors having all their people about them at *Reuel*, thought fit to publish the Order which the Duke would have observ'd through the whole Voyage. They had brought it with them seal'd with his Higness's Great Seal: but they added some things thereto, the better to prevent the disorders, which are but too frequent where there are so many Servants. But in regard they contain'd nothing extraordinary, we shall not insert them here, and only say, they were ill observ'd: for the Ambassador *Brugman* having arm'd the Lacquies with Pole-axes, which had Pistols in their handles, and given order they should not take any affront from the Inhabitants of *Reuel*, there hardly pass'd a day during the three Moneths we staid there, in expectation of other Credentials, but there was some falling out and fighting. In so much that *Feb.* 11. *Isaac Mercier*, a French-man, that waited on the Ambassador *Brugman* in his Chamber, a person of a good humour and not quarrellous, hearing the noise of an engagement between the Ambassadors Servants and the Apprentices of the City, and desirous to relieve his friends, was struck over the head with an iron-bar, which bruis'd the skull so, as that he dyed the next day. The Magistrate did all lay in his power to find out the Murtherer; but, to no purpose, so that all the reparation was, that the Senate, together with the Ambassadors and their retinue, accompany'd him to the grave.

Reuel is situated at 50. degr. 25. min. latitude, and 48. deg. 30. min. longitude, upon the *Baltick* Sea, in the Province of *Esthonie*. *Waldemar*, or *Wolmar* II. King of *Denmark*, laid the foundations of it, about the year 1230. *Wolmar* III. sold it in the year 1347. together with the Cities of *Narvan* and *Wesenberg* to *Gosuin d'Eck*, Master of the Order of *Livonia*, for 19000. Marks of Silver. About 100. years since, *Livonia* groaning under a troublesome War against *Muscovy*, this City put it self under the protection of *Eric*, King of *Sueden*. It was so strong in those times, that it indur'd a notable Siege in the year 1570. against *Magnus*, Duke of *Holstein*, who commanded the Great Duke's Army; and another in the year 1577. against the same *Muscovites*, who were forc'd to raise it with loss. The situation of its Castle is so much the more advantageous, for that the Rock on which it is built is steepy on all sides, unless it be towards the City, which, being fortify'd according to the modern fortification, is almost as considerable a place as *Riga*; whence it came that for some years, it had the oversight of the College at *Novogorod*, joyntly with the City of *Lubeck*. It hath been these 300. years numbred among the *Hanseatick* Towns; but its Commerce began not to be great till about the year 1477. and at that time it might well keep up its Traffick, especially that of *Muscovy*, by reason of her excellent Port and Haven, which indeed are such, as if God and Nature had intended it for the convenience of Commerce. Had it not been ingross'd into few hands, it had still continu'd Reuel *described.*

1635. tinu'd in the same posture; but having broken with the other *Hanseatick* Towns in the year 1550. and the Great Duke having taken *Narva* soon after, the *Muscovites* establish'd, there, the Trading they before had at *Revel*. It still enjoyes the privilege of being a Mart, and the Inhabitants have, with the preference of the Merchandises discharg'd in their Port, the power to hinder the Traffick of *Livonia* into *Muscovy*, without their permission. These privileges have been confirmed to it by all the Treaties that have been made between the Kings of *Sueden*, and Dukes of *Muscovy*, as in the year 1595. at *Teusma*, in 1607. at *Wibourg*, and in 1617. at *Stoluona*. 'Tis true it hath lost some of these advantages since the last War of *Muscovy*, which were taken away, lest, in imitation of several other of the *Hanseatick* Towns, it should attempt a defection from its Prince, yet does it still enjoy many other privileges, which have been confirmed to it, from time to time, by the Masters of the *Order*, while they were Lords of the Country, and afterwards by the Kings their Successors. It observes the same Customes with *Lubeck*, and hath a Consistory and a Superintendent for Ecclesiastical affairs, professing the Protestant Religion, according to the *Auspourg* Confession, as also a very fair School, whence there come very good Scholars, who consummate their studies at *Derpt*, or some other Universities in those quarters. The Government of the City is Democratical, the Magistrate being oblig'd to summon the principal of several Professions, and the most antient Inhabitants, to consultations that concern affairs of Importance. There are still to be seen, within half a League of the City, towards the Sea-side, the ruins of a fair Monastery, founded by a Merchant of that City, at the beginning of the 15th age, out of a particular devotion he had for St. *Bridget*, under *Conrad de Jangingen*, Grand Master of *Prussia*, and *Conrad de Vitinghof*, Master Provincial of *Livonia*. It consisted of both Religious Men and Women, and the Book I saw of the foundation of this Monastery, pleasantly acquaints the Reader, that the *Friers* and *Nuns* there had found out a way to express their meanings one to another by signs, of which there is in it a little Dictionary.

The description of Livonia. *Livonia* hath, on the East, *Muscovy*; on the North, a Gulf of the *Baltick* Sea, dividing it from *Sueden* and *Finland*; on the West, the same *Baltick* Sea, and on the South, *Samogitia*, *Lithuania*, and *Prussia*. It is above 120. *German* leagues in length, and about 40. in breadth, and is divided into *Esthonie*, *Lettie*, and *Courland*. The first of these Provinces is subdivided into five Circuits, called *Harrie*, *Wirland*, *Allentaken*, *Jerwe*, and *Wiecks*, its chief City *Revel*, as *Lettie* hath *Riga*, and *Courland*, *Goldingen*.

Livonia, and its Lords, the Masters of the *Order*, of whom we shall speak hereafter, were subject to the Emperor of *Germany*, not only since the Conquest of that Island from the Infidels by the *Germans*, but also, particularly since that in the year 1513. the Archbishop of *Riga*, with his Suffragans, and the Master of the *Order*, who had freed himself from the subjection of that of *Prussia*, were receiv'd among the Princes of the Empire. Let us now see how it is gone from the Empire. The *Muscovite* looking on this Province as lying very convenient for him, enter'd it, in the year 1501. with a powerful Army; but *Gualtier de Plettenberg*, Master of the *Order*, gave him battel, wherein above 40000 *Muscovites* were kill'd upon the place. This defeat produc'd a Cessation of 50 years. In the year 1558. *John Basilouits*, Great Duke of *Muscovy*, having added to his territories the *Tartars* of *Cassan* and *Astrachan*, and willing to make his advantages of the differences between the Master of the *Order*, and Archbishop of *Riga*, enter'd *Livonia*, and having made incursions into the Bishoprick of *Derpt*, and *Wirland*, retreated into *Muscovy*. During these troubles, the *Livonians* were importunate with the Estates of the Empire, to send them relief against so cruel and barbarous an enemy; but none being to be expected, the City of *Revel*, which was the most expos'd to danger, offer'd it self to the King of *Denmark*, and upon his refusal, apply'd it self to *Eric* King of *Sueden*, and desir'd of him a considerable succour of men and money. His answer was, that his Kingdom was not in a condition to supply them with either, but if the Town would put it self under his protection, he would maintain all its Privileges, and defend it against the *Muscovite*. Upon which, the City, having advis'd with the adjacent Nobility, broke off from the Master of the *Order*, and put it self under the protection of the King of *Sueden*, in the year 1560. The year before, 1559. the Archbishop of *Riga*, and the Coadjutor of the *Order*, had made their addresses to *Sigismund Augustus*, King of *Poland*, for assistance against the same enemy, and had promised him the sum of 600000. Ducats towards the charges of the War, engaging to him, for his security, nine of the best Baylywicks of the Country. But in the year 1561. the King of *Poland*, perceiving that all *Livonia* was likely to be lost, through the divisions of the Province, and that the City of *Revel*, with part of *Esthonie*, had submitted to the King of *Sueden*, refus'd to execute the Treaty, and to send the relief promised, unless the Archbishop, and Master of the Order, would acknowledge the Soveraignty of the King of *Poland*. This extremity forc'd them to put all the Acts and Privileges they had obtain'd from the Empire and Pope, with the Seal, and other marks of Soveraignty, into the hands of the Prince of *Radzivil*, Commissioner from *Poland*, to whom also they took the Oath of fidelity. Upon which the King of *Poland* gave *Courland*, with the

title

D.D.
IOANNI BERKENHEAD
Eq. Aurat. Alm. Cur. Facultat. et
D: Regi, Supplicum Libellorum,
Magistro, hanc novam et accuratam
Livoniæ Tabulam. D.D.D. J.D.
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Borgo
Ferno
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Brando
Halke
Kimito
Kumlinge
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CARELIÆ PARS
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title of a Dutchy, to *Godard Ketler*, Master of the *Order*, who took the Oath of Allegiance to the Crown of *Poland*, on the 5 of *March* 1562. 1635.

By the Treaty concluded between the King of *Poland*, and the Great Duke of *Muscovy*, Jan. 15. 1582. the Duke restor'd to the Crown of *Poland* all the places of *Livonia*, those excepted which the King of *Sueden* was possess'd of in *Esthony*. Now, it is in a manner all under the power of the *Suede*.

Its fertility

Livonia is, in all parts, very fertile, and particularly in Wheat. For though it hath suffered much by the *Muscovites*, yet it is now more and more reduc'd to tillage, by setting the Forests afire, and sowing in the ashes of the burnt Wood and Turf, which for three or four years produce excellent good Wheat, and with great increase, without any Dung. Which is the more to be admir'd, in that 'tis known there remains no generative quality in the ashes: So that it is to be conceiv'd, that the Sulphur and Saltpeter, which remain with the Cinders upon the earth, leave behind them a heat and fatness able to produce, as well as dung. Which conceit is not dissonant from what *Strabo* says, at the end of his fifth book, where he speaks of the fertility of the Lands near the Mountain *Vesuvius* and *Mont-gibel*, in *Sicily*. There is also abundance of Cattel, and Fowl, so cheap, that many times we bought a young Hare for four pence; a Heath-Cock for six, and accordingly others, so that it is much cheaper living there than in *Germany*.

Its Inhabitants.

The Inhabitants were a long time Heathens, it being in the 12 age that the rayes of the Sun of righteousness began to break in upon them, occasion'd by the frequentation of certain Merchants of *Bremen*, and the Commerce they were desirous to establish in those parts. About the year 1158. one of their Ships having been forc'd by a Tempest into the Gulf of *Riga*, which was not yet known, the Merchants agreed so well with the Inhabitants of the Country, that they resolv'd to continue their Traffick there, having withall, this satisfaction, that, the people being very simple, they thought it would be no hard matter to reduce them to Christianity. *Menard*, a Monk of *Segeberg*, was the first that preach'd the Gospel to them, and was made first Bishop of *Livonia*, by Pope *Alexander* III. in the year 1170. *Menard* was succeeded in the Bishoprick of *Livonia*, by *Bertold*, a *Monk*, of the Order of white Friers; but he, thinking to reduce those people rather by Arms than the word of God, met with a success accordingly, for having incens'd them, they kill'd him in the year 1186. and with him 1 1000. Christians. *Albert*, a Canon of *Bremen*, succeeded *Bertold*, in the Bishoprick. He laid the first foundations of the City of *Riga*, and of the Order of the Friers of the *short sword*, by authority from Pope *Innocent* the third, and by vertue of a power he had given them, to allow them the third part of that they should Conquer from the *Barbarians*. They observ'd the same rule as the *Templars*, and were call'd *Friers* or *Knights* of the *short sword*, because they had on their *white* Cloaks a red *short sword*, with a star of the same colour, which they have chang'd since into two *short Swords*, *Saltar-wise*. Bnt in regard this new Religious Profession was not fully setled, it was joyn'd to the Order of St. *Mary* of *Jerusalem*, in the person of *Herman Balk*, Grand-Master of *Prussia*, in the year 1238. And it is since that time that the Master of *Livonia* had a dependence on the Grand-Master of *Prussia*, which was, till *Sigismond* King of *Poland* chang'd that quality into that of Duke of *Courland*, in the person of *Godard Ketler*, as is said before.

The Orders of Livonian Knights.

All the Champain Countrey, of the two Provinces of *Letthie* and *Esthonie*, is to this day peopled with these *Barbarians*, who have nothing of their own, but are slaves, and serve the Nobility in the Countrey, and the Citizens in Cities. They are called *Unteutche*, that is, *not-Germans*, because their language was not understood by the *Germans*, who went to plant in those qnarters; though that of *Letthie* hath nothing common with that of *Esthonie*, no more than there is between them, as to their Cloaths and manner of Life. The Women of *Esthonie* wear their Petticoats very narrow, and without any folds, like sacks, adorn'd above on their backs with many little brass Chains, having at the ends Counters of the same metal, and below set out with a certain lacing of yellow glass. Those who would express a greater bravery, have about their Necks a Necklace of plates of silver of the bigness of a Crown, or half-Crown, and upon the breast, one as big as a round Trencher, but not much thicker than the back of a knife.

Maids wear nought on their heads, Summer nor Winter, and cut their hair as the men do, letting it fall negligently down about the head. Both Men and Women are clad with a wretched stuff made of Wool, or a coarse Linnen. They are yet unacquainted with Tannage, so that, in Summer, they have barks of Trees about their feet, and in the Winter, raw Leather of a Cow's hide. Both Men and Women do ordinarily carry all the Wealth they have about them.

The Ceremonies of marriages in Livonia.

Their Ceremonies of marriage are very odd. When a Country fellow marries a Lass out of another Village, he goes a horse-back to fetch her, sets her behind him, and makes her embrace him with the right hand. He hath in his hand a stick cleft at the top, where he puts a piece of brass money, which he gives to him who opens the wicket, through which he is to pass. Before, rides a man that playes upon the Bag-pipe, as also two of his friends, who, having naked swords in their hands, give two stroaks therewith, cross the Door of the House, where the marriage is to

be

1635. be conſummated, and then they thruſt the point of one of the ſwords into a beam, over the Bridegroom's head, which is done to prevent Charms, which, they ſay, are ordinary in that Country. 'Tis to the ſame end that the Bride ſcatters little pieces of Cloath, or red Serge by the way, eſpecially where croſs-ways meet, near Croſſes, and upon the Graves of little Children dead without baptiſm, whom they bury in the High-ways. She hath a Veil over her face while ſhe is at the Table, which is not long; for, as ſoon almoſt as the Gueſts are ſet down, the married couple riſe, and go to bed. About two hours after they get up, and are brought to ſit down at the Table. Having drunk and danc'd till ſuch time as they are able to ſtand no longer, they fall down on the floor, and ſleep altogether like ſo many Swine.

They are ſad Chriſtians. We ſaid the Goſpel was preach'd in *Livonia* in the 12. age; but the *Livonians* are never the better Chriſtians for it. Moſt of them are only ſuch in name, and can hardly yet abſtain from their Heatheniſh Superſtitions. For though they are *Lutherans*, by profeſſion, and that there is hardly a Village but hath its Church and Miniſter; yet are they ſo poorly inſtructed, and ſo far from regeneration, that it may be ſaid, Baptiſm excepted, they have not any Character of Chriſtianity. They very ſeldom go to Sermons, and never almoſt Communicate. They excuſe their backwardneſs in frequenting the Sacraments, by alleging the great ſlavery they are in, which, they ſay, is ſo inſupportable, that they have not time to mind their Devotions. If they go at any time to Sermon, or to the Communion, it is by force, or upon ſome other particular accompt. To this effect is a ſtory was told me by *Andrew Beſiq*, Provoſt of the Church of *Luckenhauſen*, which was, That having been ſent for to comfort, and adminiſter the Communion to a Country-fellow who lay very ſick, he ask'd him how he came to ſend for his Paſtor in the condition he was then in, when for ſo many years before he had never bethought him of reconciling himſelf to God? The fellow ingenuouſly anſwer'd, that, for his own part, he ſhould not have minded it then, but what he did, was by the advice of a friend, who told him, that if he did it not, he could not be buried in the Church-yard, nor carried to the ground with the ordinary Ceremonies. 'Tis true, the groſs and inexcuſable ignorance of moſt of the Paſtors in thoſe quarters, who might well come to be Catechiz'd themſelves, hath contributed much to the obduration of thoſe poor people: but the late King of *Sueden* hath taken order, therein enjoyning, by a ſevere Ordinance, the Biſhop of the Province, who hath his reſidence in the Cathedral Church of *Reuel*, to convocate a Synod once a year, for the regulation of Church affairs, and then to examine, not only the *Recipiendaries*, but alſo the *Paſtors* themſelves, thereby to oblige them to apply themſelves to the conſtant ſtudy of the holy Scripture.

Their ſlavery. It muſt be acknowledg'd, the ſlavery theſe people are in is great, and indeed inſupportable; but it is true withall; that upon the leaſt liberty given them, they would break out into any extravagance. For being perſwaded that their Predeceſſors have been Maſters of the Country, and that only force hath enſlav'd them to the *Germans*, they cannot forbear their reſentments of it, and diſcovering, eſpecially in their drink, if any opportunity of regaining their liberty ſhould offer it ſelf, a readineſs to proſecute it. Of which they gave an evident example, when, upon the irruption of Colonel *Bot*, the Peaſants would ſide with the Enemy, and head together, to ſecure their Maſters and deliver them up to the *Polanders*.

Their opinion of eternal life. They believe there is another life after this; but their imaginations of it are very extravagant. A *Livonian* woman, being preſent at her husband's burial, put a Needle and Thread into the Grave, giving this reaſon for it, that, her husband being to meet, in the other World, with perſons of good Rank, ſhe was aſham'd he ſhould be ſeen with his Cloaths rent. Nay, they ſo little mind what is to happen in the next World, that in the Oath they take to decide any difference at Law, inſtead of intereſſing the ſalvation of their Souls therein, they are oblig'd to conſider their preſent and temporal advantages, and ſo they are ſworn, as followeth: *I*, N.N. *am here preſent before thee: ſince thou, O Judge, deſireſt to know, and askeſt me, whether this Land, on which I now am, is God's and mine with a juſt title, I ſwear to God and his Saints, and accordingly God judge me at the laſt day, that this Land belongs to me of right, that it is God's and mine, and that my father hath been poſſeſs'd of it, and hath enjoy'd it a long time. And if the Oath I take prove to be falſe, I conſent, that the Curſe of God fall upon my Body and Soul, upon my Children, upon whatſoever appertains to me, even to the ninth generation.* And to ſhew that their Language hath nothing common with any of thoſe, wherewith the moſt learned have any acquaintance, we ſhall here ſet down the ſame Oath, word for word, as they take it.

Their Oath in Law-ſutes. *Nucht ſeiſen minna* N. N. *Seihn. Kui ſinna ſundia minuſt tahat, eht minna ſe Kockto perraſt tunnis tama Pean, eht ſeſinnane mah, Kumba pehl minna ſeiſan, jumla ninc minnu verteenitut mahon, Kumba pehl minna minno eo aial ellanut ninck prukinu tollen ſeperaſt ſihs mannut an minna jumla ninck temma poha de eeſt. Ninc kui nued jummal peph ſundina ſelh wihmb ſel pehwal; & ſes in nane mah jumla ninck minnu verteenitut permah on, Kumba minna ninck minno iſſa igkas prukinut ollemei, kus ma ulle Kock ſo wannutan, ſihs tulke ſedda minno tho ninck hinge pehl, minno ninck Keick minno lapſede pehl, nink Keick minna onne pehl emmis ſe uduya polwe tagka.*

'Tis

'Tis the same in *Esthonie*; but about *Riga*, when the Peasants swear at Law, they put a Turf upon their heads, and take a white stick in their hands, expressing thereby, that they are content, that they, their Children, and Cattel, may become dry as that Turf, and that stick, if they swear falsly. 1635.

These customs savour of their antient Idolatry. The Ministers do all they can to weed it out of them by little and little: to which end we saw, at *Narva*, the Catechism, Epistles, and Gospels, with their explications, which *Henry Stahl*, Superintendent of Ecclesiastical affairs in those parts (a person much esteem'd for his Learning and pains in instructing those *Barbarians*) had caused to be translated and Printed in their Language, to give them some apprehensions of Christian Religion. But Idolatry and Superstition are too deeply rooted in them, and their stupidity and stubbornes too great to give way to any hope, that they will ever be susceptible of instruction. They do their devotions commonly upon hills, or neer a tree they make choice of to that purpose, and in which they make several incisions, bind them up with some red stuff, and there say their prayers, wherein they desire only temporal blessings. Two leagues from *Kunda*, between *Reuel* and *Narva*, there is an old ruin'd Chapel, whither the Peasants go once a year on Pilgrimage, upon the day of our Lady's Visitation. Some put off their cloaths, and in that posture having kneel'd by a great stone that is in the midst of the Chapel, they afterwards leap about it, and offer it Fruits and Flesh, recommending the preservation of themselves and their Cattel to it for that year. This piece of devotion is concluded with eating and drinking, and all kind of licentiousnes, which seldom end without quarrels, murthers, and the like disorders.

They have such an inclination to Sorcery, and think it so necessary for the preservation of their Cattel, that Fathers and Mothers teach it their Children, so that there is scarce any Peasant but is a Sorcerer. They all observe certain superstitious Ceremonies, by which they think to elude the effects of it, upon which accompt it is, that they never kill any Beast, but they cast somewhat of it away, nor never make a Brewing, but they spill some part of it, that the Sorcery may fall upon that. They have also a custome of rebaptizing their Children, when, during the first six weeks after their birth, they chance to be sick or troubled with fits, whereof they think the cause to be, that the name, given them at their baptism, is not proper for them. Wherefore they give them another; but in regard this is not only a sin, but a crime which the Magistrate severely punishes in that Country, they conceal it. *Their Sorcery.*

As they are stubborn in their superstitions, so are they no less in the exact observation of their Customs. To which purpose we had a very pleasant, but true, story, related to us at Colonel *de la Barr*'s, concerning an old Country fellow. Being condemn'd, for faults enormous enough, to lye along upon the ground, to receive his punishment, and Madam *de la Barre*, pittying his almost decrepit age, having so far interceded for him, as that his corporal punishment should be chang'd into a pecuniary mulct of about 15. or 16. pence, he thank'd her for her kindnes, and said, that, for his part, being an old man, he would not introduce any novelty, nor suffer the Customes of the Country to be alter'd, but was ready to receive the chastisement which his Predecessors had not thought much to undergo, put off his cloaths, layd himself upon the ground, and receiv'd the blows according to his condemnation. *Their obstinacy.*

This is accounted no punishment, but an ordinary chastisement in *Livonia* For, the people, being of an incorrigible nature, must be treated with that severity, which would elsewhere be insupportable. They are not permitted to make any purchase, and to prevent their so doing, they have only so much ground to manage, as will afford them a subsistence. Yet will they venture to cut down wood in some places of the Forests, and, having order'd the ground, sow wheat in it, which they hide in pits under ground, to be secretly sold. When they are taken in this, or any other fault, they make them strip themselves naked down to the hips, and to lye down upon the ground, or are ty'd to a post, while one of their Camerades beats them with a Switch, or Hollywand, till the blood comes of all sides; especially when the Master says *Selcke nack maha pexema*, Beat him till the skin falls from the flesh.

Nor are they suffer'd to have any money; for as soon as it is known they have any, the Gentlemen and their Officers, who are paid by the Peasantry, take it from them, nay force them to give what they have not. Which cruelty of the Masters puts these poor people many times into despair, whereof there happened a sad example. A Peasant press'd by his Officer to pay what he neither had, nor ought, and being depriv'd of the means whereby he should maintain his Family, strangled his Wife and Children, and when he had done hung himself up by them. The Officer coming the next day to the house, thinking to receive the mony, struck his head against the man's feet that was hanging, and so perceiv'd the miserable execution, whereof he was the cause.

The Nobility of *Livonia*, especially of *Esthonie*, is free from all charges and taxes. Their courage, and the services they have done against the Infidels and *Muscovites*, have acquir'd them this liberty, and most of their privileges. *Volmar* II. King of *Denmark*, first gave them Manors to be held by Fealty, which have been since confirm'd by *Eric* VII. who gave them Letters *The Nobility of Livonia.*

1635. Patents to that purpose. The Masters of the Order of the *Short Sword*, and the Grand Masters of the Order of *Prussia*, augmented them. *Conrad de Jungingen* extended the succession of such Mannors, in *Harrie* and *Wirland*, to the daughters and their issue, to the fifth degree: and *Gaultier de Plettenberg*, who was chosen Grand-Master, in the year 1495. and acknowledg'd Prince of the Empire in 1513. absolutely exempted the Nobility of *Esthonie* from all subjection; excepting only the service which Gentlemen are oblig'd to do in person, upon the accompt of their Mannors. Once a year there is a review made of them, and that body of Nobility is look'd upon as a Nursery, that hath furnish'd, and still doth furnish *Sueden* with a great number of Officers, even to Generals of Armies; besides the Noble Cavalry it is able to raise, for the service of that Crown. The said Nobility came not under the protection of the King of *Sueden*, till such time as, being forsaken by all their Neighbours, and not able to oppose their enemies any longer, they were forc'd to make their applications to a forein Crown, which hath promis'd to secure unto them all the Privileges, they have by their courage acquired.

The Government of Livonia

The Government of the Country, both as to Policy and Justice, is in the Nobility, who commit the administration thereof to twelve of themselves, who are the Council of the Country, and have for their President, him who is Governour of the Province for the Crown of *Sueden*. In the time of our Embassy *Philip Scheidung* was President, who hath been since succeeded by *Eric Oxienstern*, Baron of *Kimilko*, Counsellor of the Crown of *Sueden*, and he, by *Henry*, Count *de la Tour*.

They meet yearly, in *January*, and then decide all differences between parties, all their proceedings consisting in a Declaration and an Answer, upon which they immediately give judgement. To this purpose is chosen a Gentleman, who hath the quality of Captain of the Province, and represents to the Governour and Council the grievances of the people, if there be any, and this employment is not continued in the same person above three years. And whereas, during the Wars with the *Muscovites* and *Polanders*, private mens Inheritances in the Provinces of *Harrie*, *Wirland*, and *Wieck*, have been so confounded, that the sutes occasion'd thereby could not be peremptorily decided; there are appointed certain Judges from three years to three years, who take cognizance thereof, and if any one find himself aggriev'd by their judgement, he may appeal to the Governour and Council of the Country, who appoint Commissioners, who having been upon the places in question, do either reverse or confirm the former Judgement. They have also particular Judges for the High-wayes, which are there very bad, because of the Fenns, Bridges, and Causwayes, which are frequent all over the Country.

The continuation of our Voyage

To return to our Voyage. We said before, that the Ambassadors, coming to *Calmer*, in the beginning of *November*, had sent a Page and a Lacquey to *Gottorp*, for other Credentials, instead of those the Sea-water had spoil'd. *John Arpenbeck* our Interpreter, had been sent to *Muscou*, to give an account there of our delay, as also of the particulars of our wrack. Being

FEBRU. all return'd to *Reuel*, we prepar'd for the prosecution of our Voyage, and the 24 of *Febr.* the Ambassador sent away the Controller of their house with 31 sledges, with part of the train and

MARCH baggage. We all went along with the rest. *March* 2. the Magistrate and some of our friends brought us a league out of the City. We lay that night at *Kolka*, a house belonging to the Count *de la Garde*, Constable of *Sueden*, 7 leagues from *Reuel*. *March* 3. we came to *Kunda*, whereof we have spoken elsewhere; and the 4. to a house belonging to M. *John Fock*, 5 leagues from that of the Count *de la Garde*'s.

The Ambassadors leave Reuel. Kunda.

Come to Narva.

March 5. after five leagues travelling, we came to *Narva*. 'Tis a small Town, but strong, and hath a very good Castle. It is situated at 60 degrees of the Æquinoctial, in the Province of *Allentaken*, so called from the River *Narva* or *Nerva*. This River rises out of the Lake *Peipis*, and falls into the Gulf of *Finland*, two leagues below this Town. It is in a manner as broad as the *Elbe*, but much swifter, and its water is very browniſh. About half a league above this Town, there is a fall of water, which makes a dreadful noise, and is so violent, that breaking upon the Rocks, it is reduc'd as it were to powder, which filling the Air affords a strange sight, by reason that the Sun shining upon it, makes a kind of Rain-bow, no less pleasant than that fram'd in the Clouds. This fall occasions the unlading of all Merchandizes which pass that way from *Plescou* and *Derpt* for *Narva*, to be sent into the Gulf of *Finland*. 'Tis said that *Volmar* II. K. of *Denmark*, built it in the year 1213. *John Basilouits*, G. D. of *Muscovy*, took it in the year 1558. and *Pontus de la Garde*, General of the *Suedish* Army, recover'd it from the *Muscovites*, on the 6 of *September* 1581. and ever since the *Suedes* have been masters of it. *Nielis Asserson* was Governour of it, at the time of our Embassy, who was succeeded since by *Eric. Gyllenstierna* Governour and Lieutenant General for the Crown of *Sueden*, in *Ingermania*. It hath a long time enjoy'd the same privileges with the other *Hanseatick* Towns: but the Wars between *Muscovy* and *Sueden* had so far destroy'd the commerce of it, that it is within these few years that there are some hopes conceived of its re-establishment, which cannot encrease but as that of *Reuel* abates. The War between the *English* and *Hollanders* was so much to its

advan-

advantage, that the Commerce of *Archangel* being by that means interrupted, the Ships that were wont to go to *Muſcovy* made uſe of the Haven of *Narva*, whither there came in the year 1654. above ſixty Ships, and took up, there, Merchandizes amounting to above 500000 Crowns. Upon this they took occaſion to cleanſe and augment the Town, to build new and regular ſtreets for the convenience of ſtrange Merchants, and to facilitate the paſſage of Ships into the Haven. Queen *Chriſtina* of *Sueden*, exempted this City out of the general Juriſdiction of the Governour of the Province, and gave it a particular Lieutenant, to judge of affairs Secular and Eccleſiaſtical, without appeal to any other place. 1636.

The Caſtle is on this ſide the River, and on the other, that of *Juanogorod*, which the *Muſcovites* have built upon a very ſteepy Rock, whereof the River of *Narva* makes a peninſula, ſo that the place was judg'd impregnable, till *Guſtavus Adolphus* took it, in the year 1617. At the foot of this Caſtle is a Town called *Narva Muſcovite*, to diſtinguiſh it from the *Teutonick* or *German Narva*, whereof our diſcourſe hath been. This Town is inhabited by natural *Muſcovites*, but Subjects of the Crown of *Sueden*, to which the ſaid *Guſtavus* hath alſo joyned the Caſtle of *Juanogorod*, where *Nichola Gallen* govern'd, at our paſſage that way, in quality of the King's Lieutenant. Juanogorod.

The Country between *Reuel* and *Narva*, as alſo generally all *Ingermania* and *Livonia*, have in the Woods, a great number of Beaſts that are yellowiſh and black; and among others ſuch abundance of Wolves and Bears, that the Peaſants have much ado to keep them off their Cattel and themſelves. In Winter, when the ground is covered with ſnow, the Wolves, not meeting with ought abroad, will come, in the day time, into mens yards, and carry away the Doggs that keep them, and will break through the VValls, to get into the Stables.

We were told, that in the year 1634. upon the 24. of *January*, a Wolf, not of the biggeſt, had ſet upon 12. *Muſcovian* Peaſants, who were bringing Hay to the City. He took the firſt by the throat, got him down, and kill'd him; he did the like to the ſecond. He ſlead the third's head; eat off the noſe and cheeks of a fourth, and hurt two more. The other ſix got together, put themſelves into a poſture of defence, ſtruck down the Wolf, and kill'd him. It was afterwards diſcovered, that he was mad, for all thoſe he had hurt dyed ſo. The Magiſtrate of *Narva* had caus'd the skin to be preſerv'd, which was ſhew'd as a thing very remarkable. *A remarkable ſtory of a Wolf.*

We were told alſo that a Bear, finding a Veſſel of Herrings, which a Peaſant had laid down at an Alehouſe door, fell a-eating of them, and went thence into the Stable, whither the Peaſants follow'd him; but having wounded ſome of them, the reſt were glad to get away. Thence he went into a Brewhouſe, where meeting with a fat of new Beer, he got ſo drunk, that the Peaſants perceiving he reel'd every ſtep, and at laſt fell aſleep in the High-way, purſu'd and kill'd him. Another Peaſant having turn'd out his Horſe a-grazing in the night, found him next morning dead, with a Bear lying by him, who had fed very heartily upon him. But as ſoon as the Bear perceiv'd the Peaſant, he leaves the Prey he was already aſſur'd of, got hold of the Peaſant, and was carrying him away between his paws to his Den; but the Peaſants Dog having got the Bear by the foot, made him let go, and, while they were engag'd, the Maſter had time to get up a Tree and ſave himſelf.

In the year 1634. A Bear digg'd up thirteen Carcaſſes out of a Church-yard, belonging to a little Village near *Narva*, and carried them away with the Coffins. Nor is it long ſince that a Lady of quality in thoſe parts met one carrying away a Carcaſs, with the ſhrowd trailing after it, which frighted the Horſe that drew the Lady's Sledge, ſo as that he ran away with her, croſs the fields, to the great hazard of her life. Many other ſtories were told us; as that of a Bear who had kept a Woman 15 days together in his Den, and the manner how ſhe was deliver'd thence; but we ſhall forbear any further accompt of them, as relating more to natural Hiſtory than Travels. I ſhall only add, that the Peaſants, who are not ſecure from theſe Creatures when they goe but into the fields, eſpecially in the night time, are of opinion, that the noiſe of a ſtick, they faſten to the Sledges, frights the VVolves, and makes them run away.

March 7. We left *Narva*, and lodg'd at night at *Lilienhagen*, ſeven leagues from it. The 8. we travel'd ſix leagues, to *Sarits*. The 9. before noon, we got four leagues to *Orlin*, where the Interpreter we had ſent before, to give notice of our departure from *Reuel*, met us, with this news, that a *Priſtaf* waited for us upon the Frontiers. And whereas many diſorders were crept into our retinue, inſomuch that ſome expreſs'd but little reſpect to their Superiours, the Ambaſſadors caus'd all to come before them, and told them, that being upon their entrance into *Muſcovy*, where they judge of the quality of the Embaſſy, and the greatneſs of the Prince that ſends it, by the honour which the Ambaſſadors receives from thoſe that are about them, they ſhould be mindful of their duty. *The Ambaſſadors leave Narva.* Lilienhagen. Sarits. Orlin.

We all promis'd not to fail therein, provided we were mildly treated, every man according to his place and quality. Which the Ambaſſadors having promiſed for their parts, we parted cheerfully, to go and meet the *Priſtaf*. We found him in a Wood within a league of *Orlin*,

1636. where he stay'd for us, in the Snow, with twenty four *Strelits* about him, and ninety Sledges.

As soon as the *Pristaf*, whose name was *Constantino Juanouits Arbusou*, had perceiv'd us, and saw that the Ambassadors were alighting, he also came out of his Sledge. He was clad in a Garment of green flower'd Velvet, which came down to his Hams, with a great Golden Chain crossing over his breast, and an upper Garment lined with Sables. As the Ambassadors advanced, he also came forward, till that being come up to them, and the Ambassadors having put off their hats, the *Pristaf* said, *Ambassadors, be uncover'd.* The Ambassadors return'd him answer by the Interpreter, that he saw, they were uncover'd, whereupon the *Pristaf* read out of a Paper, That *Knez Peter Alexandrowits Repuin, Weywode of Novogorod*, had sent him, by order from the Grand Seigneur, *Czaar, and Great Duke Michael Federouits, Conservator of all the Russes, &c.* to receive the Ambassadors *Philip Crusius*, and *Otton Brugman*, and to accommodate them with Horses, Carriages, Provisions, and what else were necessary for the continuance of their Voyage to *Novogorod*, and thence to *Moscou.* After we had return'd him our thanks, he gave us the precedence, enquir'd how we did, and of the particulars of our voyage, and causing the Horses to be put before the Sledges, he made us travel six leagues further that day, to a Village named *Tzuerin.*

Tzuerin. Desan. Mokriza.

March 10. About noon, we came to *Desan*, and at night to *Mokriza*, a Village 8 leagues from *Tzuerin.*

Come to Novogorod.

The 11. We came to *Novogorod.* At the entrance of the City, the *Pristaf* took precedence of the Ambassadors, though they endeavour'd to hinder him. But as soon as we were lodg'd, he desir'd the Interpreter to excuse the incivility he had been guilty of, and to satisfie the Ambassadors, that what he had done was by express order from the *Weywode*, who would have done him some ill Office about the Great Duke if he had not obey'd him.

A description of the City of Novogorod.

From *Narva* to *Novogorod* are counted 40 *German* leagues; thence to *Plescou* 36. and to *Moscou* 120. leagues. *Novogorod* is situated upon the River *Wolgda*, at 58 degrees, 23 min. elevation. *Lundorp* in his Continuation of *Sleidan*, puts it at 62. and *Paulus Jovius*, at 64 degrees: but at the exact observation I made of it on the 15 of *March* 1636. I found, that, at noon, the Sun was above the Horizon 33 degr. 45 min. and that the declination of the Sun, by reason of the Leap-year, because of 55. degr. was 2 degr. and 8 min. which being substracted out of the elevation of the Sun, that of the Equinoctial line could be but 31 degr. 27 min. which taken out of 90 degr. there remains but 58 degrees, 23 minutes. Which almost agrees with the calculation made of it by *Bureus*, some time Ambassador for the Crown of *Sueden* in *Muscovy*, who puts the City of *Novogorod*, at 58 degrees, 13 minutes. It is seated in a spacious plain upon the River *Wolgda*, or *Wolchou*, which hath its rise out of the Lake of *Ilmen*, half a league above this City, and crossing the Lake of *Ladoga*, does, in its way, pass through the River *Niova*, near *Notebourg*, and by the Gulf of *Finland*, falls into the *Baltick* Sea. It abounds with all sorts of fish, especially *Breme*, which are there excellent good, and very cheap. But the greatest advantage accrews to this City from this River, is by Commerce. For being Navigable from its very source, and the Country abounding in Wheat, Flax, Hemp, Honey, Wax, and *Russia* Leather, which is better dress'd at *Novogorod*, than in any other City of *Muscovy*, the easiness of the transportation of these Commodities, brought thither not only the *Livonians* and *Suedes*, who are Neighbours, but also *Danes*, *Germans*, and *Flemmings*, who setled themselves there so well, that it was, without dispute, the greatest City for Trade in all the North. The Hanseatick Towns had an Office of Address in this City, which enjoying many great Privileges under its Prince, who had no dependance on the Great Duke, was grown so powerful, that it grew into a Proverb, *Ochto Moschet stoiati protif Bocho dai welik Novogorod?* Who can oppose God and the great City of *Novogorod?*

Some would compare it, for greatness, with *Rome*; but they are mistaken. For though it be called *Weliki Novogorod*, the great *Novogorod*, yet can it not be compar'd to *Rome.* It's not unlikely, it hath been greater than it is now, not only because it was the greatest for Commerce of any in the North, but also for that all about may be seen the ruins of Walls, and several Steeples, which, no doubt, had been part of the City. The number of its Steeples promises yet somewhat more great and noble, than what may be now seen; since that coming to the City, we see onely VValls of VVood, and Houses built with Beams lay'd one upon another.

Vithold, Great Duke of *Lithuania*, and General of the *Polish* Army, was the first that, in the year 1427. oblig'd it to pay a considerable Tribute, which some would have amount to 100000 Roubles, which come to above 200000 Crowns. The Tyrant *John Basili Grotsdin*, having after a seven years War, gain'd a great victory over an Army rais'd by this City, in the moneth of *November* 1477 forc'd the Inhabitants to submission, and to receive a Governour from him: but considering withall that he could not make himself as absolute as he would be there, and that it would be hard for him to settle himself there by force, he thought it best to go thither in person, pretending some concernments of Religion, and that he would prevent

their

their embracing the Roman Catholick. The Archbiſhop *Theophilus*, who had moſt authority there, was the moſt forward to promote his deſign, and the firſt rewarded for his pains. For no ſooner was the Tyrant got into the City, but he pillag'd it, ſo that, at his departure thence, he carry'd away three hundred Wagons loaden with Gold, Silver, and Jewels, beſides the rich ſtuffs and other ſumptuous moveables, which he diſpos'd into other Wagons, and convey'd to *Moſcou*, whither he alſo tranſported the Inhabitants, and ſent *Muſcovites* thither in their ſtead. But nothing contributed more to the deſtruction of this Citie, than the bruitiſh cruelty of *John Baſilouits*, Great Duke of *Muſcovy*. This Tyrant, upon a meer ſuſpition he had conceiv'd of the Inhabitants of *Novogorod*, enter'd the City, in the year 1569. and caus'd to be kill'd or caſt into the River 2770. perſons, without any reſpect of quality, age, or ſex, beſides an Infinite number of poor people who were trampled to death by a party of horſe. A Gentleman, ſent by the King of *Denmark*, to this Tyrant, eight years after the taking of the City, relates in his *Itinerary*, that perſons of quality had aſſur'd him, that there were ſo many bodies caſt into *Wolgda*, that the River ſtopping overflow'd all the neighbouring fields. The Plague which ſoon follow'd this cruelty, was ſo great, that, no body venturing to bring in Proviſions, the Inhabitants fed on the dead Carcaſſes. The Tyrant took a pretence from this inhumanity to cauſe to be cut in pieces all thoſe who had eſcap'd the Plague, Famine, and his former cruelty, which was no doubt more dreadful than all the other chaſtiſements of God. I ſhall allege onely two Examples relating to *Novogorod*. The Archbiſhop of this place, having eſcap'd the firſt fury of the Soldiery, either as an acknowledgement of the favour, or to flatter the Tyrant, entertains him at a great Feaſt in his Archiepiſcopal Palace, whither the Duke fayl'd not to come, with his Guard about him: but while they were at Dinner, he ſent to pillage the rich Temple of St. *Sophia*, and all the Treaſures of the other Churches, which had been brought thither, as to a place of ſafety. After Dinner he caus'd the Archbiſhops Palace to be in like manner pillaged, and told the Archbiſhop, that it would be ridiculous for him to act the Prelate any longer, ſince he had not to bear himſelf out in that quality; that he muſt put off his rich habit, which muſt thence-forward be troubleſome to him, and that he would beſtow on him a Bagpipe and a Bear, which he ſhould lead up and down, and teach to dance, to get mony; That he muſt reſolve to marry, and that all the other Prelates and Abbots that were about the City ſhould be invited to the Wedding, ſetting down the preciſe ſum which it was his pleaſure that every one ſhould preſent to the new-married couple. None but brought what he had made a ſhift to ſave, thinking the poor Archbiſhop would have had it. But the Tyrant took all the money, and, having caus'd a white Mare to be brought, ſaid to the Archbiſhop; There is thy wife, get up on her, and go to *Moſcou*, where I will have thee entertain'd among the Violins, that thou may'ſt teach the Bear to dance. The Archbiſhop was forc'd to obey, and, as ſoon as he was mounted, they ty'd his legs under the Mare's belly, hung about his neck ſome Pipes, a Fidle, and a Timbrel, and would needs make him play on the Pipes. He ſcap'd with this puniſhment, but all the other Abbots and Monks were either cut to pieces, or, with Pikes and Halbards, forc'd into the River. 1636.

An example of cruelty.

Nay, he had a particular longing for the mony of one *Theodore Sircon*, a rich Merchant. He ſent for him to the Camp neer *Novogorod*, and, having faſten'd a rope about his waſte, order'd him to be caſt into the River, drawing him from one ſide of it to the other, till he was ready to give up the ghoſt. Then he caus'd him to be taken up, and ask'd him what he had ſeen under water. The Merchant anſwer'd, That he had ſeen a great number of Devils thronging about the Tyrant's ſoul, to carry it along with them to Hell. The Tyrant reply'd, Thou art in the right on't: but it is juſt I ſhould reward thee for thy prophecy, whereupon calling for ſeething oil, he cauſed his feet to be put into it, and continu'd there, till he had promis'd to pay him ten thouſand Crowns. Which done, he caus'd him to be cut to pieces, with his brother *Alexis*.

The Baron of *Herberſtein*, who travel'd into *Muſcovy*, in the time of the Emperor *Maximilian* the firſt, and about his Affairs, ſays, that heretofore, before the City of *Novogorod* was converted to the Chriſtian Faith, there was an Idol called *Perun*, that is, the God of Fire, *perun*, in the *Muſcovian* language ſignifying fire. This God was repreſented with a Thunder-bolt in his hand, and hard by him was kept a conſtant fire of Oak, which was not to go out, but at the peril of their lives who kept it. The ſame Author addes, that the Inhabitants of *Novogorod* having received Baptiſm, and being made Chriſtians, caſt the Idol into water, that it went againſt the ſtream of the River, and that being near the Bridge, it call'd to the Inhabitants, and caſting a ſtick among them, bid them keep it for his ſake; That in his time, on a certain day in the year, the voice of *Perun* was heard there, and that thereupon the Inhabitants fell a-fighting with ſticks, ſo earneſtly, that the *Weywode* had much ado to ſeparate them. But now there is no talk of any ſuch thing, there being no monument of *Perun* left, other than that there is a Monaſtery called *Perunski Monaſtir*, which they ſay is built in the place where the Temple of the Idol ſtood before. Perun.

Without the City, and on the other ſide of the River, is a Caſtle, encompaſs'd with a ſtone-wall,

1636. wall, where live the *Weywode* and the Metropolitan, or Arch-biſhop, who hath the over-ſight of Eccleſiaſtical affairs all over the Province. This Caſtle joyns to the City by a great Bridge, from which, Duke *John Baſilouits* caus'd a great number of Inhabitants to be caſt into the River, as was ſaid before. Over againſt the Caſtle, on the ſame ſide with the City, is a Convent, dedicated to St. *Anthony*. The *Muſcovites* ſay, he came from *Rome* into thoſe parts upon a Mill-ſtone, upon which he came down the *Tiber*, croſs'd the Sea, and ſo up the River *Wolgda*, to *Novogorod*. They add, that, by the way, he met certain Fiſher-men, with whom he bargain'd for the firſt draught they ſhould make: that they brought up a Cheſt full of Prieſts Veſtiments to ſay Maſs in, Books, and Money, belonging to this Saint, and that afterwards he built a Chapel there, in which they ſay he lies interr'd, and that his Body is there to be ſeen, as entire as when he departed this World. Many Miracles are wrought there, as they ſay; but they permit not ſtrangers to go in, thinking it enough to ſhew them the Mill-ſtone, upon which the Saint perform'd this pretended voyage, and which indeed may be ſeen lying againſt the Wall. The Devotions performed there have been ſuch as have built a very fair Monaſtery in that place.

St. Anthony's Monaſtery.

We ſtaid at *Novogorod*, five days, during which the *Weywode* ſent us a Preſent of 24 ſorts of meat, dreſs'd after their way, and 16 ſorts of drink. The Chancellor, *Bogdan Fœderouits Oboburou*, who had been our *Priſtaf* in the former Voyage, ſent us alſo divers delicacies. The Ambaſſadors preſented the *Weywode* with a new Coach.

The Am. baſſadors leave Novogorod.

March 16. We had brought us 129 freſh Horſes for our Sledges, and we got that day four leagues to *Brunits*, where we took up freſh Horſes again, wherewith, the next day, we travel'd in the forenoon 8 leagues to *Miedna*, and in the afternoon, four and a half to *Kreſſa*. The 18 we got before dinner ſix leagues to *Jaſelbitza*; in the afternoon, four to *Simnagora*. The 19. nine leagues to *Columna*; and the 20. five, to *Wiſna wolloka*, where we ſaw a young man of 12 years of age that was married. At *Tuere*, we ſaw a married woman that was but 11. and this is ordinary in *Muſcovy*, as alſo in *Finland*. The ſame night we came to *Windra Pusk*, having travel'd that afternoon ſeven leagues. In this laſt place, there were but three houſes, and the ſtoves ſo naſty and ſtinking, that we had a very ill night of it, though indeed in other places the ſtoves are not kept much better than ſtables in our Country.

Brunits. Miedna. Kreſſa. Iaſelbitza. Simnagora Columna. Wiſna wolloka. Windra Pusk.

The 21 we got 7 leagues, to *Torſock*. The 22. ſix, to *Troitska Miedna*; and the 23. ſix more, to *Tuere*, mentioned before. Here the ſnow beginning to melt in ſeveral places, we quitted our Sledges, and took the *Wolgda*, which was ſtill frozen, and travel'd that day ſix leagues, to *Gorodna*. The 24. we went by land again, for the Ice began to give way, and got to *Sawidoua*; and thence to *Saulkspas*, ſeven leagues from our laſt lodging, having, by the way, paſs'd ſeveral Brooks with great difficulty, by reaſon the Ice was looſe. The 25. we paſs'd by a great Village called *Klin*, behind which is the Brook *Seſtrea*, which falls into the River *Dubna*, and, with it, into *Wolgda*. We were forc'd to ſtay the flakes of Ice with ſtakes, which we made a ſhift to faſten in the Brook, to hinder them from carrying us away. The next day we paſs'd it again, by reaſon it winds it ſelf up and down in thoſe parts, and lodg'd that night at *Beſchick*, ſeven leagues from *Klin*. The 27. we paſs'd two other little Brooks, and got 6 leagues forwards, to *Zerkizouo*. The 28. we got but three leagues, to *Nicola-Darebna*, which the Author, in the firſt Book calls *Nicola Nachinski*, within two leagues of *Moſcou*, where the Ambaſſadors are wont to expect the Great Duke's pleaſure, and the order he would have obſerv'd in their entrance. In the mean time we fitted our Liveries, and ſet our ſelves in order for our Cavalcade, which we made the next day at Noon, as followeth.

Torſock. Troitza Miedna. Tuere. Sawidowa Saulkſpas. Klin. Beſchick. Zerkizouo Nicola-Darebna.

Their entrance into Moſcou.

Firſt, went the 24 Musketiers who had conducted us from the Frontiers, being all *Coſaques*.

After them our Mareſchal alone.

Then the Officers and Gentlemen, three a-breaſt, and thoſe of beſt quality firſt.

Three Trumpetters, with ſilver Trumpets.

Then the Ambaſſadors, each in his Sledge, having before them ſix with Carabins, and on both ſides as many, with Partizans.

Next the Sledges, came the Pages, and after them, the reſt of the retinue on horſe-back, and the baggage, all in very good order. The *Priſtaf* took place of the Ambaſſadors. Being come within half a league of the City, there met us many Troops of horſe, *Muſcovian*, *Tartars*, and ſome *Germans*, who having rid about our Cavalcade, return'd to the City. After theſe came ſeveral other Troops, which divided themſelves, and encompaſſing us on both ſides, conducted us to the City.

About a quarter of a league from the City we met two *Priſtafs*, with a very noble attendance, and the ſame equipage they had at our former reception. Being come within 20. paces of us, they ſent word to the Ambaſſadors, that they ſhould alight out of their Sledges, and come to them. The *Priſtafs* neither alighted, nor uncover'd themſelves, till the Ambaſſadors had done both. They are enjoyn'd to proceed with this reſervedneſs, and to ſtand very much upon the grandeur and reputation of their Prince, upon pain of being caſt out of favour, which diſgrace is many times attended with whipping or cudgeling.

Our

Our reception was after the same manner as the first time, the more aged *Pristaf* beginning in theſe termes; *The Grand Seigneur, Czaar, and Great Duke*, Michael Federouits, &c. (repeating all the other Titles) *hath commanded us to receive thee*, Philip Cruſius, *and thee* Otton Brugman, *great Ambaſſador from the Grand Seignor*, Frederick *Duke of* Holſtein, *and to conduct you to his Capital City of* Moſcou. To which the other added; *His Majeſty hath appointed theſe Tumoronins, or Gentlemen, here preſent, Juan Juanioſin Salmoſin, and my ſelf Andrew Juanouits Zabarou, to be your Priſtafs during the abode you ſhall make there.* Then the Maſter of the Horſe preſented himſelf, made his complement, and brought the Ambaſſadors, two very ſtately Horſes, white as ſnow, and twelve others for the chief of their retinue. From the Gate to our Lodgings, we paſs'd through a double file of Musketiers, to the number of above 3000. and we were lodg'd in that quarter of the City which is called *Cataigorod*, not far from the Caſtle, in a ſtone-houſe, built by an Archbiſhop named *Suſinski*, who fell into diſgrace ſome years before, and was baniſh'd. 1636. *The reception of the Ambaſſadors.*

As ſoon as we had alighted, there were brought in, from the Great Duke's Kitchin and Cellar, all ſorts of meats and drinks. And from that time during our ſtay at *Moſcou*, we were allow'd, every day, ſixty two Loaves, a quarter of Beef, four Sheep, a dozen of Pullets, two Geeſe, one Hare, and one Heath-cock, alternately, fifty Eggs, ten pence towards Candles, and five pence for ſmall things us'd in the Kitchin, one Pot of Sack, eight of Hydromel, three of Beer, and three ſmall pots of Strong-water. Beſides all this, for a common ſtock, a Tun of Beer, a leſſer Tun of Hydromel, and a Barrel of Strong-water. With this we had, by way of extraordinary in the week, a *poude*, that is, forty pound of Butter, and as much Salt, three Pails of Vinigre, two Muttons, and a Gooſe. This allowance was doubled at our arrival, as alſo upon *Palm*-Sunday, *Eaſter*-day, and the young Prince's Birth-day; but we had them dreſs'd by our own Cooks. The houſe-door was kept by a *Deſetnick*, or Corporal, who had nine Muſketiers about him: but the *Priſtaf*'s came every day, to entertain and divert us; and immediately after our firſt publick Audience, or as ſoon as we have been ſo happy as to have ſeen the bright eyes of his Majeſty the *Czaar*, as they expreſs it, they gave us the ſame liberty as we had at our former Voyage. *Their allowance.*

Arril 3. we had our firſt publick Audience, to which we were conducted with the ſame Ceremonies as before, and, in our Cavalcade, we obſerv'd the ſame order as we had at our entrance; unleſs it were, that the Secretary went next the Ambaſſadors carrying the Credential Letters upon a great piece of Crimſon Taffata. The Musketiers had made a lane from our Lodging to the Caſtle, but all could not keep off the people from thronging in to ſee us. APRIL

The Courriers went and came, as their cuſtome is, to give directions for our march; to order it ſo, as that the Great Duke might aſcend his Throne, juſt at the arrival of the Ambaſſadors.

The Ceremonies of the Audience were as is before mentioned. And the Propoſitions made contained only complements, thanks for his Majeſties favour, in granting the Ambaſſadors a paſſage into *Perſia*, and deſires to have ſome ſecret conferences.

As ſoon as we were return'd to our Lodgings, came one of the Great Duke's Carvers, named *Knez Simon Petrouits Luon*, with forty diſhes of meat from his Majeſty, all Fiſh, fry'd things, and pulſe, it being in their Lent: and twelve pots of ſeveral ſorts of drinks.

The Cloath being layd, and the meat ſerv'd up, he preſented, with his own hand, to the Ambaſſadors and thoſe of their retinue, to every one a Gobelet full of a very ſtrong Aquavitæ, took himſelf a great Vermilion gilt-cup, and drunk the Great Duke's health, then the young Prince's, and then that of his Highneſs, obliging all to pledge him. He was preſented with a piece of Plate gilt, and thoſe who brought in the meat had two Crowns a-piece given them.

We ſate down; but moſt of the diſhes being dreſs'd with Onions and Garlick, we eat very little, and ſent the reſt to our friends in the City. But what we ſpar'd in meat, we made good in drink, whereto we were partly encourag'd by the *Perſian* Ambaſſadors, who being lodg'd near us, gave us the divertiſement of their Bagpipes, and Hautbois, and partly by the excellent Wines, which the Great Duke had ſent us.

Apr. 5. we had our firſt private Audience, with the ordinary Ceremonies, having the ſame Commiſſioners we had in our former negotiation, except the Chancellour *Juan Taraſſouits Grammatin*, who, by reaſon of age, had reſign'd his charge, which was conferr'd upon *Fedor Fedorouſin Lichozou*. While we were at this Audience, there died at our Lodging one of our Lacqueyes, who, ſome few dayes before, having been overturn'd in one of the Sledges, had been hurt by the Ambaſſador *Brugman*'s Cabinet, which fell upon his breaſt. Being of the reform'd religion, his body was carried to the Church of that Profeſſion, where he had a Funeral Sermon, after which he was buried in the Church-yard belonging to the *Germans*. The Great Duke ſent us for the ſolemnity of the enterment, a *Priſtaf*, and 15. white Horſes out of his own Stables.

The 9. We had our ſecond private Audience. The 10. being *Palm*-Sunday, the *Muſcovites* had a noble Proceſſion, to repreſent our Saviour's entrance into *Jeruſalem*, and, that we might the *The Palm-Sunday Proceſſion.*

1636. the more conveniently ſee it, having expreſs'd our deſires to that purpoſe, the Great Duke ſent the Ambaſſadors their ordinary Horſes, and fifteen others for their retinue. He order'd alſo to be kept for us a place, near the Caſtle-Gate, whence they drove out the people which had throng'd in to the number of 10000. The *Perſian* Ambaſſadors were plac'd behind us, in the little Theatre we have ſpoken of before.

The Great Duke having been at ſervice in our Lady's Church, came out of the Caſtle with the Patriarch in very good order.

Firſt, came a very large Chariot, made of boards nail'd together, but low, drawing after it a Tree, on which hung abundance of Apples, Figs, and Grapes. In it were four little Boys with ſurpliſſes, who ſung the Hoſanna.

Then follow'd many Prieſts, in their ſurpliſſes and copes, carrying Croſſes, Banners, and Images, upon long Poles; ſome of them ſung, others caſt Incenſe among the people. Next came the *Goſes* or Duke's Merchants; after them the *Diaken*, *Clerks*, *Secretaries*, *Knez* and *Bojares*, having, moſt of them Palms in their hands, and went immediately before the Great Duke, who was moſt richly clad, with a Crown upon his head, ſupported by the two principal Counſellors of State, *Knez Juan Boriſowits Cyrcaski*, and *Knez Alexey Michaelouits Wou*, and led, himſelf, by the bridle, the Patriarch's Horſe, which was cover'd with Cloath, and made to repreſent an Aſſe. The Patriarch, who rid on him, had on his head a round white Satin Cap, beſet with rich Pearls, and about it a very rich Crown. He had in his right hand a Croſs of Diamonds, wherewith he bleſs'd the people, who receiv'd his benediction with great ſubmiſſion, bowing their heads, and inceſſantly making the ſign of the Croſs. About and behind him were Metropolitans, Biſhops, and other Prieſts, whereof ſome carried Books, others Cenſers. About fifty little Boys, moſt clad in red, put off their Caſacks and ſcatter'd them along the way: others had pieces of Cloath about an Ell-ſquare, of all colours, which they laid on the ground, for the Great Duke and Patriarch to paſs over. The Great Duke being come over againſt us, made a halt, and ſent his principal Interpreter, *John Helmes*, to ask after our health, and went not on till our anſwer was brought him. This done, he went into the Church, where he ſtay'd about half an hour. In his return, he ſtopp'd again at the ſame place, to give the Ambaſſadors notice that he would ſend them a Dinner from his own Table: which yet was not done, but inſtead thereof, our ordinary allowance was doubled.

The honour the Great Duke did the Patriarch in leading his horſe, is worth to him 400 Crowns, which the Patriarch is oblig'd to give him. Upon *Palm*-Sunday, the ſame Ceremonies were obſerv'd all over *Muſcovy*; the Metropolitanes and Biſhops repreſenting the perſon of the Patriarch, the *Weiwodes* or Governours, that of the Great Duke.

The Muſcovian celebration of Eaſter.

April. 17. was their *Eaſter*-day. 'Tis the greateſt of all their Feſtivals, and they celebrate it with abundance of Ceremonies, and great rejoycings, as well in remembrance of our Saviour's Reſurrection, as that it puts a period to their *Lent*. The ſtreets were all full of a ſort of Merchants, who ſold Eggs of all ſorts of colours, which the *Muſcovites* ſend by way of Preſent one to another, for a fortnight together after *Eaſter*, during which time, when they meet, they kiſs each other, and their ſalutation is in theſe words, *Chriſtos wos Chreſt*, that is, *Chriſt is riſen*, whereto the other anſwers, *Woſtin wos Chreſt*, that is, *He is riſen indeed*. No perſon, what condition, ſex, or other quality ſoever he be of, dares refuſe theſe kiſſes, or the Eggs, that are preſented to him. The Great Duke himſelf hath Preſented ſome to the principal Counſellors, and Lords of his Court. He is wont alſo, on *Eaſter-day*, betimes in the morning, to viſit the Priſoners before he goes to Church, and to order every one to have an Egg given him, and ſome ſheep-skin fur beſtow'd on them, exhorting them to rejoyce, ſince Chriſt dy'd for their ſins, and was now truly riſen again. That done, he cauſes the Priſon-doors to be ſhut again, and goes to his Devotions. Their greateſt rejoycings conſiſt in Feaſts, and good Cheer; but eſpecially in debauches, in common drinking-houſes, which are full of all ſorts of perſons, Men and Women, Eccleſiaſtick and Laicks, who get ſo drunk, that the ſtreets are pav'd with Drunkards. The preſent Patriarch hath prohibited them, and order'd that on *Eaſter*-day no drinking places ſhould be open; but he is not much obey'd.

Brugman *hath a private audience.*

April 29. The Ambaſſador *Brugman* deſir'd, and had, a private audience of the *Bojares*; to which he went alone, without his Collegue, and but few perſons about him. It was given him in the Exchequer, and laſted above two hours; what he treated about we could never learn, till afterward, by the charge put in againſt him at our return home.

MAY.

May 6. The Ambaſſadors had together their third conference with the *Bojares*; the 17. the fourth; and the 27. the fifth and laſt private audience.

May 30. The Great Duke permitted the young Prince's Governour, to go a-hawking, and to invite, to that Divertiſement, the Gentlemen of our retinue. He ſent us Horſes, and carried us two Leagues from the City into moſt pleaſant Meadow grounds. Having ſported two or three hours, we were treated with a Collation, under a Tent pitch'd there for that end. The treatment was ordinary, Strong-water, Hydromel, Ginger-bread, and preſerv'd Cherries.

June

June 1. The *Muſcovites* celebrated with great ſolemnities the birth-day of their young Prince, *Knez Juan Michaelouits*. Our ordinary allowance of Proviſions was doubled. 1636. JUNE.

The 3. The Ambaſſador *Brugman* had a ſecond private conference with the *Bojares*. *June* 14. being Whitſun-eve, the Great Duke gave publick audience to all the Ambaſſadors then in *Moſco*, in order to their departure. That of *Perſia* went firſt to audience: he was a *Cupzin*, or Merchant; as he came back he had on his other Cloaths, according to the *Perſian* cuſtom a Garment of Crimſon-Satin, lined with the beſt kind of Sables which the Great Duke had Preſented him with.

After him went the *Greeeks*, *Armenians*, and *Tartars*, who in their return, caus'd their Letters, and the Preſents they had receiv'd, to be carried before them.

The 12. Arrived there our Controller, who had ſtay'd at *Dantzick*, to look after the finiſhing of ſome Preſents which we were to carry into *Perſia*. The Great Duke was gone on a Pilgrimage out of the City, and the Chancellor durſt not permit the Controller to enter in without his Majeſties expreſs order; which occaſion'd his ſtaying three dayes in the Suburbs.

The 15. The Great Duke and Dutcheſs return'd to *Moſcou*. The Duke was attended by a great nnmber of Lords: the Dutcheſs had about her 36. Ladies, or Maids of honour. They were all on Horſ-back, ſitting a-ſtride, cloath'd in red, white Hats on their heads, with great red bands dangling at their backs, white Scarfs about their necks; they were moſt wickedly be-painted. *The great Dutcheſs her Cavalcade.*

The 17. I was ſent to the Chancellor, to ſpeak to him concerning our diſpatches. He would do me the greateſt honour I could expect, and order'd, I ſhould be brought in to audience by a *Priſtaf*. That importunate civility coſt me two hours attendance in the Antichamber, till a *Priſtaf* was found. The Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor receiv'd me kindly, and diſmiſs'd me well ſatisfy'd. The Table in the Audience Chamber was cover'd with a very rich *Perſian* Carpet, upon which was a ſilver Standiſh, but without any Ink in it: I was told afterwards, that they were ſet there only for the time I was to ſtay in the room, which was but poorly furniſh'd without them.

The 20. The *Priſtafs* came to tell us, that we might take our journey for *Perſia* when we pleas'd, and that at our return thence, we ſhould have the honour to kiſs his Majeſties hand, it being not fit they did it then, ſince the Ambaſſadors were not to return into their own Country, and that at the laſt publick audience only, the Great Duke was oblig'd to anſwer the Credentials they had brought.

We accordingly prepar'd for our departure, got Boats to be provided to carry us upon the River to *Niſa*, and took into our ſervice, three Lieutenants, four Serjeants, and twenty three Souldiers, *Scots* and *Germans*. The Great Duke gave us leave to take them out of his own Guard, for our ſecurity againſt the incurſions of the *Tartars*, which make travelling neer *Wolgda* very dangerous. We alſo hir'd certain *Muſcovites*, for ordinary Employments. The 24. and 25. were ſpent in putting our things aboard, and ſending away certain braſs Guns we had brought out of *Germany*, and ſome Cabinets we had bought at *Moſcou*, and part of our Baggage, ordering the Conductor to ſtay for us at *Niſa*.

The 26. came in Ambaſſadors, or, as the *Muſcovites* call them, *Courriers of quality*, from the King of *Poland*. We went out of the City, to obſerve their entrance. As ſoon as they perceiv'd us, they ſaluted us very civilly, putting off their Hats, but their demeanour towards the *Muſcovites* was much wanting of reſpect, never offering to be uncovered. They alſo oblig'd the *Priſtafs* to alight, and uncover themſelves firſt, ſaying, they were not there to do the *Muſcovites* any honour, but to receive it from them. There were no Horſes out the Great Duke's Stables at the entrance of theſe Ambaſſadors, becauſe another *Poliſh* Ambaſſador, had, ſome few dayes before, refus'd them, and made uſe of his own. *The entrance of Ambaſſadors from Poland.*

This other *Poliſh* Ambaſſador had been ſent to the Great Duke immediately after the defeat of the *Muſcovites* before *Smolenſco*, which gave him occaſion to be ſo inſolent as he was, during his ſtay at *Moſco*. He would needs make his propoſition ſitting, and perceiving that, when he pronounc'd the name and titles of his King, the *Bojares* were not uncover'd, he ſtopp'd, till ſuch time as the Grand Duke had commanded them to be ſo The King of *Poland* had ſent the Great Duke no Preſent, but the Ambaſſador gave him, as from himſelf, a very fair Coach. and yet when the Duke ſent him a rich Preſent of Sables, he refus'd them. Whereupon the Great Duke ſent back his Coach, which the Ambaſſador being angry at, took that occaſion to tumble the *Priſtaf* from the top of a high pair of ſtairs to the bottom. The Great Duke was ſo incens'd thereat, that he ſent one to tell the Ambaſſador, that he knew not, whether this demeanour of his was according to his Maſter's order, or that the rudeneſs proceeded from his own paſſion; that if his King had commanded him to do ſo, patience muſt be had, till God enabled him to expreſs his reſentment of it, that the event of War was in his hands, and that another time he might be the more fortunate: but that if he had done this without *The fierceneſs of a Poliſh Ambaſſador.*

1636. order, and upon his own accompt, complaint ſhould be made of it to the King his Maſter.

The 26 of *June*, the *Priſtaf* brought us the Great Dukes Paſs, which for the odneſs of the ſtile, we think fit to inſert here, faithfully tranſlated out of the *Muſcovian* language.

The Great Duke's Paſs.

From the Grand Seigneur and Great Duke of all the Ruſſes, Michael Federouits; *We enjoyn all our* Bojares, Weiwodes *and* Diaken, *and all our Commanders from the City of* Moſcou *to* Columna, *and thence to* Pereſtaf, Reſansky, *and* Kaſimoua, *to* Murama, *and* Niſe-Novogorod, *to* Caſan, *and* Aſtrachan, *to let paſs* Philip Cruſius *and* Otton Brugman, *Ambaſſadors and Counſellours from* Frederick, *Duke of* Holſtein, *whom we have permitted to go from* Moſcou *into* Perſia, *to* Schach Sefi *of* Perſia: *by vertue of a Treaty made for the Paſſage and Commerce of the Merchants of* Holſtein. *We have alſo permitted them to take along with them their* Germans *of* Holſtein, *to the number of 85 perſons, and for their convoy* 30 *Souldiers, choſen, with our conſent, out of the* Germans, *who ſerve in* Muſcovy, *which number they may augment, for the ſafety of their Voyage of* Perſia, *at* Niſa, Caſſan, *or* Aſtrachan, *by eleven men*, Germans *or* Muſcovites, *voluntiers. We alſo permit them, at* Niſa, *to hire two Pilots, who are acquainted with the courſe of the* Wolgda. *We conſent, and in like manner permit the ſaid Ambaſſadors of* Holſtein, *if, at their return from* Perſia, *they ſtand in need of a Convoy, or other people for buſineſs, to take at* Caſſan, *or* Aſtrachan, *or any where elſe they ſhall think fit, forty men, or ſuch other number as they ſhall think requiſite for the proſecution of their Voyage: provided, that thoſe of our people who ſhall hire themſelves to the ſaid Ambaſſadors, give in their names to the* Bojares, Weiwodes, *and* Diaken *of the place of their abode, as well at their departure thence, as at their return thither, that there may be a Regiſter kept thereof. And if they return from* Perſia *in the Winter, it ſhall be lawful for them, for their money, to take into their ſervice ſuch a number of men, and Sledges, as they ſhall think requiſite for the continuation of their Voyage.*

We have alſo appointed Rodiuon Gabato, *Gentleman of* Aſtrachan, *to conduct the ſaid Ambaſſadors from* Moſcou *to* Aſttachan, *Wherefore we command you, our* Bojares; Weiwodes, Diaken, *and Commanders, to let paſs the ſaid* Rodiuon, *with the Ambaſſadors of* Holſtein, *Without any let. And if after their Voyage of* Perſia, *at their return thence, they are deſirous to to repaſs through the Countries in our obedience, you ſhall permit them to take into their ſervice, for labour, or for convoy upon the* Wolga, *forty men, or ſuch other number as they ſhall ſtand in need of, which they ſhall take by vertue of this preſent Paſs-port, at* Aſtrachan, Caſſan, *or any other place they ſhall think fit. And our ſaid Subjects ſhall be oblig'd to cauſe their names to be enroll'd, as well at their departure as at their return, to the end notice may be taken, that no Robbers*, Golops, *or fugitive Slaves get in among them. In like manner at the return of their Voyage, if they paſs through* Muſcovy *in the Winter time, it ſhall be lawfull for them, at their own charge, to hire ſuch a number of Sledges, as they ſhall think fit, ſo as that they be not hindred in the proſecution of their Voyage, either in Cities or in the Country. Enjoyning further, that all reſpect be given to the Ambaſſadors of* Holſtein, *and all civillity done their people, both going and coming, not permitting that they ſhould ſuffer any violence, or be robbed: obliging them alſo, for their part, not to take any proviſions by force of any whatſoever; but it ſhall be lawful for them, to buy, for their money, of thoſe that ſhall be willing to ſell to them, both going and coming. Writ at* Moſcou, *in the year 7144.* June 20. *and ſigned*, The Czaar, and Great Duke of all the Ruſſes, Michael Federouits; *and lower*, Deak Maxim Matuskin; *and ſealed with the great Seal.*

The Ambaſſadors leave Moſcou.

The *Priſtaf* having given us our Paſs-port, we appointed *Jun.* 30. for our departure. Mr. *David Ruts* gave us another entertainment that day, and kept us till the laſt hour of the day, which (the *Muſcovites* beginning it at Sun-riſing, and ending it at Sun-ſet) having ſtruck, the *Priſtaf* caus'd to be brought out the Great Dukes Horſes, and haſten'd our departure, being accompany'd by ſeveral perſons of quality, who brought us as far as the Monaſtery of *Simana*, three leagues from *Moſcou*, where our Boat waited for us, avoiding by that means the many windings of the River from *Moſcou* thither.

A deſcription of Moſcou.

But it were not handſome to leave *Moſcou* without giving ſome account of that great City, the Metropolis of all *Muſcovy*, to which it gives the name, as it takes its own from the River *Moska*. This River, which paſſes through, and divides all the reſt of the City, from that quarter of it which is called *Strelitza Slauoda*, riſes out of the Province of *Tuere*, and having joyn'd its waters with thoſe of the *Occa*, near *Columna*, it falls together with the other, about half a league thence, into the *Wolga*. The City is elevated 55 degr. 36 min. its longitude 66 degrees, in the midſt of all the Country, and almoſt at an equal diſtance from all the Frontiers, which is above 120 *German* leagues. It is about three leagues about, and, no doubt, hath been heretofore bigger than it is now. *Mathius de Michou*, a Canon of *Cracovia*, who flouriſh'd at the beginning of the laſt age, ſays, that, in his time, it was twice as big as the City of *Prague*. The *Tartars* of *Crim* and *Precop*, burnt it in the year 1571. and the *Poles* ſet it a-fire in the year 1611. ſo as that there was nothing left of it but the Caſtle; and yet now there are numbred in it above 40000 houſes, and it is out of all controverſie one of the greateſt Cities in *Europe*.

'Tis

'Tis true, that, the Palaces of great Lords, and the Houſes of ſome rich Merchants excepted, which are of Brick or Stone, all the reſt are of Wood, and made up of beams, and croſs-pieces of Firr laid one upon another. They cover them with barks of trees, upon which they ſometimes put another covering of Turfes. The careleſneſs of the *Muſcovites*, and the diſorders of their houſe-keeping are ſuch, that there hardly paſſes a moneth, nay not a week, but ſome place or other takes fire, which, meeting with what is very combuſtible, does in a moment reduce many houſes, nay, if the wind be any thing high, whole ſtreets into aſhes. Some few days before our arrival, the fire had conſumed the third part of the City; and about 5 or 6 years ſince, the like accident had near deſtroy'd it all. To prevent this, the *Strelits* of the Guard, and the Watch, are enjoyn'd, in the night time to carry Pole-axes, wherewith they break down the houſes adjoyning to thoſe which are a-fire, by which means they hinder the progreſs of it, with much better ſucceſs than if they attempted the quenching of it. And that it may not faſten on other more ſolid ſtructures, the doors and windows are very narrow, having ſhutters of Lattin, to prevent the ſparks and flaſhes from getting in. Thoſe who have their houſes burnt, have this comfort withall, that they may buy houſes ready built, at a market for that purpoſe, without the white-Wall, at a very eaſy rate, and have them taken down, tranſported, and in a ſhort time ſet up in the ſame place where the former ſtood. 1636. *Its building moſt of Wood.*

The ſtreets of *Moſcou* are handſome, and very broad, but ſo dirty, after rain hath ever ſo little moiſten'd the ground, that it were impoſſible to get out of the dirt, were it not for the great Poſts, which ſet together make a kind of bridge, much like that of the *Rhin*, near *Strasbourg* which bridges, in foul weather, ſerve for a kind of pavement.

The City is divided into four quarters, or circuits, whereof the firſt is called *Catayrogod*, that is, the mid-City, as being in the midſt of the others. This quarter is divided from the reſt by a brick-wall, which the *Muſcovites* call *craſne ſtenna*, that is, red ſtone. The *Moska* paſſes on the South-ſide of it, and the River *Neglina*, which joyns with the other behind the Caſtle, on the North ſide. The Great Duke's Palace, called *Cremelena*, and which is of greater extent than many other ordinary Cities, takes up almoſt one half of it, and is fortify'd with three ſtrong walls, and a good ditch, and very well mounted with Canon. In the midſt of the Caſtle are two Steeples, one very high, and cover'd with Copper gilt, as all the other Steeples of the Caſtle are. This Steeple is called *Juan Welike*, that is, the *Great John*. The other is conſiderable only for the Bell within it, made by the Great Duke *Boris Gudenou*, weighing 33600. pounds. It is not toll'd, but upon great Feſtivals, or to honour the entrance and audience of Ambaſſadors: but to ſtir it there muſt be 24 men, who pull it by a Rope that comes down into the Court, while ſome others are above to help it on by thruſting. The Great Duke's Palace ſtands towards the further ſide of the Caſtle, with that of the Patriarch, and appartements for ſeveral *Bojares*, who have places at Court. There is alſo lately built a very fair Palace of ſtone, according to the *Italian* Architecture, for the young Prince; but the Great Duke continues ſtill in his wooden Palace, as being more healthy than ſtone-ſtructures. The Exchequer, and the Magazine of Powder and proviſions are alſo within the Caſtle. Catayrogod. Cremelena.

There are alſo within it two fair Monaſteries, one for men, the other for women, and above fifty Churches and Chapels, all built of ſtone; among others, thoſe of the B. *Trinity*, St. *Mary*'s, St. *Michael*'s, wherein are the Sepulchres of the Great Dukes, and St. *Nicholas*'s.

At the Caſtle-Gate, but without the Walls, on the South-ſide, is a fair Church Dedicated to the B. *Trinity*, and commonly called *Jeruſalem*. When it was finiſh'd, the Tyrant *John Baſilouits*, thought it ſo magnificent a ſtructure, that he caus'd the Architect's eyes to be put out, that he might not afterwards do any thing that ſhould be comparable to that. Near this Church are two great pieces of Canon, with the mouths towards that ſtreet by which the *Tartars* were wont to make their irruptions; but theſe pieces are now diſmounted, and uſeleſs.

In the ſpacious place, before the Caſtle, is the chief Market of the City kept; all day it is full of people, but eſpecially ſlaves, and idle perſons. All the Market-place is full of Shops, as alſo all the ſtreets abutting upon it: but every Trade hath a ſtation by it ſelf, ſo as the Mercers intermingle not with the Linnen or Wollen-Drapers, nor Goldſmiths with Sadlers, Shoemakers, Taylors, Furriers, and the like, but every Profeſſion and Trade hath its proper ſtreet: which is ſo much the greater convenience, in that a man does, of a ſudden, caſt his eye on all he can deſire. Sempſtreſſes have their ſhops in the midſt of the Market, where there is alſo another ſort of Women Traders, who have Rings in their mouths, and, with their Rubies and Turquoiſes, put off another commodity which is not ſeen in the Market. There is a particular ſtreet where are ſold the Images of their Saints. 'Tis true, theſe go not under the name of Merchandiſe, among the *Muſcovites*, who would make ſome difficulty to ſay they had *bought* a Saint; but they ſay, they receive them by way of Exchange or Trucking, for money: and ſo when they buy, they make no bargain, but lay down what the Painter demands.

1636. There is yet another place, in this quarter, called the *Hair-market*, becauſe the Inhabitants go thither to be trimm'd, by which means the place comes to be ſo cover'd with hair, that a man treads as ſoftly as if it were on a Feather-bed. Moſt of the principal *Goſes*, or Merchants, as alſo many *Knez* and *Muſcovian* Lords have their houſes in this firſt circuit.

Czaargorod. The ſecond quarter is called *Czaargorod*, that is, *Czaar's Citie*, or the *Citie-Royal*, and includes the former as it were in a Semi-circle. The little River *Neglina* paſſes through the midſt of it, and it hath its particular Wall, called *Biela ſtenna*, that is, the *white Wall*. In this quarter is the *Arſenal*, and the place, where Guns and Bells are caſt, which is called *Poggana-brut*, the management whereof the Great Duke hath beſtow'd on a very able man, one *John Valk*, born at *Nuremberg*, whom he ſent for out of *Holland*, for this reaſon, that he was the firſt who found a way to diſcharge a Bullet of ſixteen pound weight with five pound of pouder. The *Muſcovites* who have wrought under this man, have ſo well learnt the Myſtery of founding, that now they are as expert at it as the moſt experienc'd *Germans*.

In this quarter alſo there live many *Knez*, Lords, *Sinbojares*, or Gentlemen, and a great number of Merchants, who drive a Trade all the Countrey over, and Tradeſ-men, eſpecially Bakers. There are alſo ſome Butchers ſhambles, and Tipling-houſes, which ſell Beer, Hydromel, and Strong-water, Store-Houſes of Wheat, Meal ſhops, and the Great Duke's ſtables.

Skoradom The third quarter is called *Skoradom*, and includes the quarter called *Czaargorod*, from the Eaſt, along the North-ſide, to the Weſt. The *Muſcovites* affirm, that this quarter was five *German* Leagues about, before the City was burnt by the *Tartars*, in the year 1571. The little River *Jaguſas* paſſes through it, and in its way falls into the *Moſca*. In this quarter is the Market for Wood and Houſes before mentioned; where you may have Houſes ready made, which may be taken aſunder, tranſported thence, and ſet up any where elſe, in a ſhort time, and with little pains and charge, ſince they conſiſt only of beams, and poſts, ſet one upon the other, and the vacuities are fill'd up with Moſſe.

Strelitza. Slauoda. The fourth quarter is called *Strelitza Slauoda*, becauſe of the *Strelits*, or Musketiers of the Great Duke's Guard, who live in it. It is ſituated towards the South of *Cutairogod*, on the other ſide of the *Moſca*, upon the Avenues of the *Tartars*. Its Ramparts and Baſtions are of Wood. The Great Duke *Baſili Juanouits*, father of *Baſilouits*, who built this quarter, deſign'd it for the quarters of ſuch Soldiers, as were ſtrangers, as *Poles*, *Germans*, and others, naming that place *Naeilki*, or, the quarter of *Drunkards*, from the word *Nali*, which ſignifies, *powre out*: for, theſe ſtrangers being more inclin'd to drunkenneſs than the *Muſcovites*, he would not have his own people, who were apt enough to debauch themſelves, to become ſo much the worſe by the others bad example. Beſides the Soldiery, the poorer ſort of the people have their habitations in this quarter.

The number of Churches and Chapels in Moſcou. There is, in the City and Suburbs of *Moſcou*, a very great number of Churches, Monaſteries and Chapels. In the former Impreſſion of theſe Travels, we ſaid, there were above fifteen hundred; but whereas *John Lewis Godefrey*, Author of the *Archontologia Coſmica*, thinks that number ſo exceſſive, that he ſticks not to ſpeak of it as a thing not likely to be true, I muſt indeed needs acknowledge, that I was much miſtaken, and, now affirm for certain, that where I ſaid there were 1500. there are above 2000. No *Muſcovite* that hath liv'd at *Moſcou*, nay no ſtranger, any thing acquainted with that City, but will confirm this truth, as knowing, there is no Lord but hath his private Chapel, nor any Street but hath many of them. 'Tis true, they are moſt of them very ſmall ones, and but fifteen foot ſquare; nay, before the Patriarch commanded they ſhould be built of Stone, they were all of Wood: but that hinders not, but that the number of them may amount to what we have ſaid.

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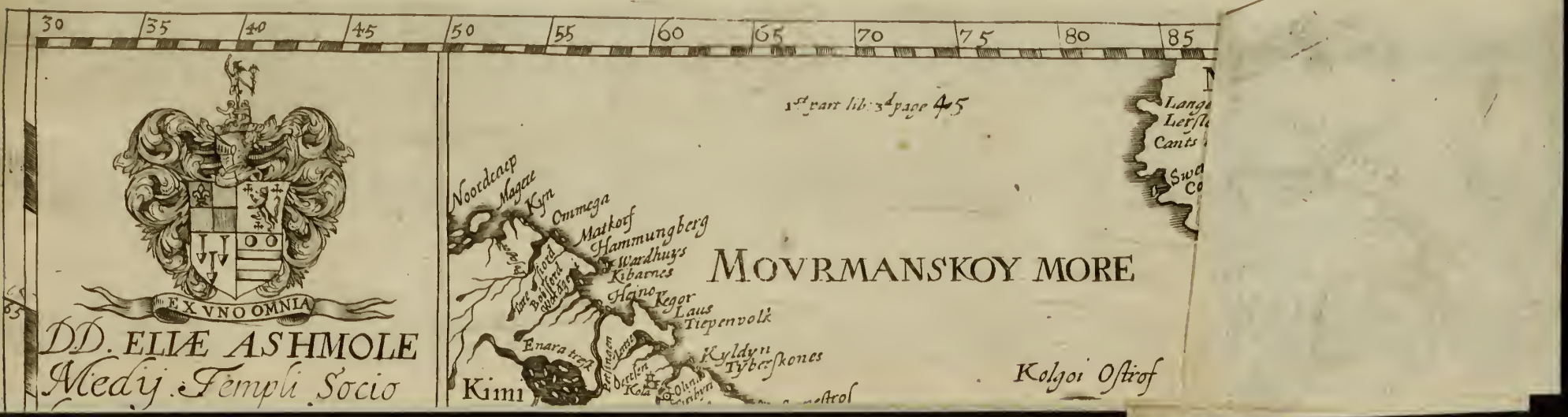
EX VNO OMNIA
DD. ELIÆ ASHMOLE
Medij Templi Socio
hanc novam et accuratā
MOSCOVIÆ Tabulam
D.D.D. I.D.
A New MAP of MUSCOVY by A: Olearius
NOVA ZEMLA
MOVRMANSKOY MORE
Kolgoi Ostrof
Beloi stroof
SAMOIEDA
Tingoesi
Obdora
SIBIRIA
Iugoria
Pegaorda
Lappmarck
Kimi
CALANYA
Album mare
Souloski in Angra
CARELIA
Ladoga albus Lac.
Finlandt
CARGAPOLIA
WAGA
WOLOGDA
Condora
Permia
TARTARIÆ
Ceremissi Logoui
CAZAN
Wiatka
Nisanovogorod
Ceremissi Nagorni
LITTAVANIE
MOSCOVIA
Moscua
WOLODIMER
SEVERA
MORDWA
PARS
SANI
TARTARIE DE PRECOP
IVRMEN
Astracan
ASTRACAN
DE CRIM
PODOLLA
PALVS MEOTIS
CABARDA
PETIGORI
CIRCASSI
Cumuhia regio
Sonscha regio
PONT EVXIN Which ye Muscovites call ZORNO MORE
Tanais siue Don fl terminus inter Europam et Asiam
Constantinopoli
Sinope
Trypoli Trapesu
NATOLIA
PERSIÆ PARS
Baxu
Derbent
Tarku
Coisa
Terrethn sculp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EX VNO OMNIA
D.D. ELIÆ ASHMOLE
Medij Templi Socio
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Noordcaep
Magaie
Kyn
Ommega
Matkorf
Hammungberg
Wardhuys
Kibarnes
Haino
Kegor
Laus
Tiepenvolk
Kyldyn
Tyberskones
Kola
Kimi
MOVRMANSKOY MORE
Kolgoi Ostrof

THE TRAVELS OF THE AMBASSADORS FROM THE DUKE of HOLSTEIN INTO MUSCOVY, and PERSIA.

The Third Book.

THE City of *Moſcou*, which thoſe of the Country call *Moskwa*, derives its name to the Province, wherein it is ſeated, and to all *Muſcovy*, which was heretofore known under that of *Ruſſia*, or *white Ruſſia*. It is doubtleſs, the greateſt of all the Eſtates of *Europe*, ſince it reaches in length near thirty degrees, or 450. leagues; and, in breadth, ſixteen degrees, or 240. *German* leagues. Its Frontiers reach, Northward, beyond the *Arctick* Circle to the frozen Sea. On the Eaſt, it hath the River *Oby*; towards the South, the *Tartars* of *Crim* and *Precop*; and towards the Weſt, *Poland*, *Livonia* and *Sueden*. 1636. Muſcovy deſcribed.

Muſcovy is divided into many great Provinces, moſt of which we have named elſewhere with the Titles of the Great Duke. That of *Wolodimer*, or *Uladimer*, was heretofore the chiefeſt. Its capital City, whence it hath its name, was built by Prince *Wolodomer*, who liv'd about the year 928. It is 36. leagues diſtant from *Moſcou*, Eaſtward, between the Rivers of *Occa*, and *Wolga*, in a Country ſo fruitful, that one Buſhel of Wheat ſown, yeelds 25. or 30. The River *Cleſma*, which paſſes by it, falls into the River *Occa* near the City of *Murom*. The Great Dukes had choſen it for the moſt convenient place for their reſidence, till Prince *Danilou Michaelouits* tranſlated the Emperial Seat to *Moſcou*. The Province of Wolodimer.

The Province of *Smolensko* hath, on the Eaſt, the Province of *Muſcovy*, on the North, *Siberia*, on the South, *Lithavie*, and towards the Weſt, *Livonia*. The Metropolis of the Province, *Smolensko*, is ſeated upon the River *Nieper*, which they ſay is the ſame the Antients called *Boriſthenes*, though that of *Berezine* comes nearer to that name. The other eminent Cities of it, are, *Prohobus*, upon the *Nieper*, *Weſma*, upon a River of the ſame name, and *Moſaysko*. The City of *Smolensko* hath, on the ſide of the River, a Cittadel, fortify'd with great Chains and good Ditches, with a good Counterſcarp well paliſadoed. The *Muſcovites* took this City from the *Poles* in the year 1514. *Sigiſmond* King of *Poland* Recover'd it again in the year 1611. and the late Great Duke *Michael Federouits* beſieg'd it in the year 1633. but was forc'd to raiſe the ſiege, as we ſhall have occaſion to relate anon. The Great Duke that now is took it by compoſition, in the year 1654. and is ſtill poſſeſs'd of it. Smolensko

The Province of *Rheſan* lies between the Rivers *Don* and *Occa*, having on the Weſt, *Muſcovy*, from which it is divided by the River *Aka*. This is the moſt fruitful Province of all *Muſcovy*, and produces abundance of Wheat, Hony, Fiſh, and all ſorts of Venizon and Fowl. Beſides the chief City, which is upon the River *Occa*, it hath alſo thoſe of *Corſira*, and *Tulla*, upon the River of that name. Rheſan.

Permia

1636. *Permie* is one of the greateſt Provinces of all *Muſcovy*, and diſtant from *Moſcou* 250. or 300. *German* leagues, towards the Eaſt and North. Its cheif City, whence it hath its name, lies upon the River of *Viſchora*, which falls into *Kam*, 15. leagues thence. The Inhabitants of this Province have a Language and Characters peculiar to themſelves. They eat Herbs inſtead of bread, and inſtead of Tribute, ſend the Great Duke, Horſes and Furrs. Its neighbours Eaſtward are the *Tartars* of *Tumen*.

Permie.

Jugarie. The Baron of *Herberſtein* ſayes, that the Province of *Jugarie*, is that whence the *Hongrians* came, who now live in the Country that lies upon the *Dannow*,

Wiathka. The Province of *Wiathka*, is 150. *German* leagues diſtant from the City of *Moſcou*, towards the Eaſt, beyond the River *Kam*. The River of *Wiathka* gives it the name; which falls into *Kam*, which falls into *Wolga* 12. leagues below *Caſan*. The Country is woody and barren, and much ſubject to the incurſions of the *Tartars Czeremiſſes*, who were the Maſters of it, till *Baſili*, Great Duke of *Muſcovy*, united it to his Crown.

Bielks. Rſchouie. Tuere. The Principality of *Bielsk* derives the name from *Biela* its chief City; as does the Province of *Rſchouie* from that of the City of *Rſchewa*; and that of *Tuere*, from the City of that name.

Pleſcou. The City and Dutchy of *Pleſcou* was govern'd by its own Princes, till the Great Duke *John Baſilouits* re-united both to his Crown, in the year 1509. The *Muſcovites* call it *Pskow*, from the Lake upon which the chief City is ſeated, and out of which riſes the River of the ſame name, that paſſes through the City.

Siberie. *Siberia* is of great extent, and had a long time its own Princes, who paid Tribute to the Kings of *Poland*, upon the accompt of *Lithuania*, on which they had ſome dependence. They revolted from *Caſimer*, ſon of *Jagellon*, King of *Poland*, and became ſubject to the Great Duke of *Muſcovy*. The *Czaar Baſili*, ejected the Duke of *Siberie*, and united the Province to his Crown. The chief City is *Novogorod*, but to diſtinguiſh it from others of the ſame name, it is called *Novogorod Siebersky*, that is, *Novogorod*, or the *New City of Siberie*. Its other eminent Cities are *Starodub*, *Petivola*, *Czernigou*, and *Bransko*.

Jaroſtaf. Roſthou. Suſdal. The Dutchies of *Jaroſlaf*, *Roſthou*, and *Suſdal* were a long time enjoy'd by the younger Brothers of *Muſcovy*, till *John Baſilouits* re-united them to the Crown, in the year 1565.

Dwina. The Province of *Dwina* is the greateſt, and more Northern of all *Muſcovy*, and was heretofore ſubject to the Duke of *Novogorod*. The River of *Dwina* falls into the white Sea, near *Archangel*. It is not long ſince that this Province, which is a hundred leagues in length, had but one City in it, of the ſame name ſeated in the midſt of it: but now that the *Muſcovites* have Tranſlated into thoſe parts, the Trade which the Engliſh, Dutch, and Hanſeatick Towns, were wont to bring to *Narva*, it is become one of the moſt conſiderable Provinces of all *Muſcovy*. The greateſt place of Commerce is called *Archangel*, from the Archangel, St. *Michael*, and ſituated at the mouth of the *Dwina*, where it makes the Iſland of *Podeſemski*. The City is not very great, but of great Trading, by reaſon of the many Ships that come every year, which bring thither the *Muſcovian* Merchants, eſpecially thoſe ſtrangers that live at *Moſcou*, with the commodities of the Country, to truck for thoſe that are brought thither. The Great Duke makes great advantages of it; but the Impoſitions he laies upon all Merchandiſes are ſo great, that it is not unlikely Strangers will, in time, return to *Narva*, where the King of *Sueden* takes but two in the hundred, and, to which, navigation is not ſo dangerous.

Archangel.

In the Gulf, which the Sea makes near the mouth of *Dwina*, are three Iſlands, called *Solofka*, *Anger*, and *Coloua*. There was heretofore in the former of theſe the Sepulchre of a *Muſcovian* Saint, but 3. or 4. years ſince, the Great Duke cauſed the Body to be tranſlated thence to *Moſcou*. Some report, that the Great Dukes, Predeceſſors of him that now reigns, had hidden a great Treaſure there, as being a place inacceſſible, by reaſon of its high and ſteepy Rocks.

Uſtiugha. The Province of *Uſtiugha* is next to that of *Dwina*, but more Southerly, and was alſo ſubject to the Duke of *Novogorod*. The chief City, of the ſame name, is ſo called from the word *Uſt*, which ſignifies the mouth of a River, as the Latine word, *Oſtium*; and *Jugh*, becauſe it was ſeated at the place where the River of *Jugh* falls into *Suchana*, from which it is now half a league diſtant. Its Inhabitants eat no Bread, but are content with Fiſh and Veniſon dry'd in the Sun. Thence are brought the faireſt black-Foxes skins.

Vologda. *Vologda*, ſeated in the Province of the ſame name, is the only City in all *Muſcovy* that hath a ſtone wall about it, being the place whither the Great Duke, in time of War, was wont to ſend ſome part of his Treaſures. It ſometime belonged to the Duke of *Novogorod*, but is now, together with the Province, re-united to *Muſcovy*. The River of *Vologda*, whence it takes its name, falls, with the *Dwina*, into the white Sea.

Bielejezoro. The Dutchy of *Bielejezoro* is alſo one of the Northern Provinces of this great State, but ſo full of Woods and Rivers, that it is in a manner inacceſſible, unleſs it be when the Fenns and Rivers are frozen.

Petzora. The Province of *Petzora* reaches alorg the frozen Sea, towards the Eaſt and North. The

Rive-

River of *Petzora*, whence it hath the name, falls into the Sea near the Streight of *Weigats*, below the City of *Puſtioziero*, by ſix ſeveral channels. The mountains, which the *Muſcovites* call *Zimnopoias*, that is, the Girdle of the Earth, (the ſame, as it is believed, as the Antients called the *Riphæan* and *Hiperborean* mountains) lye on both ſides of it, and afford the beſt Sables, and excellent Hawks. The City is but little, and the cold ſo great in this Province, that the Rivers are frozen from *Auguſt* to *May*. Upon this Province border the *Samoiedes*, a people we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of hereafter. 1636.

Obdorie. The Province of *Obdorie* derives its name from the River *Oby*, which riſing out of the great Lake of *Kataiskø*, and running from the Eaſt towards the North, falls into the frozen Sea, and is ſo broad at the mouth, that with a very good wind a Ship will have much ado to croſs from one ſide to the other in two days.

The ſource of Wolga. As for the *Tartarian* Provinces that are ſubject to the Great Duke, we ſhall give an accompt of them in the proſecution of our Travels along the River *Wolga*; of which River we ſhall only ſay by the way, that in the Province of *Rſchouie*, two leagues from its chief City, and in the great foreſt of *Wolkowskiles*, is the Lake of *Wronow*, out of which riſes a River, that, two leagues off that place, falls into the Lake of *Wolga*, from which it derives its name, and is thence forward called *Wolga*. The *Tartars* call it *Edel*, and 'tis the ſame as *Ptolomy* calls *Rha*. 'Tis doubtleſs, the greateſt River in all *Europe*; ſince that from the City of *Niſe-Novogorod*, near which we went into it, out of the River *Occa*, to the *Caſpian* Sea, we have counted above 500 *German* leagues, not accounting above a hundred leagues more there is from its ſource to the place where the *Occa* falls into it.

Boriſthenes. The *Boriſthenes*, which thoſe of the Country call *Dnieper*, riſes out of the ſame Province, ten leagues from the Lake of *Fronowo*, near a Village called *Dnieperskø*. It divides *Lithuania* from *Muſcovy*, and after it hath taken its courſe towards the South, where it paſſes near *Wieſma*, and thence towards the Eaſt, bathing the Cities of *Progobus*, *Smolenskø*, *Orſcha*, *Dubrowna*, and *Mohilouw*, it turns again towards the South, and paſſing by *Kiouie*, by the *Circaſſes*, and thence toward *Otzakow*, a City of the *Tartarians* of *Precop*, it falls into the *Euxine* Sea.

Dwina. There are, in *Muſcovy*, two Rivers called *Dwina*; one riſes out of a Lake of the ſame name, ten leagues from the Lake of *Fronowo*, and the ſource of *Dnieper*, and falls into the *Baltick* Sea, below *Riga*. The other riſing at the conjunction of the Rivers of *Jagel* and *Sachana*, gives its name to the Province before mentioned, and falls into the *White* Sea, near *Archangel*. The Rivers of *Moſca* and *Occa* are pleaſant and very conſiderable; but, they loſe their names, with all the other Rivers in the Countrey, when they fall into thoſe we have before ſpoken of.

The Air of Muſcovy. *Muſcovy* then being of ſuch extent, as we have ſaid, it is not to be imagin'd, that in Provinces ſo diſtant, and ſituated in ſo different climates, Air and Earth are alike qualify'd every where. About *Moſcou* and the adjacent Provinces, the Air is good and healrhy, ſo that there is no talk of the Plague, or any other Epidemical diſeaſe. Which was the reaſon, that in the year 1654. at the beginning of the War of *Smolenskø*, when the Infection made ſuch havock in that great City, people were the more ſurpriz'd thereat, in regard the like had not been known in the memory of man. It was ſo great, that thoſe were ſeen dying in the ſtreets, who thought themſelves well enough when they came out of their houſes; and all *Muſcovy* was ſo aſtoniſh'd at it, that all the Avenues of *Moſcou* were block'd up.

Extremely cold. The cold is ſo piercing, that no fur can prevent the Noſe, Ears, Feet, and Hands from freezing and falling. At our firſt Voyage thither, in 1634. the cold was ſo ſharp, that, in the great Market-place, before the Caſtle, we ſaw the earth open above twenty fathoms in length, and a foot broad. We could not go 50 ſteps, without hazard of loſing ſome of our members. I ſaw there by experience, what others have left in writing, that ſpittle froze before it came to the ground, and water as it dropp'd.

I obſerv'd withal, that the earth is open there in a manner as ſoon as in *Germany*, and that the Spring fruits come much about the ſame time; for the more the earth is cover'd with Snow, the more it keeps in the heat requiſite to promote vegetation. The Ice and Snow together make the ways ſo even, that it is much eaſier travelling there than any where elſe. For Winter-travelling, the *Muſcovites* make uſe of Sledges, made very low, of the bark of Trees, cover'd with ſome coarſe kind of Cloath. We lay all along in them, and covering our ſelves with ſheep-skins, and the Sledges being cover'd with Sack-cloath, or ſome coarſe Cloath, we not only felt not the cold, but even ſweated in the depth of Winter.

The *Muſcovian* Horſes are very low, yet fit enough for this kind of travelling, for being ſwift and indefatigable, they will go 8. 10. nay many times 12 leagues without ſtaying by the way. I have my ſelf travell'd twice from *Tuere* to *Torſock* without any halt by the way. Hence is it that travelling is ſo cheap, that a Country fellow ſhall bring you fifty leagues for three or four Crowns at moſt.

1636. If the cold be ſharp in the Winter, the heat is no leſs troubleſom in Summer, not proceeding ſo much from the ſcorching rayes of the Sun (which is there in a manner always above the Horizon, and makes the day 18. hours long) as occaſion'd by the Flies, Waſps, Gnats, and other inſects, which the Sun produces in the Moors and Fens, which take up a great part of the Country, in ſuch abundance, that night and day they are extremely troubleſome,

Very hot in Summer.

Fertility. But, the Fens and Foreſts, which *Muſcovy* is well ſtor'd with, hinder not but the Land they cultivate is very Fertile. For unleſs it be about *Moſco*, where the ſoyl is barren and gravelly, let them take ever ſo little pains with their grounds in other places, they will bring forth more Wheat and Paſture than the Countrey can conſume. The *Hollanders* acknowledge, that *Muſcovy* is to them what *Sicily* was ſometime to *Rome*. You never hear talk of dearth, though in the Provinces that have not the convenience of Rivers to tranſport their Corn, the Inhabitants manure only ſo much ground as will afford them a bare ſubſiſtence for the preſent year, not minding the future, as confident their ordinary increaſe will never fail them. Thence it comes that ſo much excellent ground lies fallow, producing only Hay, whereof they mow no more than will ſerve their Cattel.

Muſcovy *more fertile than* Livonia. There is ſo great difference between this ſoyl, and that of the Province of *Allentaken* in *Livonia*, though there lies only the River *Narva* between them, that as ſoon as a man is over he perceives it. *Muſcovy* and the Northern Provinces of *Livonia* have this common with *Inguermannia* and *Carelia*, that they ſow not their Corn till within three weeks of Midſummer; for the cold having, as a man might ſay, pierc'd to the Centre of the earth, it muſt have leaſure to unfreeze: but the Wheat is no ſooner in the ground but it puts forth, and the heat of the Sun, which, as we ſaid, is alwayes above the Horizon, advances and ripens it. So that Sowing and Harveſt is all over in two moneths. Wherein the *Muſcovites* have this advantage over the *Livonians*, that they put in their Wheat dry, and ready to be thraſh'd, whereas the *Livonians* are forc'd to uſe fire to dry it, by the help of a great Oven, built in the midſt of a Barn, where they put their ſheaves upon beams lay'd a-croſs, till ſuch time as the heat hath ſo dry'd them, that beating them with a ſtick, the Grain falls out, ſo as that there is no need of thraſhing or treading it, as they do in the Eaſt. There is yet this further inconvenience, that the Wheat thus dry'd is not good for ſeed, and many times the Barns take fire, which ſpreads into the houſes about them, and conſumes all.

The ſeed-time.

Their harveſt.

The fruits of Muſcovy. In thoſe Provinces which are not ſo much towards the North, eſpecially neer the City of *Moſco*, their are excellent fruits, as Apples, Cherries, Plums, and Goof-berries. I have ſeen Apples in beauty and colour much like thoſe which are called *Appians*, and ſo tranſparent, that holding them between your ſight and the Sun, you may eaſily tell the Kernels. 'Tis true this fruit having not time to bake in the Sun, (it being rather a moderate ſlow heat, than an exceſſive ſcorching, that conſumes the ſuperfluous moiſture) will not keep, as it would do in *Germany* and other more Southerly Countreys: but the Commentator upon the Maps of *Atlas* is nevertheleſs miſtaken, when he ſayes, after the Baron of *Herberſtein*, and *Guagnin*, that the cold is ſo great in *Muſcovy*, that the Countrey cannot produce Apples or other Fruits that are worth ſending up to the Table. They have alſo all manner of Pulſe, Pot-herbs, Aſparagus, Onions, Garlick, Roots, Cowcumber, Citruls, or Gourds, and Melons, and of theſe laſt abundance, excellent good, and ſo big, that at my being in *Muſcovy* in the year 1643. a friend preſented me with a Melon, that weigh'd forty pound. The *Muſcovites* are very expert in the ordering of their Melons. They ſteep the ſeed, for the ſpace of 48. hours, in Cow's milk, or an infuſion of fair water and Sheep's dung: their beds they make of Horſe dung, as it is carried out of the Stable, ſix foot deep, and then cover them with the beſt mold, in which they make flat Trenches, about a foot and a half broad. They thruſt the ſeed ſo deep into the bed, as that it may not only be ſecur'd from the cold, and receive the benefit of the Sun-ſhine, but alſo have the advantage of the heat which the dung ſends up from below, covering it in the night, and ſome times all day long, with bells of the Country-glaſs, or talk. They do not tranſplant them, but are careful to take away what is ſuperfluous, and do what other things are commonly practis'd in other places, about that plant.

Extraordinary Melons.

We were credibly inform'd, that near *Samara*, between *Wolga* and the *Doa*, there is a kind of Melons, or rather Gourds, that are form'd like a Lamb, whereof this fruit repreſents all the members, being faſten'd to the ground by the ſtalk, which is as it were its navel. As it grows it changes place, as far as the ſtalk will give way, and, as it turns, makes the graſs to wither. The *Muſcovites* call this browzing, or feeding, adding, that when it is ripe, the ſtalk withers, and the fruit is cloath'd with a hairy skin, which may be dreſs'd and uſed inſtead of Furr. They call this fruit *Boranez*, that is to ſay, the *Lamb*. They ſhew'd us ſome of thoſe skins, taken off the covering of a bed, and ſwore they came from that fruit, but we could hardly believe it. They were covered with a ſoft frizling Wooll not unlike that of a Lamb newly wean'd, or taken out of the Sheep's belly. *Julius Scaliger* makes mention of it, *Exerc.* 181. and ſayes this fruit grows till the graſs fails it, and that it dies not but for want of nouriſhment. He adds, that no Beaſt will feed on it, but the Wolf, and that it is us'd as a bait to take him, which the *Muſcovites* alſo confirmed.

Boranez.

It

It is not long that they have had Flowers and ſweet Herbs, the Great Duke *Michael Federouits* being the firſt that beſtow'd any expence in Gardening, which he did with very good ſucceſs. Nor is it long that they have had any other than wild Roſes. *Peter Marcellis*, Commiſſary from the King of *Denmark*, and Duke of *Holſtein*, brought the firſt *Provence*-Roſes thither. 1636. *Flowers.*

The *Holand* and *German* Merchants have but lately planted Aſparagus there, which take very well, and are as big as a mans thumb. Nor have the *Muſcovites* been long acquainted with Lettice and other Salad-herbs, and laugh'd at the Strangers who fed on them; but now they begin to like them. There are no Hazel-trees, nor Vines in *Muſcovy*; but the Dutch bring ſuch quantities of ſeveral ſorts of Wine thither by the way of *Archangel*, that there is no want of any. There is alſo within theſe few years ſome brought in from *Aſtrachan*, upon the River of *Wolga*. *Aſparagus.*

Muſcovy abounds in Hemp and Flax; and there is ſo much Honey and VVax, even in the VVoods, that, beſides what is ſpent in Hydromel, and in Wax-Candles, in this Commodity conſiſts the greateſt part of the commerce which the *Muſcovites* have with Strangers, to whom they put off yearly above twenty thouſand Quintals (or hundred weight) of Wax.

All *Muſcovy* being but a continued Foreſt, thoſe places only excepted where they have fir'd the Woods in order to agriculture, it muſt needs be very well furniſh'd with all ſorts of Venizon and Fowl. Whence it comes, that Heath-cocks, Feaſants of ſeveral kinds, and Patridges are very cheap; as alſo wild Geeſe, and Ducks; Herons and Swans are not much eſteem'd; much leſs Thruſhes, Fildevars, Quails, Larks, and other ſmall Birds, which the Country people will not take the pains to look after. There are no Storks in *Muſcovy*, nor yet in *Livonia*; but abundance of Birds of prey, as Faulcons, Taſſels, &c. In the more Northerly Provinces there are white ones, which are much eſteem'd becauſe of their rarity. *Veniſon and Fowl.*

There is all ſorts of Veniſon, Deer excepted; Of Elks and wild Boars abundance. The Hares are grey, but in ſome Provinces they turn white in Winter, as in *Livonia*; and yet in *Courland*, which is contiguous to that Province, and divided from it only by the River *Dune*, the Hares change not their colour. 'Tis no hard matter to find the reaſon of this change, which muſt proceed from external cold; ſince I have known, that, even in Summer, Hares have chang'd their colour, when they have been kept ſome time in a Cave. *No Deer.*

The ſame Foreſts breed alſo abundance of Bears, Wolves, Linxes, Tigres, Foxes, Martins, and Sables, the skins whereof are the moſt conſiderable Traffick of the Country, ſince that ſome years, the *Muſcovites* ſell to Strangers as many as come to a Million of Gold, beſides what is ſpent in the Country, or preſented to the Great Duke. The moſt eſteem'd Furrs are the skins of black Foxes, Sables, Caſtors, white Bears, Ermins, and Squirrels. *Furrs.*

The Bears and Wolves do abundance of miſchief, and are as dangerous upon the high-ways as the Robbers. For what we have ſaid of *Livonia* is no leſs true of *Muſcovy*, viz. that, in the Winter time, they break open houſes, and take away peoples Cattle, &c. as we have related in the ſecond Book of theſe our Travels. We could add many other ſtories of theſe Creatures, but in regard, they would hardly, for the ſtrangeneſs of them, be credited, at leaſt by ſuch as never heard any talk of theſe things, we forbear. When the *Muſcovites* take any of the Bears Whelps, they tame them, and teach them a thouſand tricks, and, in time, come to get a livelihood by them.

The Lakes, Ponds and Rivers affords all ſorts of Fiſh, Carps excepted, which are not to be had either in *Muſcovy* or *Livonia*. At *Aſtrachan*, we met with abundance of them, very large, but tough and unſavory; which is the reaſon the *Muſcovites* make no great accompt of them. *No Carps in Muſcovy.*

Heretofore there were no Mines in *Muſcovy*, but ſome years ſince there was one found out near *Tula*, upon the Frontiers of *Tartary*, 120 leagues from *Moſco*, which affords only Iron, where the Workmen are ſuch as the Elector of *Saxony* ſent over to the Great Duke. *Peter Marcellis*, a Merchant, born at *Hamborough* hath the management of it, who having built a Forge in a very pleaſant Valley there, which hath a Brook running through it, hath taken it of the Great Duke, furniſhing him every year with a certain number of Iron Bars, pieces of Artillery and Bullets. About 15 year ſince, information was brought to the Great Duke *Michael Federouits*, that Gold might be found in a certain Province in *Muſcovy*, if any would be at the expence to dig for it; but he who brought the firſt news of it, inſtead of enriching himſelf, was utterly undone. Heretofore the *Muſcovites* were ſimple enough to credit theſe informations, and to advance money upon the propoſitions that were made thereupon; but for ſome years paſt, they have been content to hearken to them; or if they advance any money, it is upon good ſecurity put in by the undertaker. I have ſeen an example of this in an *Engliſh* Merchant, who was perſwaded that Gold would infallibly be found, and upon that imagination engag'd ſome of his friends to be anſwerable to the Great Duke for the money he ſhould advance. But, after a great expence, to no purpoſe, he was put in priſon, and his friends were forc'd to pay the mony he had taken up. *Mines.*

1636. Having not ſeen the more Northerly Provinces of *Muſcovy*, as *Dwina*, *Jugarie*, *Permie*, *Siberie*, and *Samojede*, I ſhould content my ſelf with what I have ſaid of them in the beginning of this Book: But in regard this laſt named Province is abſolutely unknown to all the reſt of *Europe*, and that I have had the opportunity to diſcourſe with ſome *Samojedes*, and to learn from their own mouths the particularities of their Country, I hope it will not be thought much if I make a ſhort digreſſion concerning them. Being at *Moſcou*, in the year 1643. in the Great Duke's Antichamber, or *Poſolſe-Pricas*, ſtaying till a *Perſian* Ambaſſador were come out from Audience, that I might go in to have mine, I had the convenience to diſcourſe with two Deputies of the *Samojedes*, who had been ſent to the Great Duke with a preſent of many Elks, and white Bear-skins, which the *Muſcovian* Lords uſe to adorn their Sledges. I laid hold on this occaſion to enquire of them ſome part of what I was deſirous to know concerning their manner of life; which I did with the more eaſe, in that both of them underſtood the *Muſcovian* Language.

Samojede.

'Tis certain, theſe people were antiently comprehended under the name of thoſe whom they called *Schites*, and *Sarmates*, and that they were not called *Samojedes*, till after they became Subjects to the Great Duke: for that word is *Muſcovian*, ſignifying *Eaters of themſelves*, as being compounded of that of *Sam*, himſelf, and *Geda*, I eat. They would argue thence, that theſe people are *Anthropophagi*; for indeed, they did feed on mans fleſh, even that of their deceas'd friends, which they mixt with Veniſon, which was, and is ſtill their ordinary nouriſhment. What we have ſaid diſcovers the difference there is between this Province and that of *Samogitia*, which the *Muſcovites* call *Samotska ſembla*, ſituated between *Lithuania* and *Livonia*, and is part of the Kingdom of *Poland*; whereas *Samojede* lies towards the *Hyperborean* Mountains, on both ſides of the River *Oby*, upon the *Tartarian* Sea, and towards the ſtreight of *Weigats*, as we ſaid before. I can hardly be perſwaded, that it is of the *Samojedes*, *Quintus Curtius* would ſpeak, when he ſayes that the *Abii* ſent their Ambaſſadors to *Alexander* the Great, and that inſtead of *Abii* we ſhould read *Obii*, becauſe they liv'd upon the River *Oby*; but of the *Tartars*, who are near the River *Don*, or *Tanais*, which divides *Aſia* from *Europe*. 'Tis of them rather than of the *Samojedes*, that Q. *Curtius* might affirm, that they had no Cities, nor ſetled Habitations, but liv'd in Woods and Deſarts, ſhunning the converſation of men, and that if *Alexander* went thither, he muſt have Conquer'd impenetrable Foreſts, Rivers, Ice, and Snow, after he had triumphed over the Inhabitants. For though the *Samojedes* have indeed no Cities, yet are they not *Nomades*, nor change their habitations as the *Tartars* do. On the contrary, their Cabans or Huts, which are covered vault-wiſe, are built half under-ground, and have in the middle a hole, which does not only ſerve for a Chimney, but alſo for a door when the Snow is ſo high, that they are forc'd to make uſe of that hole to let in air; Since that the Countrey being in the Frigid Zone, the Snow, which is there ſometimes the depth of a Pike, makes their doors uſeleſs. They have walks under their Huts, by the means whereof they may viſit and converſe one with another. And this kind of life is ſo much the more ſupportable to them, for that the Sun going beyond the Line, and leaving them in continual darkneſs for ſix moneths together, the liberty they might have to go abroad would be of no advantage to them. During this long night, they have no other light than what their Lamps afford them, which is but a ſad and melancholy one, as being maintain'd by the Oyl of a certain fiſh, of which they make proviſion in the Summer. Which Seaſon begins with them, as ſoon as the Sun comes to the Æquinoctial line, and, entring into the Septentrional Signs of the Zodiack, melts the Snow, and brings them a day as long as the night had been tedious. Upon this accompt it is, that *Olaus Magnus*, *Alexander Guagnin*, and others, have grounded fables of people that ſleep ſix moneths of the year, or, as Swallows, and Frogs, die in the beginning of Winter, and riſe up again in the Spring. They do not cultivate the Earth, nor keep any Cattel, which is, no doubt, becauſe the Earth would not requite their pains, and affords no Graſs. So that having no Corn, they have no bread to make; and having no Wool, they are forc'd to Cloath themſelves with what nature and their Countrey can afford them. Their food is fiſh, dry'd in the Wind and Sun, Honey and Veniſon. They are of low ſtature, their faces large and flat, wearing their hair very long; they have little eyes, and ſhort legs, and are not much unlike the *Groenlanders*, of whom we ſhall have ſomewhat to ſay anon.

The difference between Samojede *and* Samogitia.

The habitations of the Samojedes

Their nouriſhment.

Their ſtature.

Their cloathing.

The Cloathing of the *Samojedes* is of *Renes* skins, whereof there are abundance in that Countrey, as indeed there is all over the North. This Creature, which is thought to be the *Tarandius* of the Antients, is called by the modern Latines *Rangifer*, from the word *Reen*, by which name the *Laplanders* call it, a beaſt not known in theſe parts. 'Tis as big as a Stag, but ſomewhat ſtronger, the hair grey or white, as they are in *Samojede*, having the breaſt high with a long and rough hair, the hoof cloven, and the horn ſo hard, that making an impreſſion in the Ice, this animal goes as ſecurely as if it were upon the ground, and ſo ſwiftly, that it will run above 30. *German* leagues in a day. The horns are higher than thoſe of the Elk, and larger than a Stag's, having two brow-anklers on the forehead, wherewith he breaks the Ice to get water in Winter. 'Tis a ſociable beaſt, feeding in herds. It is tam'd without any trouble,

and

and is very serviceable, especially in travelling, being set before little Sledges, made like a Boat, which they draw with incredible force and swiftness. 1636.

The *Samojedes* wear very large Caps, made of fur, or pieces of Cloath of several colours, which they buy of the *Muscovites*, and are so big that they fall down to their necks. Their shirts are made of the skins of young *Renes*, which are very soft, and have a short hair. They wear drawers under their shirts, and upon their shirts, Garments falling down to the mid-leg, border'd below with a very long fur. These Garments are made like those which are called *Cosaques*, open only at the neck. Their Mittens are fasten'd to the end of their sleeves, and the fur of all their Cloaths is turn'd on the out-side. When the cold is extraordinary, they put their Cosaques over their heads, and let the sleeves hang down, their faces being not to be seen, but at the cleft which is at the neck. Whence some have taken occasion to write, that in these Northern Countreys, there are people without heads, having their faces in their breasts. As also that there are some have feet so big, that one of them shades the whole body, and that having cover'd themselves with their feet, neither Sun nor Rain can come at them. But the error came thus, that the *Samojedes*, as also the *Laplanders* and *Finlanders*, wear a kind of shooes or patins, in the Winter time, to go upon the Snow, which are an Ell and a half long towards the Toe. The *Finlanders* and *Laplanders* make them as long towards the Heel as the Toes, and call them *Sakſit*; but the *Samojedes* do not lengthen them at all towards the heel, and call them *Nartes*. All make them of barks of Trees, or some very thin Wood, and use them with a strange agility. Colonel *Port*, Governour of *Narva*, who had many *Finlanders* among the Soldiers of his Garrison, would needs give us the pleasure of seeing them, when we pass'd that way, having order'd them to run down a Hill near the City, which they did with such swiftness, that a horse at full speed would hardly have overtaken them. *The error of certain Geographers.*

The Nerves and Veins of the *Rene* serve for Thread, among the *Samojedes*, to sow their Cloaths; their Boots they make of the same stuff, and after the same manner. They scrape the in-side of the bark of Beech, and what comes off is as fine as the shavings of Parchment or Ivory, and very soft, and serves them instead of Handkerchers. They take a handful of it, and wipe their hands, faces, or noses therewith.

The Relations of the second Voyage which the *Hollanders* made towards the North, in the year 1595. give the same account of the *Samojedes* as we do, and say, that some of their men going ashore *Aug.* 31. near *Weigats*, after they had gone about a league, discover'd 20. or 25. *Samojedes*, so accoutred as we have describ'd them. They at first took them for *Savages*, and were confirm'd in that opinion by the posture into which the *Samojedes* put themselves, making ready their Bows and Arrows, to shoot at the *Hollanders*: but the *Muscovian* Interpreter, which the *Hollanders* had with them, having told them they were friends, and that they needed not to be afraid of them, they laid down their Arms, came up to them, and discover'd many particulars of their Country. They were much taken with the civility of the *Hollanders*, and one of them took a Bisket that was presented to him; but he betray'd much distrust in the eating of it; especially, when they heard a Musket shot, towards the Sea-side, though far enough from them, they were so frightned, that it was no easie matter to satisfie them, that they were far enough from any danger.

I had the curiosity to ask one of those *Samojedes*, what he thought of *Muscovy*, and whether it were a better Country than theirs, and the *Muscovian* manner of Life, the more pleasant. He answer'd, that *Muscovy* was indeed a pleasant Country, and the provisions of it not to be disliked; but that their Country also had those conveniences and pleasures, that were not to be had elsewhere, such as were so inviting, that he was confident, if the Great Duke had once a tast of them, he would leave *Moscou*, and come among them, to enjoy the security, quiet, and delightfulness of their manner of life. They were, till within these few years, Pagans and Idolaters, insomuch as when the *Hollanders* made the Voyage I spoke of there, they found the Sea-side full of Idols, for which the *Samojedes* had so much affection, that they would not suffer one of them to be carried away. But they have been since baptized, and have embrac'd Christian Religion, by the means of a Bishop of *Vladimer* which the late Great Duke sent among them, with some Priests, to instruct them.

The Author, who hath here made one digression, to speak of the *Samojedes*, though not falling under the Subject of his Travels, thinks he may make another to say somewhat of *Groenland*, as well in regard of the consonancy there is between the people of that Country and those he had now spoken of, and also the *Tartars*, of whom he will have occasion to speak hereafter, as for that he hath seen, and discourſed with, some Inhabitants of *Groenland*, who have told such particularities, as would not be undelightful, if M. *de la Pereire* had not said before him all that could be said of a Country, which is as little known, as those parts of the World that have not yet been discover'd. The Treatise he hath publish'd upon this Subject is such, that we shall not need to repeat what he hath clearly and elegantly express'd, but only add, together with the opinion of our Author, (who thinks *Groenland* is a Continent, and borders upon *Tartary* towards the East on one side, and on *America*, Westward, on the other.) That *A description of Groenland.*

1636. *Frederick* III. King of *Denmark*, coming to the Crown, in the year 1648. had, besides all other Royal Vertues, a great desire to advance the Trade of *Groenland*. *Henry Muller*, Farmer General of the outland customs of *Denmark*, a curious person and rich, undertook it, and, to that end, set out a Ship in the year 1652. commanded by Capt. *David Dannel*, one of the most experienc'd Masters of his time. The first Voyage having had the success was expected from it, the said *Muller* sent him again to *Groenland* the next year, 1653. But as men of business, how curious soever they may be, are carried away with some other predominant passion, there was nothing learnt in these two Voyages, at least those employ'd in them neglected to make any relation thereof that ever could be seen: but in the year 1654. a Ship was set out, which going from *Copenhagen* in the beginning of the Spring, arriv'd not on the Coasts of *Groenland*, till the 28 of *July*, at a place where the mountains were still cover'd with snow, towards the shore the waters frozen, and the bottom so hard, that it being impossible the Anchor should fasten, they were forc'd to let the Ship float upon the water, because there were Rocks all about. As soon as this Ship appear'd upon the Coasts of *Groenland*, the Inhabitants set out above a hundred Boats, and came to view that strange structure, which was much different from what they ordinarily saw. At first they would by no means come near it, but seeing they were intreated to come into the Ship, they at last came, and in a few days were so familiar, that with their commodities, which they truckt for such toies as we had, they brought also their Wives, out of an intention to make advantage of them by another kind of Commerce, which though it be not less known elsewhere, yet is not so publickly practis'd as among them, where fornication is neither crime nor sin.

The *Danes* thought this freedom of the *Groenlanders* a good opportunity to carry away some of them. The Ship being ready to set sail for its return, and the Savages coming still aboard with their Commodities, a VVoman that had a great mind to a pair of knives which one of the Sea-men wore at his Girdle, offer'd him for it a Sea-Dogs skin, which the Sea-man refusing as too little, she proffer'd him a kindness into the bargain. The Sea-man had no sooner express'd his being well satisfy'd with the proffer, but she begins to unty the point (for they as well as the men wear Drawers, and would have laid her self down upon the Deck. But the Seaman made her apprehend that he would not have all see what they did, and that she must go under Deck. The Woman, having got her Father's leave, follow'd the Sea-man with two other aged Women, a young Boy, and a Girl of about 12 years of age, who were to be present at the consummation of the bargain. But as soon as they were down, the hatch was shut, they laid hold also of another Man, and set sail. The Savages perceiving they were trappan'd, made a hideous noise in the Ship. Those who were upon the Deck got into their Boats, and follow'd the Ship a great way into the Sea, to see if they could recover the Prisoners. The Boy, who went down with the Women; got out at one of the holes the Cable is put out at, and swam ashore. They also sent back one of the Women, as being too old to be transported; so that they had but four persons, one Man, two Women, and a Girl. The trouble they were in to be among people they knew not, was extraordinary; but at last, the kindness and good cheer wherewith they were entertain'd, won their hearts, together with the hope they were put into, that within a short time, they should be brought back again into their Country: so that when they came to *Bergues* in *Norway*, their affliction seem'd to be quite over, nay, the Man thought the Women of the Country so handsome, and was got into so good a humour, that, a Lady of quality being come out of curiosity to see these Savages, he proffer'd to try what she had under her apron. This man dy'd in the Ship before we came to *Denmark*. His Daughter seeing him in the agony of Death, bound up his head in his Casaque, and so let him dy. His name was *Ihiob*, aged about 40 years. The older of the two women, aged about 45 years, was called *Kuneling*; she by whose means they were taken, was about 25. her name *Kabelau*, and the Girls name was *Sigoka*. The Plague then very rife all over *Denmark*, had oblig'd the King to retire to *Flensbourg*, in the Dutchy of *Holstein*, where these *Groenlanders* were presented to him. He boarded them at a Chirurgeons, and order'd them to be well entertain'd, as that at their return to *Groenland*, whither he intended to send them with the first opportunity, they might have occasion to celebrate the liberality of his Majesty, and the civil entertainment of his Subjects. The King honour'd the Duke my master so far, as to send them to him to *Gottorp*, where they were lodg'd in my house for some days, which I spent in sifting out their humour and manner of life.

Of the Inhabitants. They were all three low of stature, but strong, being well proportion'd in all parts, save that their faces were somewhat too broad, and their eyes little, but black and very lively, especially the more aged of the two women and the Girl, their hands and feet short, in all things else like the *Samojedes*, or *Tartars* of *Nagaia*, save that they were beyond comparison much more black, those being of a brown Olive-like colour, their bodies much more swarthy than their faces, and their skins much softer than those other people we have spoken of. The third whose name was *Kabelau*, was not so black as the two others. Her eyes were also bigger, and she discover'd more wit, subtilty, and compliance, than the other two. We conceived she might

might be descended of those antient Christians, who some time lived in *Groenland*, in that she was observ'd to have somewhat of Religion in her, or rather a particular Superstition, by the aversion she had for flesh, which the other two did eat, such as that of those Beasts, which, being held unclean, are not eaten in *Europe*. Their hair was blacker than Jet, and having roll'd it up together they bound it up on their crowns. As soon as their Maids become marriageable, they make several blew strakes in their faces, as the *Americans* do. These strakes reach from the lip to the chin, or they are drawn larger at the upper end and above the nose, between the two eyes; nay there is one divides it self and reaches over the eye-brows into the Temples, where it ends with a little branch. These marks they make with a very small thread steep'd in Train-oil, or some other black fatness, which being brought between the flesh and the skin, leaves a mark, which through the skin seems blewish, much like the veins in a smooth and delicate complexion. They shew'd me that their ears had been holed through, and that they were wont to wear Pendants in them. Their breasts were very unhandsome, the nipple black as a coal, and the Breasts flagging and falling down upon their bellies, wherein the Girl had no advantage of the other two. They suckle their Children, whom they carry on their backs, over their shoulders. I have been told by those who have long observ'd them, that they have no hair any where but on their heads, and are not troubled with womens monthly diseases. 1636.

The *Groenlanders* speak fast, and from the throat, somewhat like the *Tartars*, especially they they pronounce very roughly the words that have a *G.* in them. They have no *R.* in their language, and when they are oblig'd to pronounce it, they turn it into *L.* 'Tis true, among so many words as their language consists of, there are some *Danish*, but very few; the rest have nothing common with the languages that are either spoken, or learnt, or known in *Europe*; unless it might be said that the word *Keiling* comes from *cælum*, *ilioun*, from the Greek ἥλιος, as signifying the same thing. It may be said also that the word *Igne* is *Latine*, but among all the rest, we shall hardly meet with three or four that any way relate to any other language. And to the end the Reader may himself judge, we will furnish him with some of those which are most common in ordinary conversation. *Their language.*

Keiling, Heaven.
Ubleijin, a Star.
Agakwugoo, yesterday.
Petting, a Man.
Kajoictuinas, young.
Ekiken, deformed.
Niakau, the head.
Siuta, an ear.
Ukang, the tongue.
Tikagga, a finger.
Nasekka, the belly.
Ennowan, a Wast-coat.
Kaksua, an arrow.
Kalipsi, a pot.
Ugleſſin, a bird.
Kaluliſen, dry'd Haberdine.
Towak, the Fish that hath the Horn called the Unicorn's horn.
Tonwaksen, the Horn it self.
Kapiſſiling, a Salmon.
Pauting, an Oar.
Ugaggan, a stone.
Kaming, a Boot.
Piſickse, a Bow.
Jugeling, a Knife.
Kejuta, a Spoon.
Emeisa, a Cup.
Tukto, flesh.
Kackſluton, a Drake.
Kalulia, Haberdine.
Nau, a Boat.
Iglun, a house.
Iliout, or *Ilioun*, the Sun.
Aningang, the Moon.
Ublau, day.
Unuwoa, night.
Itaguptan, to morrow.
Kona, a Woman.
Pannien, a Child.
Kannoctuina, old.
Pinallu, fair.
Ubia, Father.
Nulia, Mother.
Iſiken, an eye.
Keinga, the Nose.
Kanexua, the mouth.
Kiguting, a Tooth.
Vimixuin, the beard.
Akseita, the hand.
Kablan, the thumb.
Kuggie, a nail.
Kana, a leg.
Sikadin, a foot.
Neizin, a doublet.
Naglein, breeches.
Karlein, stockins.
Suwigming, Iron.
Mingakiſin, fish.
Kajakka, a little Boat.
Keiſuin, Wood.
Ipſaw, the Earth.
Ipgin, grass.
Nidlong, Ice.
Apon, Snow.
Siruksua, rain.
Ime, water.
Imak, the Sea.
Igne, fire.
Igga, smoak.
Kiſakaun, hot.
Kaigenakaun, cold.
Vanga, I.

Akagoo,

1636.

Akagoo, to day.
Ab, yes.
Nagga, no.
Piſſiak, a Dog.
Amiga, the skin.
Mekkone, a Needle.
Mikkakaun, little.
Angewo, great.
Sua, what wouldſt?
Magluna, two.
Siſſema, four.
Akbukmen, ſix.
Pingenguen, eight.
Tellimen, ten.
Agneſſui, high.
Eipa, low.
Kachain, hungry.
Ibling, thou.
Kaſilakaun, full.
Kepſiun, to eat.
Jemektaun, to drink.
Keigerſon, to weep.
Iglakton, to laugh.
Aliaſukton, to be troubled.
Tabatton, to be glad.
Jeptone, bring.
Nikatin, go thy wayes.
Kia mecle, which ſignifies.
Suna, what is't.
Taaſi, one.
Pingegua, three.
Tellima, five.
Arleng, ſeven.
Siſſemen, nine.

Their cloathing. The *Groenlanders* call thoſe of their Countrey *Inguin*, and ſtrangers *Kablunaſſouin*, and Cloath themſelves with the skins of Sea-dogs, and Sea-calves, and Renes, much like the *Samojedes*. They wear under their Cloaths Waſtcoats, of the skins of birds, as Swans, Geeſe, wild Ducks, and Teals, turning the feathers either inward or outward according to the ſeaſons. The difference of Sex is not eaſily diſcover'd, unleſs it be that the Women are known by a piece of skin that hangs down before and behind to the half-leg, and by the capuche of their Waſtcoats, which is made like that of the *Recollects*, and large enough to hide their hair, whereas that of the men is narrower, and cut like that of the *Franciſcans*. The mens breeches come down to their knees, and ſometimes lower; but thoſe of the women are ſhorter, and hardly cover half the Thigh.

Their ordinary exerciſes. They live by hunting and fiſhing, and make uſe, in theſe two exerciſes, only of Bows and Arrows, which are the only Arms they have. They have alſo a kind of hook, which they call *Karluſa*, made of the tooth of the fiſh *Towak*, which ſome would have thought the Unicorn's horn. Of this bone they make alſo the inſtrument they uſe in Whale-fiſhing, at which they are very expert, taking that Creature much after another manner than is done by the *Biskayans*, and others who drive that trade. To that end, they have a very long thong, cut out of a Whale's skin, and faſten to one end of it the ſaid inſtrument, which they caſt at the Whale, and at the other the skin of a Sea-Calf or Dog blown up, which floating upon the water, diſcovers the track of the wounded Whale. If ſhe be not mortally wounded, they purſue her, and Dart two or three times more at her, with the ſame kind of inſtrument, till ſuch time as bloud and ſtrength failing her, they come up, kill her, bring her aſhore, and divide her. The Whales fat is one of their greateſt dainties, but eſpecially the Oyl, which is their beſt ſawce, and the drink they beſt love. Their ordinary drink is only water; the Women I have ſeen, would never drink any Wine, nor eat of our bread, or ſawces: for having no Salt, Spice, Sugar, nor Vinegar in their Countrey, it is not to be wondred that we could not bring them to like meats dreſs'd after our way. Yet do they not eat their meat raw, as ſome would perſwade, but dreſs'd, either by boyling or roaſting. 'Tis true, they love dry'd Haberdine, or Stockfiſh, and ſometimes eat it raw; but that is not extraordinary even in *Germany*, where I have ſeen, at a deſert at the Duke of *Wolfembuttel's*, Gammons of Bacon, and dry'd Salmon ſerv'd up unboyl'd. Their ordinary food, are Sea-Dogs, and Calves, Renes, Foxes, Houſ-Dogs, and Fiſh. When they eat, with one hand, they put a piece of the fleſh into their mouths, and with the other cut off what they cannot get in, ſo that the bits being as much as their mouths can hold, they make very ſtrange faces to get it down.

They are Savages. Their way of living is ſo different from what is ſeen elſewhere, that it is no injury to call them *Savages*. They have no diſcretion, civility, vertue, or ſhame. Their countenances are ever frowning, and they very ſeldom laugh: they are timerous and diſtruſtful, and withall inſolent, ſtubborn, and indiſciplinable. They are very naſty, and their Tongues ſerve them for Handkerchers, as well for their Cloaths as their Bodies, ſo that they may very juſtly be ſaid to live like beaſts. Which yet admits of ſome diſtinction, according to the ſituation of ſeveral parts of the Countrey, it being certain, that the *Engliſh* Pilot, who went from *Denmark*, with *Godske Lindenau*, of whom Mr. *Pereire* makes mention, and who took his courſe more towards the South-weſt, met with a people much more docile, and leſs Savage, than that which *Lindenau* met withall towards the North. Our three women, who had been taken at the entrance of *Davis*-ſtreight, were rational enough, and eaſily learnt what they were taught. One of them imitated pretty well a head or hand, I was drawing with a piece of Charcoal, and the other came in a ſhort time to do thoſe things, which women and maids ordinarily employ themſelves about

about in our parts. They danc'd after a ſtrange manner, but with ſuch exactneſs as to time and cadence, that the King of *Denmark*, having a Ball danc'd at *Flensbourg*, would needs bring in thoſe three *Groenlanders*, who came off very handſomly, to the ſatisfaction of all: But they would never be got to learn our language, though they pronounc'd the *Daniſh* and *German* words dictated to them very diſtinctly. 1636.

There is no money in the Country, being yet ſo happy as not to know the value of Gold and Silver. Iron and Steel they moſt eſteem, and prefer a Sword or a Hatchet before a Golden Cup, a Nail before a Crown piece, and a pair of Ciſers, or a Knife, before a Jacobus. Their trucking is thus; they put all they have to ſell together, and having pick'd out among the Commodities that are brought to them, what they like beſt, they put them alſo together, and ſuffer thoſe they deal with to add or diminiſh till ſuch time as they are content with the bargain. What they moſt value, are Knives, Ciſers, Needles, Looking-glaſſes, Iron and Steel; and the Commodities they ſell are the fat and Oyl of Whales, the skins of Sea-dogs and Calves, the Horns, or rather the Teeth of the Fiſh *Towak*, whereof Mr. *Pereire* makes a large and true deſcription, in his Treatiſe of *Groenland*. It is granted, to be an excellent Antidote againſt poyſon, but it is long ſince men have been undeceiv'd in the opinion they had of it. The Duke of *Holſtein* hath one that is eight foot and two inches long, and weighs eighteen pound: but the King of *Denmark*'s is ſix inches longer. There is alſo in *Groenland* Talk, and Marble, white, and of all other colours, and it hath been argu'd from the vapours which were ſeen riſing out of the earth, at the place where the *Engliſh* Pilot came aſhore, that there are Mines of Sulphur. It is reported alſo, that in the time of *Frederick* II. King of *Denmark*, ſome Oar was brought thence, whereof the hundred weight yielded twenty ſix Ounces of Silver; which is the more credible, in that it is certain, the more Northerly parts of the Countrey produce both Gold and Silver, ſince there hath been ſeen at the King of *Denmark*'s, a Wedge of Silver of ſixty Marks, which had been taken out of the Mines of *Norway*.

The Groenlanders have no Gold nor Silver in their Countrey.

Of the *Groenland* Religion, I muſt confeſs I could never have any accompt; but it is moſt likely they are Pagans and Idolaters, for we have in our cuſtody an Idol, which we bought out of the Study of Doctor *Paludanus*, a Phyſician at *Enck-huyſen*, who had faſten'd a Note to it, expreſſing it's being found at *Davis*-ſtreight. And indeed, our *Groenland* women preſently knew it and called it *Nalim-qui-ſang*. 'Twas very roughly made, of a piece of Wood a foot and a half long, cover'd with Feathers and a hairy skin, having about the neck Sea-dogs Teeth. The women would make me underſtand, that the Children were wont to dance about thoſe Idols; and our *Groenland* women were ſeen in fair mornings to proſtrate themſelves and weep, at ſun-riſing; whence it is to be inferr'd, that thoſe people adore the Sun. *Zeiler*, in his Itinerary, ſays, that the *Groenlanders* are for the moſt part Sorcerers, and ſell Winds, as the *Laplanders* do: but that's more than the *Danes* have obſerv'd in their Voyages. Only it was noted among thoſe that were in *Denmark*, that when any of them fell ſick, one of the Camerades lay down upon his back by him, and the ſick perſon ſitting up bound about his head who ail'd nothing, putting a ſtick between the forehead and the cloath that bound it, the other raiſing up his head, ſo as that the ſick perſon might, at firſt, think it light, afterwards heavy, pronouncing and muttering certain words. After which he begun again, and he who had his head bound up, leaned it down very heavy at firſt, afterwards more lightly, the ſick perſon ſtill continuing his prayers and imprecations; none being able to gueſs at the myſtery of this Ceremony. They have neither Magiſtrate nor Superiour among them; their condition is equal in all things, only he that hath moſt Children, moſt Bows and Arrows, and kills moſt Wildfowl, is the richeſt and moſt conſiderable among them.

Are Pagans.

For the colour of theſe people, it might be admir'd that in the coldeſt Climate in the World, the Men ſhould be of an Olive-colour, or rather ſwarthy, if what * *Pliny* ſaies be true, that it is the heat of the Sun that burns the skin, and makes the hair curl, and that cold whitens the skin, and makes the hair of an Aſh-colour. But we find the contrary by experience, not only in the people we have ſpoken of, but alſo in thoſe who live at the *Magellan* Streight, who are white, though as near the Sun as the Negroes of *Africk*. The Inhabitants about the *Cape of good Hope*, are black, and yet the *Spaniards* and *Italians*, as alſo the *Perſians*, who are in the ſame degree, are white. The *Ethiopians* are but of a duskiſh colour, and the *Malabares* and Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Cedon*, who are equally diſtant from the Line, are black. In like manner, all over *America*, there are no *Blacks*, but only at *Quaerca*, though that vaſt part of the Univerſe reaches from one Circle to the other, through all the Climates of the World. 'Tis no more than conjecture to ſay, that this diverſity of colours proceeds from certain qualities of the Country and Air, whereof the cauſes are not known. Nor is there any more certainly to affirm, that that colour in the skin proceeds from the conſtitution of the body, ſince that in any Climate whatſoever, the conjunction of a Black Man and White Woman ſhall produce a ſwarthy Child, or of ſuch a colour as the *Spaniards* call *Mulatas*; which is ſo much the more probable, in that the Sun does not alwayes blacken, but on the contrary, whitens ſome things, as Wax and Linnen: it being alſo known, that the Sun makes a picture look more lightſome, and

Inhabitants of Septentrional Countries ſwarthy.

* *Lib.* 2. *c.* 78.

that

1636. that the *Portuguez* expose their hair thereto, to take off somewhat of their dy. But to give a more Christian accompt thereof, it may be said, with the Learned Mr. *Bochart*, in his incomparable *Phaleg*; That the black colour is a mark of the curse in the posterity of *Cham*, which spread it self in these places of *Asia* and *Africa* where the Negroes live.

But it is time we return to our *Muscovites*, whom we shall consider, first, in relation to their habit and stature, then to that of their humour and manner of life.

The stature of the Muscovites. They are for the most part corpulent, fat, and strong, and of the same colour as other *Europæans*. They much esteem great beards (when the mustaches hide the mouth) as also great bellies; so that those who are well furnish'd about the mouth, and have good fat paunches, are very considerable among them. The *Goses*, or Great Duke's Merchants, whom we found in the Antichamber, when we were brought to our publick Audience, had been chosen particularly for those two perfections, for the greater honour of their Prince.

The great Lords shave their heads; persons of lower condition cut their hair, and Priests, and others belonging to the Church, wear their hair so long, that it hangs down over their shoulders to half their backs. Those Lords that are out of favour at Court, let their hair grow and hang negligently about their heads, thereby expressing their affliction; no doubt after the example of the antient Greeks, whom the *Muscovites* are apt to imitate in all their actions.

The Women paint. The Women are well proportion'd, neither too big, nor too little; having passable good faces, but they paint so palpably, that if they laid it on with a brush, and had a handful of meal cast in their faces when they had done, they could not disfigure themselves as much as the paint does. But the custom is so general, that the most handsome must comply, lest they should discredit the artificial beauty of others: whereof we saw an example in the wife of *Knez Juan Borissowits Cirkaski*, who was the handsomest Lady of all *Muscovy*, and was loath to spoil with painting, what the rest of her Sex took so much pains to preserve thereby: but the other Women inform'd against her, and would not be quiet, till their husbands had forc'd that Prince to give way that his wife might dawb her face after the ordinary manner. So that painting is so common in *Muscovy*, that when any are to be married, the Bridegroom, that is to be, sends among other Presents some paint to his Bride, as we shall see anon when we come to speak of their marriages.

Their habit Married Women put up their hair within their Caps or Coifs, but the Maids let theirs hang down their backs in two tresses, and tye it at the ends with a piece of Crimson-silk. Children under 10 years of age, as well Girls as Boys, have their hair cut, all except two mustaches which are left over the temples; so that there being no difference in their habits, that of their Sex is discovered only by the brass or silver Rings, which the Girls wear in their ears.

Their habit is somewhat like that of the antient Greeks. Their shirts are broad, but so short that they hardly cover the thighs. They are not gather'd at the neck, but lin'd with a triangular piece from the shoulders to the reins, which piece is sow'd down with Crimson silk. Some have under the Armpits, and in the seams, a fringe of silk of the same colour. The more rich have the neck-piece, which is an inch broad or better, the end of the sleeves, and the breast, embroider'd with silk of several colours, and sometimes Gold and precious stones, and leave open so much of their Wast-coats, that the embroidery and the two great Pearls, or buttons of Silver or Gold, which fasten the shirt before, may be seen. Their Breeches are large, and gather'd towards the waste, so that they may be made larger or streightned, as our Drawers. Upon these they wear a kind of VVastcoat, which they call *Kaftan*, reaching to the knees, with the sleeves so long, that they cannot thrust their hands through without making many folds upon the arm. The Collar of this Wastcoat is above half a quarter both in height and bredth, so that it covers the head behind. And because that is very much seen, the better sort face it with Plush or Satin. Upon the *Kaftan* they wear a close Coat, which falls down to the mid-leg, and is called *Feres*. These are adorn'd with cotton; and indeed, both the *Kaftas* and *Feres* are made of Cotton, Taffeta, Damask, or Satin, according to their quality who wear them. VVhen they go abroad they put on a Garment that reaches down to their heels, made of a violet colour, or dark green cloath, with buttons behind, down to the bottom. Those of the *Knez* and *Bojares* are made of Damask, Satin, or other rich stuff. Of this last kind are all the cloaths taken out of the Great Duke's VVardrobe, for those persons by whom he is attended at publick ceremonies.

Their *Feres*, or *Hongrelines*, or close Coats, have a very broad Collar, falling down upon their shoulders, with loop-buttons of Gold and Silver, nay some with embroidery at the open places before, and the sides. The sleeves are as long as the Coat it self, but narrow; so that when it is on, they hang down, and have this convenience that they serve to hide a cudgel, or stones, wherewith they many times surprize and kill those, whom they intend to rob.

All *Muscovites* wear Caps instead of Hats. The *Knez*, *Bojares*, and Ministers of State, have

have them of black-Fox skins, or Sables, half an ell high, when they are preſent at any publick Ceremonies; but in their houſes, and about the City, they are of Velvet, lined with the ſaid Furrs, but with narrow brims, layd all over with buttons and loops of Gold and Silver, or embroider'd with Pearls, The common People, in the Summer time, wear Caps of ſome coarſe ſtuff, and in Winter, of cloath, lin'd with Sheep skins, or ſome ordinary Furr. Their boots are ſhort, as thoſe of the *Polanders*, and picked towards the toe, and are made of *Ruſſia* Leather, or Goats skin brought from *Perſia*, They have not yet the art of dreſſing Spaniſh Leather, nor the invention of tanning Ox-hides, otherwiſe than the ſoles. The Womens ſhooes are half a quarter high at the heel, ſet on with little nails, in ſo much that they can hardly go in them. 1636.

The *Muſcovian* Women are habited much after the ſame faſhion as the Men, ſave that their *Hongrelines*, or Coats, are wider, and of the ſame ſtuff as their Waſtcoats. The richer ſort have them layd over very thick with Gold, Silver, or Silk-Lace, and have buttons and loops of the ſame ſtuff, or great buttons of Silver or Tinn, to faſten them. The ſleeves are ſo put on, as that they may thruſt their hands into them, or let them hang down. They wear no *Kaftans*, much leſs uſe thoſe high collars, which are thought ſo ornamental for the Men. Their Smock ſleeves are four or five ells long, and are ſet in little folds upon the arm. They wear very wide Caps or Coifs of Damask, plain or purfled Satin, embroider'd with Gold and Silver, and lined with Caſtors, the hair whereof does in a manner cover all their forehead. Maids that are marriageable wear cloath Caps, lined with Fox-skin.

It is not long ſince, that ſtrangers, whether Phyſicians, or Merchants, as the *French*, *Engliſh*, *Hollanders* and *Germans*, went in *Muſcovian* habits, to avoid the inſolence of the people, who many times took occaſion to affront them, out of no other reaſon than the diverſity of their cloaths. But the preſent Patriarch, having obſerv'd in a *Proceſſion*, that the *Germans* who had thruſt in among the *Muſcovites* to ſee it paſs by, betraid a certain irreverence at their Ceremonies, eſpecially at the Benediction he gave the people, was incens'd thereat, and ſaid, that thoſe ſtrangers, being not worthy to partſcipate of the Benediction which was given to the faithful, it were fit the Great Duke put out an Ordinance, obliging ſtrangers to cloath themſelves according to the faſhions of their own Countries. The contempt of any Law is ſeverely puniſh'd in *Muſcovy*: but the obſervation of this was ſo much the more difficult, in that, for want of Taylors, it was almoſt impoſſible for people to get other cloaths within the time limited by the Ordinance. Yet were they forc'd to obey, which occaſion'd very good ſport, in that thoſe who were ſervants to the Great Duke, being oblig'd to be every day at the Court, and not daring to appear there in *Muſcovian* habits, they were forc'd to put on what they could meet withall, and to make uſe of thoſe cloaths which their Grand-fathers, and Great-grand-fathers had worn, when the Tyrant *John Baſilouits* forc'd them out of *Livonia*, to go and live at *Moſcou*. 'Twas a ſtrange ſight to ſee them all in cloaths that were either too big, or too little, as having not been made for them, beſides that there was no acquaintance at all between Breeches and Doublet, or any correſpondence between the age wherein they had been made, and that they were then worn in. Ever ſince that time every Nation is clad according to their own modes.

The *Muſcovites* never change their faſhion, nor can I remember any more than one Lord, who took a fancy to the *French* mode. His name is *Knez Mikita Jouanouits Romanou*, very rich, and of near kin to the Great Duke, who is much taken with his humour and converſation. This Lord hath a particular affection for Strangers, and goes in the *French* and *Poliſh* modes in his cloaths, eſpecially when he goes either into the Country or a-hunting. But the Patriarch, who diſlik'd that feedom in him, and was diſpleaſed alſo with another, which that Prince took, to ſpeak ſomewhat ſlightly of their Religion, enjoyn'd him not to ſpeak any further of Religion. Nothing ſo wretched as the cloathing of the Country people. It is of a very coarſe Canvaſe, and their ſhooes of barks of trees, which they have the art to ſow and interlace like paniers, with a miraculous induſtry. There is hardly any *Muſcovite* but is good at this Trade, and does exerciſe it; ſo that it may be ſaid, *Muſcovy* hath as many Shooemakers as men, or at leaſt, that there is no Family, but hath its particular Shooemaker. It is upon the ſame accompt ſaid of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, that he hath a Baylywick in the Dutchy of *Pruſſia*, which is that of *Inſterbourg*, where there are above 15000. ſhooemakers, for all the Peaſants of that Baylywick make their own ſhooes.

If a man conſider the natures and manner of life of the *Muſcovites*, he will be forc'd to avow, there cannot any thing be more barbarous than that people. Their boaſt is that they are deſcended from the antient *Greeks*, but, to do them no injuſtice, there is no more compariſon between the brutality of theſe *Barbarians*, and the civility of the *Greeks*, to whom all other parts of the VVorld are oblig'd for all their literature and civilization, than there is between day and night. They never learn any Art or Science, nor apply themſelves to any kind of Study: on the contrary, they are ſo ignorant, as to think, a man cannot make an Almanack unleſs he be a Sorcerer, nor foretell the Revolutions of the Moon and Eclipſes, unleſs he have ſome communication with Devils. Upon this accompt it was, that the *Muſcovites* generally grumbled *Their manner of life.*

1636. when the Great Duke would have entertain'd me into his service, in the quality of his Astronomer and Mathematician, as we return'd from our Voyage into *Persia*, and rais'd a report, that their Prince was going to bring a Magician into his Court. This aversion I discover'd in the *Muscovites*, took off that little inclination I sometime had to embrace that employment, which was offer'd me, not so much upon the accompt of my abilities in Astronomy, as, to engage me to continue in the Countrey, because they knew, that I had exactly observ'd, and drawn into a Map the whole course of the River *Wolga*, whereof they were unwilling that strangers should have any knowledge. When I came to *Muscovy*, upon the affairs of the Duke of *Holstein* my Master, in the year 1643. I shew'd them upon a Wall of an obscure Chamber, through a little hole I had made in the shutter of the window, by the means of a piece of glass polish'd and cut for Opticks, all was done in the street, and men walking upon their heads: This wrought such an effect in them, that they could never after be otherwise perswaded than that I held a correspondence with the Devil.

They esteem Physicians, and Medicine, but will not permit that people should make use of the same means as is done elsewhere to gain the perfection of that Science. They will not suffer the body to be opened, that so the causes of diseases may be found out, and they have a strange aversion for *Skeletons* There is to this purpose a pleasant story of a *Dutch* Surgeon who liv'd at *Moscou* some years since. His name was *Quirin*, one much favour'd by the Great Duke, because of his facetious humour, and his experience in the Art he profess'd. It happen'd one day, that this good man diverting himself in his Chamber, and playing a Lesson on the Lute, the *Strelitz*, who are spying up and down every where, drew near to the place where that Musick was: but perceiving through a chink, a *Skeleton* hanging behind him, which the wind coming in at the window caused to move, they were frightned, and reported, that the strange Surgeon had a dead Carkass that mov'd at the sound of his Musick. The Great Duke and the Patriarch desirous to be truly inform'd of the business, sent others to make a further discovery; and these not only confirm'd what the others had reported, but added, that they had seen the *Skeleton* dance, while the Surgeon play'd. The business was thought to be of such importance, as that it were fit to be communicated to the Councel, where, *nemine contradicente*, it was declar'd, That it was done by Magick. That, consequently, the Surgeon was a Magician, and as such, ought to be burnt, together with the *Skeleton*. The Surgeon hearing of this sentence, intreated a Merchant of his acquaintance, who had much credit at Court, to represent to *Knez Juan Borissowits Cirkaski*, that most Surgeons and Physicians in *Germany* make use of those *Skeletons*, to find out the composure of the body, and juncture of the bones, that so they might the better know how to cure what may happen in those parts. Upon this Lord's representation, the former sentence was revers'd; but *Quirin* was forc'd to leave the Countrey, and the *Skeleton* was dragg'd along the streets, and burnt on the other side of the River *Moska*. A *German* Painter ran the same hazard about six years since. For the *Strelits*, who were got into his house, with intent to pull it down, to hinder the Progress of a fire, which had already done mischief enough, meeting with a dead man's skull, or death's head, would have cast both it and the Master of the house into the fire, and had done it, if his friends had not deliver'd him out of the hands of those *Barbarians*, and convinc'd them of the innocent use of that head, in the art he profess'd.

They are ingenuous naturally.

'Tis true, The *Muscovites* do not want ingenuity, but they employ their wit so ill, that not any of their actions is directed to vertue and the glory which ever attends it. The *Danish* Gentleman, who publish'd the Embassy he was sent upon, into *Muscovy*, from *Frederick* II. gives the *Muscovites* a very true Character, in two Lines, when he says, That they are subtile, over-reaching, humourous, self-will'd, obstinate, insolent, and impudent, that they regulate their reason according to their power, and that they have shaken hands with all vertues, to run themselves into all manner of vice.

Their industry and subtilty is chiefly seen in their Traffick, in which there is no craft or cheat but they make use of, rather to circumvent others, than to prevent being deceiv'd themselves. I wonder'd to see them sell Cloath at three Crowns and a half the Ell, which they had bought of the *English* at four, and yet I was told they made a good profit thereby; for buying the Cloath at a twelve months time for payment, and selling it for ready money, though at a lower rate, they made use of the money, and employ'd it in other things, which brought in more profit, than they would have made by selling the Cloath upon time, though they sold much dearer than it cost them. They make a conscience to retain what is paid them more than their due, and are so honest as to return what they have receiv'd by mistake: but they think it no sin, in their dealings, to surprize those who Trade with them, giving this reason, that the Merchant is to make his advantage of the Wit and industry God hath bestow'd on him, or never meddle with Traffick. According to this principle, a certain *Dutch* Merchant having notoriously over-reach'd several *Muscovites*, these Gentlemen were so far from being troubled at it, that they spake of him, as of an excellent ingenuous man, and desir'd they might go partners with him, out of a hope they conceiv'd, that he would discover some great secret to them.

And

And whereas cheating cannot be exercis'd without treachery, lying, and diſtruſt, which are its conſtant attendants, they are marvellouſly well vers'd in theſe qualities, as alſo in the Lectures of Calumny, which they commonly make uſe of againſt thoſe on whom they would be revenged for theft, which among them is the moſt enormous of all Crimes, and the moſt ſeverely puniſh'd. To this end, they are ſo cunning, as to pawn at, or get ſecretly convey'd into their Lodgings, whom they would accuſe, thoſe things which they would have believed were ſtollen from them, or they thruſt them into their Enemies Boots; for in them the *Muſcovites* commonly carry their money and Letters. To make ſome proviſion againſt theſe abuſes, the Great Duke made an Edict in the year 1634. enjoyning that for the future, all Promiſes or Obligations, whether for borrowing of money or pawning; though it were between Father and Son, ſhould be ſet down in writing, and ſign'd by both parties, elſe the debt to be loſt. Heretofore, eſpecially in the Reign of the Tyrant *John Baſilouits*, there needed no more to procure a man's death or baniſhment, than to accuſe him of High-Treaſon, without any Proceſs, Evidence, or Defence allow'd, all that were charged being puniſh'd, without any diſtinction of Sex, Age, or Quality. Calumnies, and falſe ſuggeſtions were ſo common under that Prince, that many ſtrangers, even publick perſons, many times fell into thoſe misfortunes, the Tyrant never regarding their Character as Ambaſſadors, nor that of the Princes by whom they were ſent. He baniſh'd, into *Siberia*, the Emperours Ambaſſadour, and caus'd him to be ſo ill-treated, that the poor man reſolv'd at laſt to change his Religion, hoping by his Apoſtacy to alleviate his miſery. The Great Duke *Michael Federouits*, ſhew'd no more reſpect for the late King of *France*, when he ſent the Marqueſſe of *Exideuil* into *Siberia*, where, by the Artifices of his Collegue, *James Rouſſel*, he was a Priſoner 3 years, as we have mentioned elſewhere. 1636.

Are lyars and diſtruſtful.

To this purpoſe, *Martin Baar*, Paſtor of *Narva*, who liv'd at *Moſcou* under the reign of the Great Duke *Boris Gudenow*, told us this ſtory. The Great Duke being troubled with the Gout caus'd to be proclaim'd, that whoever could give him any eaſe ſhould have very great rewards. The wife of a certain *Bojare*, exaſperated by the ill uſage ſhe had receiv'd from her husband, went and inform'd, that the *Bojare* had an excellent remedy for the Gout; but had ſo little affection for his Majeſty, that he would not communicate it. They ſent for the man, who was not a little aſtoniſh'd when he underſtood the cauſe of his diſgrace; but what excuſes ſoever he made, all was attributed to his malice. He was whipp'd, even to bloud, and caſt in Priſon, where he could not forbear breaking out into paſſion, and ſaying, that he ſaw well enough it was his wife had put that trick upon him, and that he would be reveng'd on her. The Great Duke imagining theſe menaces proceeded from the trouble it was to him that his wife had revealed what he would have kept ſecret, ordered him to be whipp'd more cruelly than the time before, and ſent one to tell him, that if he did not apply his remedy, he ſhould prepare himſelf for preſent death. The poor fellow perceiving his deſtruction unavoidable, ſaid at laſt, that he knew indeed a remedy, but doubting of its certainty, he durſt not try it on his Majeſty; yet if they would allow him fifteen dayes to prepare it, he would apply it. Having that time granted him, he ſent to *Czirback*, two dayes journey from *Moſcou*, upon the River *Occa*, whence he had brought him a Wagon full of all ſorts of Herbs, good and bad; and therewith prepar'd a Bath for the Great Duke, who thereupon grew ſomewhat better. For whether it were that the Diſeaſe was declining, or that among ſo many Herbs of all ſorts, there were ſome good for his Diſeaſe, he had ſome eaſe. Then were they confirm'd in the opinion they had before, that the *Bojares* denyal to apply his remedy proceeded from his malice, whereupon he had a more cruel whipping than the two former times, and there was given him a preſent of four hundred Crowns, together with eighteen Peaſants to be his ſlaves; with a ſtrict charge, not to entertain any animoſity againſt his wife, who made this advantage thereby, that, ever after, they liv'd very lovingly together.

A pleaſant ſtory.

But now they proceed with more caution, and no man is condemn'd without an exact information of the Crime laid to his charge. And for the utter taking away of all calumny, the Accuſer muſt be content to endure the Torture firſt; and if, while he is in the Torment, he perſiſt in his accuſation, the accuſed perſon is alſo put to it, nay, many times he is condemn'd without ſo much as being heard. We ſaw an example of this in the wife of one of the Great Duke's Farriers, who deſirous to be rid of her husband, charg'd him that he would have poyſon'd the Horſes, and had he the opportunity, even the Great Duke himſelf. She endur'd the Torture without varying in her accuſation, and her husband was ſent to Priſon into *Siberia*. We were ſhew'd the woman, who was ſtill paid the one half of her husband's Penſion. From this kind of demeanour among the *Muſcovites*, and their infidelity one to another, it may be judg'd, what ſtrangers are to expect from them, and how far they are to be truſted. They never proffer their friendſhip, nor contract any with others, but for their own intereſt and advantage. The ill education they have when young, never learning any thing beyond reading and writing, and certain vulgar prayers, makes them blindly follow that which in Beaſts is called *Inſtinct*; ſo that Nature being in them depraved and corrupted, their whole life muſt needs be a conſtant courſe

1636. of viciouſneſs. Thence it comes, they are bruitiſh, doing all things according to their unbridled paſſions and appetites.

The fierceneſs of all other Nations, ſome *Iſlanders* excepted, argues ſomething of Spirit and Generoſity; but the opinion the *Muſcovites* have of themſelves and their abilities, is ſottiſh, groſs, and impertinent; and the pride and vain glory of thoſe who are ever ſo little advanc'd in Honours or Eſtates, is inſupportable. They diſſemble it not, but all their behaviour, words, and actions, diſcover what they really are. Upon this principle they ground the fond conceit they have of the greatneſs, power, and wealth of their Prince, whom they preferr before all the other Monarchs of *Europe*. Thence it is alſo, that they would not have other Princes aſſume thoſe qualities which may denote their competition with him. They ſottiſhly and inſolently command Ambaſſadors to be uncover'd firſt, and by force take all advantages over them, imagining it were a great injury to themſelves and their Prince, to treat Strangers with any civility. Private perſons write and ſpeak in unhandſome terms, but ſuch as give the leſs offence, in that they bear with the ſame treatment from others. 'Tis true, they begin to learn a little civility, ſince they became ſenſible of the advantages ariſing to them from the Commerce they have with Strangers, and there are ſome uſe them with diſcretion: but of theſe there are very few, and, excepting *Nikita*, whom we have ſpoken of, and two or three more, it would be hard to find as many others that deſerve this commendation.

Have no civility. Nor have they any more complyance one for another, than they have difference for ſtrangers; for inſtead of being civil one to another, they take place, and all other advantages, one of another. When we were at *Niſenovogorod*, the Chancellor's Steward coming to ſee us, the Ambaſſadors invited him to Dinner; but when they were to ſit down, the *Priſtaf* would take place of him, which begat a conteſtation concerning their quality. One, as he was a *Sinbojar*, or Gentleman, pretended to precedence before the *Priſtaf*, who was not a perſon eminent by birth; the later, being there upon the accompt of his Prince, would not have the other to make any compariſon with him. Whore's ſon and dog were the mildeſt of their terms for half an hour and better, and that without any reſpect for the Ambaſſadors, who were at laſt forc'd to tell them, that they had invited them to be merry, and not to be troubled with their conteſts, and entreated them, at that time, to eat and drink, and to take ſome other, to decide their differences. They took their advice, and grew ſuch good friends, as if the entertainment had been appointed for their reconciliation, which ſeem'd to be very ſincere in their Wine, which, according to their cuſtome made them kindly drunk.

Quarrelſome. They are all much given to quarrelling, in ſo much that in the ſtreets they will rail at, and abuſe one another like Fiſh-Wives, and that with ſuch animoſity, that thoſe who are not acquainted with their humour think they will not part without fighting; but they ſeldome come to thoſe extremities, or if they fight; it is with their fiſts, or ſwitches, and the height of their rage is kicking, as much as they can, in the belly and about the ſides. 'Twas never yet known that any *Muſcovite* fought with Sword or Piſtol, or that they are ſenſible of that gallantry wherein many would unjuſtly place true courage. The great Lords, *Knez* and *Bojares*, fight on horſe-back, but the weapon is a good Whip, and ſo they ſoon decide what differences happen between them.

Inſolent in their expreſſions. When they quarrel, they forbear curſing, ſwearing and blaſpheming, but rail at one another in ſuch bitter and horrid expreſſions, as no Country being able to parallel them, 'tis but diſcretion to forbear defiling this relation therewith. The language of Fathers and Mothers to their Children, and of the Children to them again, is ſuch as cannot be expreſs'd without horrour, much beyond what the moſt debauch'd perſons elſewhere are guilty of. Some years ſince the Great Duke prohibited theſe inſolences upon pain of whipping, and the Magiſtrate was ordered to ſend *Strelits* and Serjeants among the people to ſurpriſe Offenders, and to ſee them immediately puniſh'd. But it was found by experience, that the remedy came too late, and that the miſchief was ſo deeply rooted, and ſo generally ſpread, that it was, not only hard, but abſolutely impoſſible to put thoſe prohibitions in execution. So that, for the vindication of perſons of quality an order was made, that he who affronts any ſuch, or any of the Great Duke's Officers, either by word or deed, ſhould be fined, which fine they call *Biſceſtia*, and ſometimes amounts to 2000. Crowns, according to the quality of the Perſon injur'd. If an Officer of the Great Duke's makes his complaint of injury done him, his reparation will be according to his relation to the Court. To a Lady, 'tis doubled, to a Son, 'tis augmented by a third part; to a Daughter, there is an abatement of a third part: and the penalty is paid as many times as there are perſons injured, though they were dead many years before. If the Offender hath not to pay, he is put into his Adverſaries hands, who diſpoſes of him ſo as to make him his Slave, or cauſe him to be whipt by the common Executioner. One *John Barnley*, an *Engliſh* Merchant, of whom we ſhall ſpeak elſewhere, was ſentenc'd to pay the *Biſceſtia* to another *Engliſh* man, Dr. *Day*, Phyſician to the Great Duke; and Capt. *de la Coſte*, a *French* Gentleman found means to make an exchange of the penalty laid upon him at the ſute of a *German* Colonel, for that which the ſame Colonel was to pay another *French* man, named *Anthony le Groin*, who was pleas'd thereby to oblige his friend, *la Coſte*.

There

There is nothing polite in their converſation; on the contrary, they are not aſham'd to yawn, belch, and ſtretch themſelves, where ever they are, their belching being the more offenſive, by reaſon of the abundance of Onions and Garlick they uſe in all their meat, which make their breaths ſtrong enough, without thoſe exaltations. This they are ſo accuſtom'd to, that they ſtick not to do it in any company, the Great Duke's preſence only excepted. 1636.

They do not apply themſelves to the ſtudy of any Art or Science, nor inquire into the affairs of other Countries, and conſequently never diſcourſe of any ſuch thing: but it were well on the other ſide, if they could forbear talking of their uncleanneſſes and brutalities, which they make their divertiſement in their debauches. I ſpeak not of the Entertainments of Great Lords, but of the ordinary company keeping of the *Muſcovites*, where all their diſcourſe is of the abhominations which they themſelves have done, or ſeen committed by others, making oſtentation of the crimes which here would be expiated by fire, and the memory thereof buried in their aſhes. But as they are wholly given up to all licentiouſneſs, even to ſins againſt Nature, not only with Men, but alſo with Beaſts, he who can tell moſt ſtories of that kind, and ſet them out in moſt geſtures, is accompted the braveſt Man. Their Fidlers put them into Songs, and their Mountebanks make publick repreſentations of them, and ſtick not to ſhew their Breeches, and ſometimes all they have to their Spectators. Thoſe who lead Bears about, Juglers; and Puppet-players, who erect a Stage in a moment, by the means of a coverlet, which, being ty'd about their waſt, is brought over their heads, and within it ſhow their Puppets, repreſenting their brutalities, and ſodomies, make ſport to the Children, who are thereby induc'd to quit all ſentiments of ſhame and honeſty. *Not addicted to any ſtudy.*

Nay theſe are quite diſcarded by the *Muſcovites*. The poſtures of their dancing, and the inſolence of their Women, are infallible marks of their bad inclinations. We have ſeen at *Moſcou* both Men and Women come out of the publick Brothell-houſes ſtark naked, and incite ſome young people of our retinue to naughtineſs by filthy and laſcivious expreſſions. Idleneſs, which is the Mother of all Vices, and ſeems to have been beſtow'd on theſe barbarous people as their portion, is that which makes them run into theſe exceſſes, whereto their drunkenneſs does alſo contribute; in as much as being naturally inclin'd to luxury, when they are once got into their Wine they mind nothing elſe. *I* have to this purpoſe a ſtory, which the Great Duke's Interpreter told me when we were at *Novogorod*: how that in the ſaid City, there is an anniverſary devotion, to which come abundance of Pilgrims. He who is allow'd to keep a tipling-houſe, gets a permiſſion from the Metropolitan, to pitch ſeveral Tents, for the accommodation of the Pilgrims of both Sexes, who are ſure to be there betimes in the morning before ſervice, and to take off ſome Cups of ſtrong-water. Nay ſome of them inſtead of minding their devotions ſpend the day in drinking, whence ariſe ſuch ſtrange diſorders, that he told me, he ſaw a Woman got ſo drunk there, that coming out of the Tent ſhe fell down; and fell aſleep, naked as ſhe was, in the ſtreet, in the day time. Which gave occaſion to a *Muſcovite*, who was alſo drunk, to lye down by her, and, having made uſe of her, to fall alſo aſleep in ſight of many people, who having made a ring about them, only laught at the poſture they were in, till at laſt an old man, conceiving a horrour at the ſpectacle, cover'd them with his own garment. *Shameleſs.*

There's no place in the World where drunkenneſs is more common than in *Muſcovy*. All, of all conditions, Eccleſiaſticks and Laicks, Men and Women, Old and Young, will drink ſtrong-water at any time, before, at, and after their meals. They call it *Tzarkowino*, and fail not to offer of it to thoſe who viſit them. The loweſt ſort of people, Peaſants and Slaves, refuſe not the Cups which are given them by ſome perſon of Quality, but will drink of it till they lye down, and many times dye in the place. Nay their Great ones are not free from this vice, as for example, the *Muſcovian* Ambaſſador, ſent to *Charles* King of *Sueden*, in the year 1608. who, forgetting his quality and the affairs his Maſter had entruſted him with, took ſo much ſtrong-water the night before he was to have audience, that the next day being found dead in his bed, they were forc'd to carry him to his Grave, inſtead of conducting him to Audience. *Drunkards.*

The meaner ſort of people think it not enough to ſtay in the Tipling-houſe till they have not a *Copec* left in their purſes, but many times pawn their cloaths there even to their ſhirts, which is no more than what is ſeen dayly during our aboad at *Moſcou*. Being lodg'd at *Lubeck*-houſe, as I went to *Novogorod*, in my Voyage to *Muſcovy* in 1643. I ſaw coming out of an Ale-houſe not far thence, ſeveral of thoſe Drunkards, ſome without Caps, others without Shoes or Stockins, ſome without Waſtcoats, and only their Shirts. One I took notice of above the reſt, who came out firſt without his *Kaftan*, and in his Shirt, but meeting a friend by the way going to the Tipling-houſe, he went back with him, and came not out again till he had left his ſhirt behind him. I call'd to him, and ask'd him what he had done with his ſhirt, and whether he had been robb'd? He anſwer'd with the ordinary civility of the *Muſcovites*, *Ja but fui matir*, *Mind thy own buſineſs*; *Good Wine hath put me into this poſture: but ſince the ſhirt hath ſtayd behind, the Drawers ſhall go and keep them company*, which he had no ſooner ſaid, but he returns to the houſe,

1636. house, whence I saw him come presently afterward naked as an *Adamite*, covering his privy parts with a handful of flowers, which he had taken up at the door, and so went very jocundly to his own house.

Being in the same City of *Novogorod* at the time of our second Embassy, I saw a Priest coming out of the Tipling-house, who coming by our Lodging would needs give the benediction to the *Strelits*, who stood Sentinel at the door. but as he lifted up his hands, going to make the inclination used in that Ceremony, the head, fraught with the vapours of the Wine, was so heavy, that weighing down the whole body, the Pope fell down in the dirt. Our *Strelits* took him up with much respect, and receiv'd his daggled benediction; it being, it seems, a thing very ordinary among them.

The Great Duke *Michael Federouits*, who was a sober person, and hated drunkenness, considering with himself that it was impossible absolutely to prevent those excesses, made in his time several orders for the moderating of them, causing the Tipling houses to be shut up, and prohibiting the selling of strong-water or Hydromel without his permission, and that those places where they were sold, should sell only by the Quart and Pint, and not by Cups. This had some effect, in that there was no more *Adamites* seen in the streets, but hindred not their being strew'd with Drunkards, the Neighbours and such of their friends, as had a design to be merry, sending to the Tavern for several Pottles of Strong-water, which they would be sure to turn off ere they parted.

Women given to drink. The women are no less given to drink than the men. I saw a pleasant example of it at *Narva*, in the house where I lodg'd, whither many *Muscovian* women came one day to their husbands, sate down with them, and took off their Cups as smartly as they did. The men being got drunk, would have gone home, but the women thought it not yet time to draw off, though invited thereto by a good number of boxes o'th'ear, and got their husbands to sit down again, and to drink roundly as before, till such time as that the men being fall'n down asleep upon the ground, the women sate upon them, as upon benches, and drunk on till they also were forc'd to lye down by them.

James de Cologne, at whose house I lodg'd at *Narva*, told me he had seen such another Comedy at his Wedding; at which, the *Muscovites* having given their Wives a good banging, sate down and drunk with them, till that being lay'd on the ground, the Women sate upon them, and grew so drunk, till at last they lay down among them.

Tobacco forbidden among them. Tobacco was heretofore so common there, that it was generally taken, both in smoak and powder. To prevent the mischiefs occasion'd by the use of it, which were not only, that the poorer sort of people ruin'd themselves thereby, in as much as if they had but a penny, they would rather bestow it in Tobacco than bread, but also because many times it set houses on fire and those that took it presented themselves with their stinking and infectious breaths before their Images, the Great Duke and the Patriarch thought fit in the year 1634. absolutely to forbid the sale and use of it. Those who are convicted of having either taken or sold any, are very rigorously punish'd. They have their Nostrils slit or are whipp'd, as we have often seen done; of the manner of which punishment we shall speak when we come to treat of the administration of Justice in that Countrey.

They are born to slavery. The perverse disposition of the *Muscovites*, the baseness of their education, and the slavery they seem born to, cause them to be treated like beasts, rather than people endued with reason. They are naturally so much inclin'd to idleness, that it were impossible to bring them to take any pains, but by the Whip and the Cudgel, which yet they are not much troubled at, as being hardened to blows, by the custom which the younger sort have to meet on Holy-dayes, and to divert themselves by cuffing or fighting with staves, never being angry at what happens. Those who are free-born, but poor, do so little value that advantage, that they sell themselves with their family for a small matter; nay, they are so mindless of their liberty, that they will sell themselves a second time, after they had recovered it, by the death of their Master, or some other occasion.

Their submissions to their Superiours discover the lowness of their spirits, and their slavery. They never come before persons of quality, but they bow down to the ground, which they touch and smite with their forehead, nay, there are some will cast themselves at their Lords feet, to give them thanks after they had been sufficiently beaten by them. No *Muscovite*, what quality soever he be of, but makes it his brag, to be the Great Duke's *Golop*, or Slave: and to express their humility or abjection, even in the least things, they put their names into diminutives, and neither speak nor write to him, but instead of *Iwan*, or *John*, they say *Iwantske*, that is the diminutive; and sign thus, *Petruskе twoy Golop*, *Petrillo your slave*. The Great Duke speaking to them uses the same expression, treating them in all things like slaves, as far as Whips and Cudgels can do it, which is but consonant to their own acknowledgement, That their persons and estates are God's and the Great Duke's.

Strangers are in no better condition there Those strangers who settle in *Muscovy*, or are entertain'd into the *Czaar's* service, must resolve to do the same submissions, and be content with the same treatment. For what kindness soever

ſoever he may have for them, it requires ſo ſmall a matter to deſerve the Whip, that there is hardly any can brag he hath not had it. Heretofore there were none more ſubject to the Laſh, than the Phyſicians, it being the perſwaſion of the *Muſcovites*, that that art was infallible, and that the ſucceſs of it depended on their wills, who profeſs'd the curing of diſeaſes. Hence was it, that in the year 1602. *John* Duke of *Holſtein*, brother to *Chriſtian* the fourth King of *Denmark*, who had married the Great Duke *Boris Gudenous* daughter, falling ſick, the *Czar* ſent word to the Phyſicians, that if they recovered him not, their lives ſhould anſwer for the Prince's: ſo that they ſeeing the remedies apply'd were fruitleſs, and that it was impoſſible to ſave the Prince, kept out of the way, and durſt not come into the Great Duke's preſence, till he himſelf was troubled with the Gowt, and ſent for them. Among the reſt, there was one a *German*, who having practiſed Phyſick ſome time in *Muſcovy*, had ſome thoughts of returning into *Germany* to take the degree of Doctor. But the Great Duke deſirous to know the occaſion upon which he deſir'd leave to go, underſtanding that he went thither to be examin'd, and ſo take his Degree, which the Faculty gives and confirms by its Letters Patents, he told him, that having been often eas'd of his pain by his remedies, he was ſatisfy'd of his ſufficiency; and, as to Letters, if there were any need of them, he would give him ſuch as ſhould be as authentick as any he could get from the Univerſities of *Germany*, and ſo he needed not put himſelf to the trouble and expence of that journey. 1636.

This Phyſician was one of thoſe who kept out of the way upon the Duke of *Holſtein*'s death; and imagining the Great Duke would ſend for him in order to his execution, he put on a tatter'd Garment, and having his hair negligently hanging down over his eyes and face, he came in that poſture to the Great Duke's Chamber-door, into which he went, creeping on all four, and coming to his bed-ſide, told him, that he was not worthy to live, much leſs be admitted into his Majeſties preſence, ſince he was ſo unfortunate as to be out of his favour. Upon which one of the *Knez*, who were about the Duke, thinking to make his Prince ſome ſport, treated him as a *Sabak*, or Dog, kick'd him in the head, and drew blood of him. The Phyſician, perceiving the great Duke look'd favourably on him, thought fit to make his advantage of it, and with a certain confidence ſaid to him, *Great Prince, I know I am your Slave, but be pleas'd to give me leave to tell you, that I am only yours. I know I have deſerv'd death, and ſhould think my ſelf happy to receive it from your hands; but it troubles me to be affronted by this* Knez, *who is but your Slave as well as my ſelf; and I think it is not your deſire, that any other ſhould have power over me.* Theſe words, and the need the Great Duke ſtood in of this Phyſician, procur'd him a preſent of a thouſand Crowns; his Fellow-Phyſicians were pardoned, and the *Bojar* had a good cudgelling.

As for ſlaves, their number is not regulated, ſome Lords have above a hundred of them in their Country-houſes and Farms, Thoſe they entertain for their ſervice in the City; do not diet in their houſes, but have board-wages, their allowance ſo ſmall, that it is as much as they can do to live upon it. And this is one of the chiefeſt cauſes of the many diſorders and miſchiefs done at *Moſcou*, there paſſing hardly a night but violences and murthers are committed. Great Lords and rich Merchants have a Guard in their Courts, who watch all night, and are oblig'd to expreſs their vigilance, by the noiſe they make upon boards with a ſtick, much after the manner of playing upon the Timbrels, which done, they give as many knocks as the Clock hath ſtruck hours. But theſe Guards watching many times more for the advantage of houſe-breakers, than that of their Maſters, there is none uſed now, and no ſervant is taken into a houſe, but upon good City-ſecurity for his truth. *They keep many Slaves.*

This great number of ſlaves makes it unſafe to walk the ſtreets of *Moſcou*, in the night time un-arm'd and without Company. We had the experience of it in ſome of our ſervants, upon ſeveral occaſions. Our Maſter-Cook, who had been employ'd at a perſon's of quality, where the Ambaſſadors had Dined, was kill'd as he came home in the night; which misfortune happen'd alſo to the Steward belonging to the *Suediſh* Ambaſſador, *Spiring*. The Lieutenant, who had commanded our *German* and *Scotch* Musketiers, in our Voyage into *Perſia*, was in like manner kill'd in the night, having been with ſome others at the Wedding of a *German* Merchants daughter. And as there paſſed no night almoſt without murther, ſo theſe diſorders increas'd towards great Feſtivals, eſpecially on fleſh days, which they call *Maſlouitzo*. On *St. Mastin's* Eve, we counted fifteen dead bodies in the Court of *Semskoy*, a place where they are expos'd, that their kinred and friends may know them, and take order for their burial. If no body owns them, they are dragg'd thence like Carrion, and thrown into a Ditch without any Ceremony.

The inſolence of theſe Villains is ſo great, that they ſtuck not to ſet upon the Great Duke's principal Phyſician in the day time. They ſtopp'd him in the ſtreet as he was going home, ſtruck him off his horſe, and would have cut off his finger, on which he had a Gold Seal-ring, had he not been reliev'd by ſome ſent to his reſcue, by a *Knez* of his acquaintance, who living near thereabouts had ſeen him ſet upon. The miſery is, that no Citizen will ſo much as look out at his window, much leſs come out of his houſe, to relieve thoſe that are affronted, ſo much are

they

1636. they afraid to come into the ſame misfortue they ſee others engag'd in. Since our being there, ſome courſe hath been taken herein, Watches being ſet, who ſtop thoſe who go in the night without Torch or Lanthorn, and carry them to the *Strelitſe priſcas*, where they are puniſh'd the next day.

At Hay-making time, the road between *Moſcou* and *Tuere* is very dangerous to travel, by reaſon of the great number of ſlaves employ'd in that work, making their advantage of a Mountain whence they diſcover thoſe that paſs, whom they rob and kill, without any reparation to be expected from their Maſters, who, not allowing their ſlaves what to ſubſiſt upon, are forc'd to connive at their Crimes.

Maſters diſpoſe of their ſlaves, as they do of any other moveable; nay, a father may ſell his ſon, and alienate him, for his own advantage. But the *Muſcovites* have this piece of vain-glory, that not only they ſeldom come to thoſe extremities, but alſo had rather ſee their Children ſtarve at home, than ſuffer them to go out any where to ſervice. 'Tis only debt that ſometimes engages them to make over their Children to their Creditors, the Boyes at ten, the Girls, at eight Crowns, a year, the Children being no leſs oblig'd to ſatisfie the debt, than their fathers, as alſo to endure that cruel treatment, which deſperate debtors are to expect, or to ſell themſelves to their Creditors.

They are good Soldiers.

The ſubjection in which they are born, and the groſs feeding they have even from their infancy, at which time they are taught to be content with any thing, makes them very good Souldiers, and ſuch as would do very great ſervices under ſtrange Commanders. For though the Military Diſcipline of the *Romans* allow'd not the liſting of ſlaves in their Legions, yet does it not follow, but that the *Muſcovites*, who are all ſuch, may be advantageouſly employ'd in War, this being certain of them, that they are excellent good in a beſieg'd place, and will maintain it to the utmoſt extremity. Of this we have an example at *Notebourg*, where two men made their capitulation in the year 1579. The *Poles*, who had beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Suikols*, ſet it a fire as they were giving the aſſault; yet the *Muſcovites* made good the breach and maintain'd it, even when the fire reach'd their Cloaths. At the ſiege of the Abbey of *Padis*, in *Livonia*, they held out till they became ſo weakned for want of Proviſions, that they were not able to keep Guard, nor to meet the *Suedes* at the Gate.

They are not indeed ſo fortunate in the field, and very ſeldom gain'd any battel againſt the *Poles* or *Suedes*, their Neighbours, who have alwayes almoſt had the better of them, ſo that it prov'd a harder matter to purſue them, than to avoid their blows. But certain it is withall, that theſe misfortunes happen to them through the want of experience and conduct in their Generals, rather than of courage in their Soldiers.

The Siege of Smolensko.

For as to the diſgrace the *Muſcovites* receiv'd at the Siege of *Smolensko*, in the year 1633. it is to be aſcribed to the Generals perfidiouſneſs, who paid his Maſter for his imprudence in putting the command of his Army into the hands of a Stranger. He was a *Polander*, named *Herman Schein*, who to curry favour with the Duke, had been ſo low-ſpirited as to receive re-baptization. The Army he commanded, conſiſted of above a hundred thouſand men, among whom were above 6000. *Germans*, and ſeveral *Muſcovian* Regiments exerciſed according to the *German* diſcipline, and commanded by ſtrange Officers, *French*, *Germans*, and *Scots*, three hundred pieces of Cannon, and all other things requiſite to carry on the Siege againſt that place, which the *Poles* had taken ſome time before from the *Muſcovites*. The reduction of it had been ſo much the eaſier, in that the City is compaſs'd but with one ſimple wall, without ditch, or any kind of fortification. Whence it came, that the *Germans*, who had made a reaſonable breach in it, propos'd to have it carried at the firſt aſſault. But the General oppos'd it, ſaying, That he would never ſuffer, it ſhould be reproach'd to the Prince his Maſter, that he had rais'd ſo vaſt an Army to beſiege a place, which a handful of *Germans* would have taken in ſo few dayes, and then preſently to disband it. The Colonels that were Strangers, on the other ſide, conſidering that the Great Duke's reputation would ſuffer by that Siege, and the Army it ſelf be deſtroy'd if it were not employ'd, reſolv'd to give the aſſault, and were in a manner Maſters of the breach, when the General commanding the great Guns to be diſcharg'd at them, they were forc'd to retreat. They complain'd of that procedure, ſo far as to make ſome diſcoveries of their diſtruſt of his fidelity; but he ſent them word, that if they kept not within the reſpect due to their General, he ſhould find a way to chaſtiſe them, and that he would treat them as *Muſcovites*. So that not daring to make any further attempt, the Army continu'd there ſome time without doing any thing, and gave the King of *Poland* time enough to get together a ſmall body of 5000. men, who poſſeſs'd themſelves of all the avenues, by which the *Muſcovites* receiv'd their proviſions, ſo as that within a few dayes their Army was more ſtraightly beſieg'd than the City it ſelf. It had been eaſy for the *Muſcovian* General to prevent the *Poles* from taking up thoſe poſts, but he gave them the leaſure ſo to fortify themſelves in them, that it had been impoſſible for him to force them in their quarters, even if he had attempted it. The *Muſcovian* Army being reduc'd to this extremity, the General, to hinder it from ſtarving, was forc'd to capitulate with the *Poles*; to come in with the whole Army at mercy, and, with all that Noble

Artillery,

Artillery, to leave hoſtages for the ranſome of all the Officers and Soldiers, which the Great Duke was oblig'd to pay. The General was ſo impudent as to return to *Moſcou*, and ſhew himſelf at Court, where he had friends enough to protect him, notwithſtanding the charges put in againſt him by the Officers and Soldiers: but the people expreſs'd themſelves ſo mov'd at his treachery, that to prevent an inſurrection, which threatned both City and State, they were forc'd to execute him publickly in the market-place. 1636.

Moſt of the great Ones had a finger in his Treaſon, but leſt he might accuſe any, they perſwaded him that he ſhould not be ſtartled at thoſe proceedings, that it was only by way of pageant, to give the people ſome ſatisfaction, and that, before execution, his pardon would be brought him. Which he the more eaſily credited, for that his changing Religion had gain'd him the affection and favour of the Patriarch. But he had no ſooner layd his head upon the block, ere a ſign was made to the Executioner to ſtrike it off. The ſame day was executed alſo his Son, who had ſome command under his Father at the Siege of *Smolensko*. He was brought into the open place before the Caſtle, where he was ſtripp'd ſtark naked, and whipp'd to death. All the reſt of his kindred were baniſh'd into *Siberia*. This execution happened in *June*, 1634.

The *Muſcovites* ſpend not much in houſe-keeping, nor the *Bojares*, as well as thoſe of a lower condition. It is not above thirty years, that their Lords and chiefeſt Merchants have built their houſes of ſtone: for before they were no better lodg'd than the meaner ſort, in very poor wooden buildings. Their houſhold-ſtuff are ſuitable to their Lodgings, and commonly conſiſt only in three or four pots, and as many wooden or earthen diſhes. Some have pewter, but very few, and unleſs it be ſome few drinking cups, and gobelets, there is not any of ſilver. They know not what ſcowring means, in ſo much that the Great Duke's plate looks little better than the Tavern-pots, which are made clean but once a year. The better ſort hang their rooms but with mat; and to ſet them out yet a little better, they have only two or three Images wretchedly painted. They have few feather-beds, but are content with mattreſſes, nay with chaff or ſtraw, and if not that to be had, they lye upon their cloaths, which in Summer they lay upon a bench, or table; in the Winter, upon their ſtoves, which are flat, as in *Livonia*. In this Country it is that Maſter and Miſtreſs, Men and Maids, are ſhuffled all together into the ſame room; nay in ſome places in the Country, I have ſeen the Poultry, and the Pigs, had ordinarily the ſame Lodging with the Maſters of the houſe. *Their houſe-keeping.*

They are not acquainted with our delicate meats and ſawces. Their ordinary food is coarſe Meal, Turneps, Coleworth, and Cowcumbers, both freſh and pickled. Their great delicacy is Salt-fiſh, which being not well ſalted, infects the places near it, ſo that you may ſmell their Fiſh-market at a great diſtance. They cannot want Beef and Mutton, there being good paſtures all over *Muſcovy*, and the Foreſts breed ſuch abundance of Swine, that they muſt needs be very cheap: but to avoid expence, as alſo for that their year hath more faſting dayes than fleſh dayes, they are ſo accuſtom'd to Fiſh and Pulſe, that they care not for fleſh. Add to this, that their continual faſts have taught them ſo many wayes to dreſs their Fiſh, Herbs, and Pulſe, that a man may well forbear thoſe diſhes of meat which are much eſteemed elſewhere. We ſaid, how that the Great Duke willing to entertain us from his own Table, ſent us above forty diſhes, moſt of Pulſe and Herbs. Among other things they make a ſort of Pies, which they call *Piroguen*, about the bigneſs and faſhion of a twopenny Loaf. They fill the cruſt with Fiſh or minc'd meat, with Chibols and a little Pepper, and fry them in a Pan with Butter, and in Lent with Oil. 'Tis no ill diſh, and may be called the *Biſque* of thoſe parts. *Their feeding.*

The ſpawn of Fiſh, eſpecially that of *Sturgeon*, they order thus. They take off the skin, very neatly, and then ſalt them. Having been in ſalt ſome eight or ten dayes, and by that means reduc'd as it were to a paſte, they cut it into ſmall ſlices, putting Onions and Pepper to them, and they are eaten with Oil and Vinegar like a Salad. It eats much better, if, inſtead of Vinegar, you put the juice of Citron. Yet to love this kind of Sallade, a man muſt be accuſtomed to it, though they think it excites appetite and fortifies Nature. The *Muſcovites* call it *Ikary*, and the *Italians Cavaiar*. There is much of it eaten in *Italy* in the Lent time, inſtead of Butter. The beſt is made upon the *Wolgda*, and near *Aſtrachan*, whence it is tranſported in Tunns of 7. or 800. weight, by the way of *England* and *Holland*, into *Italy*. The Great Duke reſerves the Trade of this Commodity to himſelf, farms it out, and makes a very great yearly advantage of it. To diſpel the vapours riſing up to the head, after exceſſive drinking, they take cold roaſted Veal, mince it, not too ſmall, with ſome pickled Cowcumbers, adding thereto a ſawce of Pepper, Vinegar, and the juice of pickled Cowcumbers, and eat it with ſpoons. It recovers appetite, and taſts well enough.

Their ordinary drink is a ſort of ſmall Beer which they call *Quas*, or Hydromel; but they never eat, without a dram of the Strong-water botle before and after their meal. Perſons of quality are furniſh'd with ſtrong Beer, Sack, and all other ſorts of Wine. Their ſtrong Beer is brew'd in *March*, and kept all Summer in their Snow-houſes, where they make a bed of Ice and Snow mixt together, and then a layer of Barrels; upon them again a bed of Ice, and

1636. then another row of Barrels, covering them with straw and planks, which are instead of a vault to them; for their Cellars are not covered.

Hydromel how made. The *Muscovites* care not much for *Rhenish* nor *French* Wines, thinking them not strong enough; but they love Hydromel, which they order with Cherries, Straw-berries, Mulberries, or Rasp-berries. That they make with Rasp-berries is the most pleasant of any. To make it well, they put the Rasp-berries a-soaking in fair water for two or three nights, till the water hath got their taste and colour. Into this water they put some of the purest Honey, allowing to every pound of Hony three or four of water, as they would have the Hydromel strong or small. They put into it a Toast dipp'd in the dreggs of Beer, which is taken out as soon as the Hydromel begins to work, lest, continu'd longer, it should give it an ill taste. If they desire it should be long a-working, they put it into some warm place; but if it be for present drinking, they put it in a cool place, where it soon gives over working, and then is taken off the Lees to be spent. To better the taste of it, they put in a little bag of Cinnamon, and grains of Paradise, with some few Cloves. Some instead of fair water, steep the Rasp-berries 24 hours in common Aquavitæ, which gives the Hydromel an excellent tast.

Common Hydromel is made of the Honey-combs, which they beat in warm-water, stirring it much, and after it hath rested seven or eight hours, they cleanse it through a Sieve, boyl it, scum it, and without any more ado expose it to sale.

The expences of Persons of quality. Persons of Quality discover themselves by their retinue and expence, which yet is not so great as might be imagin'd. For though they have sometimes 50. 60. or more Slaves about them, their stables well furnish'd, and make great feasts well supply'd with Meat, and all sorts of Beer, Wine, Hydromel, and Strong-water, yet all comes from their Country-houses and Dairies, so as that they buy but very little. Their entertainments are so many baits to draw in Presents, which they expect of those that are not of their own quality, in so much that they deerly buy the honour which the *Knez* and *Bojares* do them upon such occasions. Strange Merchants know well enough what that honour is to cost them, and desire it not, but to gain the favour of the Great ones, whose countenance they stand in need of. The *Weywodes* are sure to make two or three of these entertainments yearly in their Governments.

The highest act of Muscovian *civility.* The greatest honour a *Muscovite* thinks he can do his friend, is to let him see his Wife, to be presented with a Cup of Strong-water by her, and to permit he should kiss her. Count *Leo Alexander de Slakou* gave me to understand so much at my being in *Muscovy* in the year 1643. Having dined with him, he made me withdraw into another Chamber, where he told me, that he could not make a greater expression of the respects he had for me, nor a greater acknowledgment of the obligation he had to his Highness, than to shew me his Wife. She presently came in, very richly clad in her wedding-cloaths, and follow'd by a Gentlewoman with a bottle of Strong water and a Silver Cup. The Lady bid her fill out, and having put it to her mouth, presented it to me, and oblig'd me to drink it off; which I did thrice together. That done, the Count would have me kiss her, which I the more wondred at, in regard that kind of civility is not yet known in *Holstein*. Wherefore I would have contented my self to have kiss'd only her hand; but he so kindly engag'd me to kiss her lips, that there was no avoiding of it. She presented me a Handkercher, embroider'd at the extremities with Gold, Silver and Silk; with a deep fringe, such as are presented to the Bride on her Wedding day. Afterwards I found a note fasten'd to it, wherein was the name of *Stresnof*, Uncle by the Fathers side to the Great Dutchess.

The *Knez* and *Bojares* have not only pensions and considerable allowances, but also great real estates. Merchants and Tradesmen live by Commerce and their Trades. Those who may go out of the Country, and are permitted to Traffick into *Persia*, *Poland*, *Sueden*, and *Germany*, carry thither *Sables*; and other furs, flax, hemp, and *Russia*-leather.

Tradesmen find it not hard to gain a subsistence for their families, by reason of the plenty of all manner of Provisions. They are very handy, and easily imitate any thing they see done, though they are not so rich in inventions as the *Germans* and other *Europæans*; for I have seen some of their carv'd works as well done as the best in *Germany*; so that strangers who are not willing to have the secret of their professions discovered, must take heed of *Muscovites*, *John Valk*, whom we mention'd before, would never cast any thing in their presence. Now they cast pieces of Artillery themselves, and *Valk*'s Disciple made a Bell, while we were there, which weigh'd 7700 *poudes*, which amount to 3080 hundred weight. But it had not been long us'd ere it crack'd, and now 'tis broken to pieces, and another to be made of a far greater weight than the former.

They sleep after Dinner. No *Muscovite*, what condition or quality soever he be of, but sleeps after Dinner; whence it is that about noon most shops are shut up, and the Merchants or their Apprentices sleeping at the door: so that about that time, there is no more speaking with Persons of Quality or Merchants, than there is at midnight.

This was one sign whereby they discovered the imposture of the counterfeit *Demetrius*. We shall find in the ensuing story of him, that the Impostor slept not after Dinner, and that the

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Muſcovites inferr'd thence that he was a ſtranger; as alſo by his averſion to Baths, which are ſo common in *Muſcovy*, that there is neither Town nor Village, but hath very many of them, both publick and private. This is all they have gentile among them, as a thing they conceive neceſſary upon ſeveral occaſions, eſpecially at *Marriages*. after the firſt Coition. 1636.

Their ſtoves and bathing places.

At *Aſtrachan*, I had the curioſity to go unknown into one of them, which by a diviſion of boards was contriv'd into two rooms. But, beſides that it was eaſie to look out of one into the other, by reaſon of the diſtance there was between the boards, both men and women went in and out at the ſame door, thoſe of either Sex who would expreſs a greater modeſty hiding what they would not have ſeen with a handful of leaves, which being dry'd in Summer, they, for this purpoſe put a-ſoking into warm water: but ſome were ſtark naked, and the women were not ſhy to come in that poſture and ſpeak with their husbands, even while other men ſtood by.

'Tis almoſt a Miracle to ſee how their bodies, accuſtomed to, and hardned by cold, can endure ſo intenſe a heat, and how that, when they are not able to endure it any longer, they come out of the ſtoves, naked as the back of a man's hand, both men and women, and go into the cold water, or cauſe it to be poured upon them; and, in Winter, how they wallow in the Snow. Some of our young men would often walk before theſe publick ſtoves, to ſee the ſeveral poſtures of the women that came out, and diverted themſelves in the water, and were ſo far from being aſham'd, that they would talk wantonly with them, and were not troubled when any of our people came into the water to them. And this we ſaw not only in *Muſcovy*, but alſo in *Livonia*, where the Inhabitants, eſpecially the *Finlanders*, who are ſetled there, going out of theſe ſtoves, in the coldeſt of Winter, run into the Snow, and rub their bodies with it, as if it were Soap, then return into the ſtoves to take the advantage of a more moderate heat: and all this ſo as that this change of contrary qualities does not any way prejudice their health. The reaſon then of it muſt be Cuſtom, in as much as being thus uſed from their Childhood, and that habit being as it were converted into a ſecond nature, they are indifferently enured to both heat and cold.

At *Narva* we had *Muſcovian* boys of about 8, 9, or 10. years of age, whom we employ'd about the Kitchin. Theſe would ſtand half an hour together barefoot upon the Ice, like ſo many Geeſe, in the depth of Winter, and never complain of cold. The ſtoves belonging to the *Germans*, who live in *Muſcovy* and *Livonia*, are very ſumptuous, and it is no leſs pleaſant bathing in them. The floor is ſtrew'd with Pine leaves beaten to powder, all ſorts of Herbs and Flowers, which raiſe a very ſweet ſmell, as alſo the Ly which they make very odoriferous. Along the Walls are ſeats, or benches, upon which a man lies to ſweat and be rubb'd, ſome higher than others, that one may take ſuch a degree of heat as he pleaſes, and they are all cover'd with clean ſheets, and pillows fiill'd with Hay. Every one hath a Servant-maid, who having only her ſmock on, rubs, waſhes, and wipes him, and what elſe is requiſite. As ſhe comes in, ſhe preſents you on a Trencher, with ſome Radiſh ſlic'd, with a little Salt, and if you are known in the houſe, the Miſtreſs her ſelf or her Daughter will preſent you with a certain compoſition, conſiſting of Wine and Beer, in which will be ſome bread crum'd, Citron ſliced, Sugar and Nutmeg. When this civility is omitted, it argues the Maſter of the houſe hath no great reſpect for his Gueſt. After bathing a man is put into a bed, then riſes to eat ſomething, and having eaten goes to bed again to ſleep.

The *Muſcovites* are of a healthy and ſtrong conſtitution, long liv'd, and ſeldom ſick; which when they are, their ordinary remedies, even in burning Feavers, is only Garlick and Strong-waters. Perſons of quality make uſe of Phyſicians, though but within theſe few years, and are perſwaded that remedies may do them good.

Fornication is very common among them, and yet they permit not publick ſtews, which divers other *Chriſtian* Princes not only permit, but anthoriſe, and have an advantage ariſing out of them for their protection. Marriage is thought honourable among them, and Polygamy forbidden. A Widdower or Widdow may Marry twice or thrice, but muſt not offer at a fourth Marriage, which if they ſhould, the Prieſt that ſhould bleſs them would be caſt off.

They obſerve in their Marriages the degrees of Conſanguinity, and do not willingly marry ſuch as are near to them either by Kinred or Allyance. Nor do they permit two Brothers to marry two Siſters; and they obſerve alſo a ſpiritual Allyance, not ſuffering that Godfathers and Godmothers to the ſame perſon ſhould intermarry. The celebration of Marriage among them is thus.

The Ceremonies of their marriages.

Young Men and Maids are not ſuffer'd to ſee one another, much leſs to have any diſcourſe of marriage, or to make any promiſe one to another, by word or writing. But when thoſe who have Children marriageable, eſpecially daughters, have found out a match they like, they ſpeak to the young mans Parents, and declare the deſire they have to make an Allyance with them. If they approve of what is propoſed, and the young man deſire to ſee the maid, yet is it abſolutly deny'd. If ſhe be hanſom, they will be content the mother or ſome other woman of the

1636. kinred, ſhould ſee her, and if ſhe be no way defective; that is, neither blind nor lame, the friends on both ſides treat about the marriage, and conclude all things, the intended young couple not ſo much as being allow'd to ſee one another. For they bring up their daughters in very private Chambers (eſpecially perſons of quality) where they keep them lock'd up, ſo as that the Bridegroom does not ſee his Bride till ſhe is brought into his Chamber. And thus it comes to paſs, that he who thinks he hath married a handſom Maid, hath ſome crooked piece put upon him; nay, inſtead of the Mans Daughter he was to have, ſome kinſwoman or ſervant-maid is thruſt upon him; of which I have ſeveral examples. So that it is not to be wondred at, that matrimonial diſcontents are ſo frequent among them.

When their Great Lords, *Knez*, and *Bojares* diſpoſe of their Children in marriage, there is appointed on the Bride-groom's ſide a Woman, whom they call *Suacha*, and another on the Brides, who joyntly take order for the Nuptials. That on the Brides part, goes upon the Wedding-day to the Bridegroom's Lodgings, and there makes ready the Nuptial bed. She is attended by above a hundred men ſervants, who are all clad in Hongrelines, or long Coats, and carry on their heads, the things neceſſary for the Bed and Chamber, where the new Marryed couple are to lye. The Bed is made upon forty ſheaves of Rye, which the young man cauſes to be rank'd in order, and compaſs'd about with ſeveral Barrels full of Wheat, Barley, and Oats.

The nuptial bed.

All things being ready, the young man goes from his own houſe late in the evening, accompany'd by all his Kinred, having before him, on horſ-back, the Prieſt, by whom he is to be married. At his Bride's door, he meets with all her friends, who receive him and his retinue, and preſs them to ſit down at a Table. Three diſhes of meat are ſerv'd up, but no body eats of them, and there is left at the upper end of the Table a place for the Bridegroom: but while he is talking with the Bride's friends, a young Lad ſits down in it, and will not be gotten thence till the Bridegroom hath made him ſo many Preſents, that he is content to give him the place. The Bridegroom having taken his place, the Bride is brought in moſt richly Clad, having a Veil over her face. She is ſeated by the Bridegroom, but to prevent their ſeeing one another, they are ſeparated by a piece of Crimſon Taffata, which is held up by two young Lads while they are ſet. This done, the Bride's *Suacha* comes to her, Paints her, tyes up her hair in two knots, puts the Crown on her head, and dreſſes her in all things like a married woman. The Crown is of leaves of Gold, or Silver Gilt, beaten very thin, lined with ſome ſilk ſtuff, and towards the Ears, it hath five or ſix rows of great Pearls, which fall down on her breaſt. The Robe, or upper Garment, the ſleeves whereof are an Ell and a half wide, is embroider'd with Gold and Pearls at the extremities, eſpecially at the neck, which is three fingers broad, and ſo heightned with Embroidery, that it looks more like a Dogs Collar than any thing elſe, and this kind of Robe amounts to above a thouſand Crowns. The heels of their ſhooes, as well of thoſe that are betroath'd, as of moſt of the other women and maids, are above half a foot high, ſo that being as it were a-tip-toe, they have much ado to ſtand. The other *Suacha* Paints the Bridegroom, and in the mean time, the women get up on benches and ſings ſeveral fooliſh ſongs. After this come in two young men richly Clad, carrying between them upon a Beer a very large Cheeſe, and ſome Loaves, there hanging from the Beer ſeveral Martins skins. The like is brought in on the Bride's part, and the Prieſt, having bleſſed them, ſends them to Church. At laſt there is ſet on the Table a great Silver-baſin, fill'd with little pieces of Satin and Taffata, about ſuch a bigneſs as were fit to make little purſes of, little ſquare pieces of Silver, Hops, Barley, and Oats; all mixt together. The *Suacha* having cover'd the Brides face again, takes certain handfuls out of the Baſin, and caſts them among the company, who in the mean time ſing a ſong, and take up what they find upon the ground.

The Ceremonies in the Church.

In the Church, where the Benediction is to be given, they cover ſome part of the floor with Crimſon Taffata, upon which the young Couple ſtand, having over them another piece of the ſame ſtuff. Before they are married, the Prieſt makes them go to the offering, which conſiſts in Fiſh, Fry'd Meats, and Paſtry. That done, the married receive the Benediction, which is given by holding Images over their heads, and the Prieſt taking the man by the right hand, and the woman by the left at the ſame time, asks them three times, whether it is with their conſent that they are married, and whether they will love one another as they ought to do. Having both anſwer'd, yes, all the Company joyn hands, and the Prieſt ſings the 128. Pſalm, he one verſe, and the Company the next, dancing at the mean time, much after the ſame manner as they do in theſe parts, who ſing and dance at the ſame time. The Pſalm ended, he puts a Garland of Rue upon their heads, or about their ſhoulders, if it be a Widdow or Widdower, ſaying, *Increaſe and Multiply*, and then conſummates the marriage, pronouncing theſe words, *Whom God hath joyned together let no man ſeparate*. While the Prieſt pronounces thoſe words, thoſe who are invited to the Wedding do all light wax candles, and one of them gives the Prieſt a wooden Cup, or rather a Glaſs, full of Claret Wine which he takes off, and when the Married Couple have pledg'd him by drinking it off, each of them three times, the Bridegroom throws down the Cup or Glaſs, and he and the Bride treading it under their feet, break it to pieces,

pieces, with these words, *May they thus fall at our feet, and be trod to pieces, who shall endeavour to sow division or discontent between us.* Then the Women cast at the young Couple some Flax-seed and Hemp-seed, and wish them all prosperity. They also pull the Bride by the Robe, as if they would force her away from her husband, but she keeps so close to him, that all their endeavours prove fruitless. The Marriage-Ceremonies being thus over, the Bride is put into her Sledge, which is encompass'd with six Torches, or Wax-candles, and the Bridegroom gets on horse-back to return to his own house, where the Wedding is kept. 1636.

As soon as they are come thither, the Bridegroom, his kindred and friends sit down at a Table well furnish'd with Meat, but the Women carry the Bride to her Chamber, take off her cloaths, and lay her a-bed. That done, they make the Bridegroom rise from the Table, and six or eight young men, carrying each a Torch in his hand, conduct him to the Chamber. As they come in, they put the Torches into the barrels full of Wheat and Barley, and quit the room. They are each of them presented with two Martins skins. The Bride perceiving the Bridegroom coming, gets out of bed, gets on a morning Gown lin'd with Martins skins, meets him, and receives him very submissively, doing him reverence with a low inclination of the head; and this is the first time that he sees the Bride's face. They sit down together at a Table, and, among other Meat, there is brought them a roasted-fowl, which the *Bridegroom* pulls asunder, casting away over his shoulders that part which comes off first, whether it be wing or leg, and eating the other. Having eaten, the young Couple go to bed, and all withdraw, save only one of the old servants of the house, who walks before the Chamber-door, while the kindred and friends are busied about all manner of charms, which they think may be advantageous to the New-married Couple.

This servant coming ever and anon to the door, asks whether the business be done. As soon as the *Bridegroom* answers that it is, the Trumpets and Timbrels which only expect the word, are plaid upon, and make an excellent noise, till such time as the stoves are made ready, where the New-married-couple bath themselves, but apart. They are wash'd with water, Hydromel and Wine, and the *Bride* sends to the *Bridegroom* a shirt, embroider'd with Gold and Pearls at the collar and extremities, and a rich habit. The two next dayes are spent in entertainments, dancing, and other divertisements, the Women making their advantage of the opportunity, while their husbands are drunk, to the loss of their honours.

Citizens, and persons of meaner condition are married with less Ceremonie. The night before the Wedding the young Man sends to his intended *Bride* some cloaths, a furr'd Coif, a pair of *Buskins*, a Cabinet with certain Jewels, a *Bag* for night cloaths, a Comb and a Looking-glass. The next day, the Priest is sent for, who comes with a little Silver Cross, and is brought in by two young Lads carrying Wax-candles lighted. As he enters the house, he gives the benediction with his Cross, first, to the two Lads, then to those that are invited. Then the young Couple are set at Table, the two Lads holding a piece of Taffata between them; but when the *Suacha* dresses the *Brides* head, a Looking-glass is brought, and the young Couple joyning their cheeks, look and smile one upon the other. The two *Suacha's* in the mean time cast hops upon them; which done, they are led to Church, where the Ceremonies are the same as for persons of quality.

How the Women live.

As soon as the Wedding is over, the Women must resolve to live a retir'd life, and not go out of the house but very seldom, receiving the visits of their kindred and friends oftener than they give any. The Daughters of great Persons, and rich Merchants, as they are not much brought up to house-keeping, so they trouble themselves but little with it, when they are married. Their chief employment is sowing, or embroidering handkerchers of white Taffata, or cloath, or making little purses, or some such toies. The cloaths they wear within doors are made of some common stuff of little value; but when they go to Church, or that their Husbands would honour a friend with their presence, they are magnificently clad, and forget not to paint their faces, necks, and arms.

The Wives of the *Knez*, *Bojares*, and great Lords, in the Summer time, make use of Chariots cover'd with red cloath, which kind of covering they use in Winter for their Sledges, having at their feet a fine Slave, and about them a great number of Servants and Lacquies, sometimes to the number of 30. or 40. The horse, which draws them, hath many Fox tails about the main and tail, which disguise him after a strange manner; and yet the *Muscovits* think it so ornamental, that not only Great Lords and Ladies make use of it, but many times the Great Duke himself, with this difference, that instead of Fox tails, they some times use Martins skins.

Their divertisement.

The Women living thus idly, making few or no visits, and not medling with any thing of housewivery, are forc'd to divert themselves with their Maids. They lay a long plank over a block, and getting up on the ends of it, they are toss'd up and down, and sometimes by a violent motion they are forc'd up very high in the Air. They have also ropes to swing in; nay in some little Towns and Villages I have seen publick Swinging-places, so contriv'd as that three or four might have their divertisement at the same time. They are not asham'd to do this

1636. this in the open streets, giving two or three pence to little Boys who keep Swingers ready for that purpose. Their husbands are very glad to give them this kind of sport, and sometimes help them in their swinging.

Why the Muscovites beat their wives

It is not to be much wondred that they are so hardly treated by their husbands, for they have lewd tongues, are given to Wine, and will not let slip the opportunity to pleasure a friend. So that having all these three excellent qualities, they cannot take much unkindly the cudgelings, which they from time to time receive from their husbands: but they take comfort from the example of their friends and neighbours, who, behaving themselves after the same manner, are accordingly no better treated. Yet can I not believe, what *Barclay* says in his *Icon Animorum*, That the *Muscovian* Women are not perswaded their husbands love them, if they are not beaten by them; at least I can say this, I never met with any who were glad when they were beaten. They have the same passions and inclinations as other Women have. They are sensible of good and bad usage, and it is not likely they should take the effects of anger and displeasure for expressions of kindness and friendship.

It is possible some foolish Woman might tell her husband so in jest, or that one distracted might desire to be beaten, such as she of whom *Petrejus*, in his Chronicle of *Muscovy*, speaks of, who having lived many years in good correspondence with her husband (who was an *Italian*, as he says, though the Baron of *Haberstein* affirms he was a *German*, and by profession, a Black-smith, named *Jordan*) told him one day, that she could not believe he loved her, since he had not yet beaten her. The husband willing to assure her of his real affection gave her a good cudgelling, and perceiving she took a certain pleasure in it, made use of that exercise so often, till at last she died. But were it granted that this is but a story, as it seems to be no other, yet ought we not to judge of all the *Muscovian* women by this particular example.

Adultery.

They think, that Adultry is not committed but when one man marries another mans wife: what ever else may be done amounts but to fornication, and when a married man is taken in it, his punishment is whipping, and some days imprisonment, or haply he is sentenc'd to live some time on bread and water. Then he is set at liberty, and may resent the complaints made by his wife against him upon that occasion. A husband who can convince his wife of a miscarriage of this nature, may have her shav'd, and put into a Monastery. Those who are weary of their wives, often make use of this pretence, accuse their wives of Adultery, and suborn false witnesses, upon whose depositions they are condemn'd, without being heard. Religious Women are sent to her lodgings, who put her into their habit, shave her, and carry her away by force into the Monastery, whence she never comes out, having once suffer'd the Razour to come upon her head.

The most ordinary cause of divorce; at least the most plausible pretence, is *devotion*. They say, they love God better than their wives, when an humour takes them to go into a Monastery: which they do without their consent, or making any provision for the children they have had between them. And yet this kind of retiring out of the World is so much approv'd among them, (though St. *Paul* says that such are worse than Heathens and Infidels) that if the woman marry again, they make no difficulty to conferr Priesthood on this new Proselite, though before he had been but a Tayler, or Shoemaker. Barrenness is also another cause of divorce in *Muscovy*: for he who hath no children by his wife may put her into a Monastery, and marry again within six weeks.

The Great Dukes themselves make use of this freedom, when they have only Daughters. 'Tis true, the Great Duke *Basils* did not put his Wife *Salome* into a Monastery, and marry *Helene*, daughter to *Michael Linski*, a *Polander*, but upon his having no Children one and twenty years after marriage; but it is also true; that, some few days after, she was brought to bed of a Son, and yet she was forc'd to continue there, because she had been shaved.

We saw an example of it in a *Polander*, who, having embrac'd the *Greek* Religion, purposely to marry a *Muscovian* beauty, was forc'd to take a journey into *Poland*, where he stay'd above a year. The young Lady, in her husband's absence, made a shift to be otherwise supply'd; so effectually that she augmented her family by a child; but, fearing her husband's displeasure, she retir'd into a Monastery and was shaved. The husband did all he could to get her out again, promising to pardon her offence, and never to reproach her with it. The woman was willing to come out, but would not be permitted, it being, according to their Theology, a sinne against the Holy Ghost, not to be forgiven either in this World or the next. This artifice *Boris Federouits Gudenou* made use of, who, having acquired much repute in the management of the publick affairs, during the minority of *Fœdor Juanouits*, and perceiving the *Muscovites* were not fully resolv'd to make him Great Duke, to make them the more earnest to do it, pretended he would turn Monk, and went into a Monastery, where his Sister was a Nun. As soon as the *Muscovites* heard of it, they came in multitudes to the Monastery, cast themselves upon the ground, tore their hair, as being in a desperate condition, intreated him not to be shaven, and that he would be pleas'd to take the place of their deceased Prince. He, at first, would not hearken to them, but at last pretended himself overcome by their intreaties, and his Sister's

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interceſſion, by which means he came to be courted, to what he had not haply got otherwiſe, with all the ſubtlety he could have uſed. 1636.

The *Muſcovites* are extremely venereous, yet will not have to do with a Woman, but they muſt firſt take off the little Croſs which is hang'd about her neck when ſhe is Chriſtened: nor would they do it in a place where there are any Images of their Saints, till they had covered them. They go not to Church the day they have dealt with a Woman, till they have waſh'd themſelves, and chang'd their ſhirts. Thoſe that are more devout go not into it at all, but ſay their prayers at the door. Prieſts are permitted to come into the Church the ſame day, provided they have waſh'd themſelves above and below the navil, but dare not approach the Altar. The women are accompted more impure than the men, and therefore they ordinarily ſtay at the Church-door all ſervice time. He who lies with his wife in Lent may not Communicate that year; and if a Prieſt commit that offence, he is ſuſpended for a year: but if one that pretends to Prieſthood be ſo unhappy as to fall into it, he can never recover himſelf, but muſt quit his pretenſion. *Their ſuperſtition.*

Their remedy againſt this kind of uncleanneſs is rather bathing than repentance, which is the reaſon they uſe the former upon all occaſions. *Demetrius*, who perſonated the ſon of the Great Duke *John Baſilouits*, who had been kill'd long before at *Uglits*, never bath'd himſelf, upon which the *Muſcovites* ſuſpected him to be a ſtranger. For perceiving he would not make uſe of a bath made ready for him eight dayes after his marriage, they conceiv'd a horror againſt him, as a Heathen and profane perſon, ſought divers other pretences, ſet upon him in the Caſtle, and kill'd him the 19. day after his Wedding, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter.

The politick Government of *Muſcovy* is *Monarchical* and *deſpotical*. The Great Duke is the hereditary Soveraign of it, and ſo abſolute, that no *Knez* or Lord in all his Dominions, but thinks it an honour to aſſume the quality of his Majeſties *Golop*, or ſlave. No Maſter hath more power over his ſlaves, than the Great Duke hath over his Subjects, what condition or quality ſoever they be of. So that *Muſcovy* may be numbred among thoſe States, whereof *Ariſtotle* ſpeaks, when he ſayes there is a kind of *Monarchy* among the Barbarians which comes near *Tyranny*. For ſince there is no other difference between a legitimate Government and Tyranny, than that, in the one, the welfare of the Subjects is of greateſt conſideration, in the other, the particular profit and advantage of the Prince, we muſt allow, that *Muſcovy* inclines much to Tyranny. We ſaid before, that the greateſt Lords think it not below them to put their names in the diminutive; nor is it long ſince that for a ſmall matter, they were whipt, like ſlaves, but now their leſſer miſcarriages are puniſh'd with two or three dayes impriſonment. *The Government of Muſcovy.*

They give their Soveraign the quality of *Welikoi Knez*, that is Great Lord, as alſo that of *Czaar*, and his *Czaarick Majeſty*. Since the *Muſcovites* came to underſtand, that we call him *Kayſer*, who is the moſt eminent among the *Chriſtian* Princes of *Europe*, and that that word comes from his proper name; who turn'd the *Popular* ſtate of *Rome* into a *Monarchy*, they would have it believ'd, that their word *Czaar*, hath the ſame ſignification and etymologie. Whence it is that they would alſo imitate the Emperours of *Germany* in their great ſeal, which had a Spread-Eagle, but the wings not ſo large as the Imperial Eagle's, having on the breaſt, in an Eſcutcheon, one on horſ-back fighting with a Dragon, repreſenting the Archangel St. *Michael*, or rather St. *George*. The three Crowns, which are above and between the Eagle's heads, ſignifie *Muſcovy*, and the two Kingdoms of *Tartary*, *Caſſan*, and *Aſtrachan*. The Tyrant *John Baſilouits* firſt uſed theſe Arms, as willing to be thought deſcended from the antient *Roman* Emperours. The Great Dukes Interpreters, and the *Germans*, who live at *Moſcou*, call him in their language *Kayſar*, that is to ſay, *Cæſar* or Emperour. But it is certain, the word *Czaar* ſignifies *King*, which may be ſeen in their Bible, where the *Muſcovites*, ſpeaking of *David* and his Succeſſors, Kings of *Judah*, and *Iſrael*, they call them *Czaars*. The Great Duke is indeed King in effect, ſince other Princes ſtick not to treat him with the word *Majeſty*; the title of Great Duke being much below what that great Prince deſerves. Nor accordingly does he take the quality of Great Duke, when he aſſumes that of of *Welikoi Knez*, but that of *Grand Seigneur*, as well as the Emperour of the *Turks*, with whom he may be parallel'd, not only in reſpect of the extent of his Empire, but alſo by reaſon of the abſolute power he hath over his Subjects. *The true ſignification of the word Czaar.* *The Czaar's Arms.*

No people in the World have a greater veneration for their Prince than the *Muſcovites*, who from their infancy are taught to ſpeak of the *Czaar*, as of God himſelf, not only in their acts and publick aſſemblies, but alſo in their entertainments and ordinary diſcourſe. Thence proceed their ſubmiſſive forms of ſpeaking, *The honour to ſee the brightneſs of the eyes of his* Czaarick *Majeſty*; *Only God and the* Czaar *knows it*; *All they have belong to God and the* Czaar. The Great Duke *John Baſilouits* reduc'd them to theſe ſubmiſſions.

Now to continue them in this lowneſs of ſpirit, and to keep them from ſeeing that liberty which other Nations about them enjoy, the *Muſcovites* are, upon pain of death, prohibited to go out of the Countrey, without the Great Duke's expreſs permiſſion. *John Helmes*, the Great Duke's Interpreter, who died ſome three years ſince, aged 97. years, had got leave to ſend *The Muſcovites know not what liberty is.*

1636. ſend his ſon into *Germany*, to ſtudy Phyſick, where he afterwards grew famous: but the young Gentleman having ſpent 10. or 12. years up and down *Germany* and *England*, pleas'd with the ſweetneſs of the climate and liberty, would never return into *Muſcovy*. Whence it came, that, when *Peter Miklaf*, a Merchant of *Novogorod*, whom the Great Duke ſent into *Germany*, 3 years ſince, in the quality of *Poſlanick*, deſired his Majeſty would permit him to leave his ſon in *Germany*, neither the *Czaar*, nor Patriarch, would by any means conſent thereto. But indeed, this deſpotical Government ſeems to be moſt ſuitable to their humour and diſpoſition, which is inſenſible of the advantages of Liberty, as being unacquainted with it, and ſo not fit to enjoy a happineſs, which they never heard of.

Yet are we not to attribute to the preſent time what may be read in the Baron of *Heberſtein*, *Paulus Jovius* and *Guagnin*, concerning the violent and tyrannical Government of the Great Duke: for they writ during the reign of *John Baſilouits*, whoſe Scepter was of Iron, and his Government more cruel and violent than that of any Prince mentioned in Hiſtory. But the Great Duke that now is, is a very mild Prince, one that, according to his Father's example, inſtead of impoveriſhing his Subjects, relieves them, and allows ſums of money out of his Exchequer, to ſet up thoſe whom a bad year, or ſome other misfortune hath ruin'd. Nay, he hath the goodneſs to provide for ſuch as are baniſh'd into *Siberia* for their Crimes, allowing to perſons of quality, money; finding employment for thoſe that are capable of it; and diſpoſing Soldiers into ſome place where they have Penſions or ordinary pay during life. So that what is moſt inſupportable to them, when they are out of favour, is, that they have not the honour *to ſee the bright eyes of his* Czaarick *Majeſty*. For, were it not for that, this is become ſo mild a puniſhment, that many have, in their exile, got that wealth, which they could not have hoped before.

The Great Dukes abſolute power.

When we ſaid the ſtate of *Muſcovy* was *Monarchical*; we preſuppoſe that the Prince is a *Monarch*, and hath, alone, all the prerogatives of Soveraignty. He is not ſubject to the Laws; he only makes them, and all the *Muſcovites* obey him, with ſo great ſubmiſſion, that they are ſo far from oppoſing his will, that they ſay, the Juſtice and word of their Prince is ſacred and inviolable.

He only creates Magiſtrates, and depoſes them, ejects them, and orders them to be puniſh'd, with ſuch abſolute power, that we may ſay of the Great Duke, what the Prophet *Daniel* ſays, of the King of *Babylon*, That, *he put to death whom he would, and ſaved whom he would.* He appoints Governours and Lieutenants for the Provinces, for the diſpoſal of the antient Demeſn, and Adminiſtration of Juſtice, who have, joyned with them, a *Deak*, or Secretary: and theſe take Cognizance of all matters, give final and abſolute judgement in all cauſes, and cauſe their ſentences to be put in execution, without any appeal.

Changes the Governours of Provinces every three years.

And in this the Great Duke follows the advice of the beſt Politicians, who are ſo far from allowing a ſurvivancy in Governments, that they would have a Soveraign, (that it might be in his power to puniſh the miſcarriages committed by great ones in their Governments, and prevent their making intrigues to ſettle themſelves in the Provinces) to change the Governours from three years to three years.

He alone hath the power to make War and Peace with other Princes. For though he takes the advice of his *Knez* and *Bojares*, yet does he not always follow it, but makes them know, that notwithſtanding the freedom he gives them to adviſe him, he reſerves to himſelf the power of doing what he thinks fit.

He only confers Honours, and rewards the ſervices that are done him with the qualities of *Knez*, *Bojares*, Dukes or Princes; and whereas the *Muſcovites* have heard, that it is a mark of Soveraignty in *Germany*, to make Doctors, the Great Duke meddles with that alſo, and grants Letters Patents to Phyſicians and Surgeons, that are Strangers.

The Money of Muſcovy

All the Great Duke's Mony, who only hath the power to make any, is of Silver, of an oval form, and little. The greateſt piece is worth but a peny, and is called a *Copec*, or *Denaing*. For though, in trading, the *Muſcovites* uſe the words, *Altin*, *Grif*, and *Rouble*, whereof the firſt is worth three; the ſecond, ten; the third, a hundred *Copecs*, yet is there no Coins of that kind, the words being uſed only for the convenience of Commerce, to avoid the multiplication of *Copecs*. The *Poluske* is worth half, the *Muſtofske*, the fourth parrt of a *Copec*. This ſmall mony, which is alſo of Silver, is ſo troubleſome in the telling and handling, that the *Muſcovites* put handfuls of it into their mouths, for fear of loſing it, but ſo as it no way hinders their ſpeech. All their Money is marked at the ſame corner, having on one ſide the Arms of *Muſcovy*, of which we have ſpoken upon occaſion of their Great Seal, which Armes were heretofore peculiar only to the City of *Novogorod*, and on the other the Great Duke's name then reigning, and that of the City where it was coined. There are but four Cities in all *Muſcovy* where mony is coined, *Moſcou*, *Novogorod*, *Tuere*, and *Pleſcou*: The Great Duke farming out the Mint to the Merchants of thoſe places. *Rixdollers* are current in *Muſcovy*; but in regard two Dollers outweigh a hundred *Copecs*, by two drams, the *Muſcovites* know how to make their advantage of it, and ſo carry them to the Mint, as they do alſo *Spaniſh* Reals.

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The *Rixdollers* they call *Jafimske*, from the modern Latine word *Joachimicus*, which name hath been given that money, as well by reason of the effigies of St. *Joachim*, heretofore stamped upon it, as of the City of *Jaachimstad*, in *Bohemia*, where it was first coined, in the year 1519. The Great Duke coins no Gold, unless it be, that to perpetuate the memory of some gread advantage gain'd against his enemies, he hath some Medals cast, to be afterwards presented to Officers that are Strangers, or to be scattered among the Souldiers of the victorious Army. 1636.

He only levies Taxes and impositions, and regulates them according to his pleasure, so as that he takes five in the hundred upon all Merchandizes, upon the Frontiers of his Dominions, both coming and going out.

It is his prerogative to send Ambassadors, to the *Emperour*, the Kings of *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Sueden*, and other Princes his Neighbours. These Ministers are either *Welikoi Posol*, Grand Courriers, or *Poslanicks*, Envoys. Heretofore, especially in the time of *John Basilouits*, they treated Strangers, even the publick Ministers of Princes, with much disrespect; but now it is otherwise. Ambassadors are entertain'd with great civility; and their charges defray'd from the day of their entrance into the Great Duke's Dominions, to that of their departure thence; they are treated at great feasts, and have very rich Presents bestow'd on them. Whence it comes, that other *European* Princes make no difficulty to send their Ambassadors thither, nay some have their ordinary Residents there, as the Kings of *England* and *Sueden*. All the Presents made by the Great Duke consist in Furrs, and he never sends any solemn Embassy, but it carries such as are very considerable for the Prince to whom it is sent. Those which the Great Duke *Fœdor Juanouits* sent, in the year 1595. to the Emperour *Rodolph* II. were very remarkable, which amounted to above a Million of Livers, or 100000. sterl. *viz.* onethousand and three *Zimmers* (which we have said elsewhere, makes twenty pair, and in worth about 100. Crowns in *Muscovy*) of Sables, five hundred and nineteen *Zimmers* of ordinary Martins, sixscore black-Fox-skins, three hundred thirty seven thousand ordinary Fox-skins, three thousand Beavers, a thousand Wolf-skins, and sixty four Elk's-skins. The *Poslanicks* make no Present from the Great Duke, but upon their own account they do, as baits to draw in others, and if they are not given them, they will have the boldness to ask for them. They defray foreign Ambassadors, not only as to provisions, but also provide for the carriage of them, and what ever they bring; and there are upon the Road appointed stages for the accommodation of their travelling, where the Peasants are oblig'd to be ready with a certain number of Horses, and to come upon the first order sent them. Nor is this done with any grievance to those Peasants; for besides a salary of 60 Crowns *per an.* duly paid them, they have land enough allow'd them for their subsistence. They are freed from Taxes, and all other Charges, and have the allowance of some *Altins* every journey they make. By this means we travell'd from *Novogorod* to *Moscou*, above 120. *German* leagues, in six or seven days, and in the Winter in four or five. 'Tis true, the Houses where the Ambassadors are lodg'd, are so poorly furnish'd, that unless a man will be content to ly on the ground or upon a bench, he must bring a Bed with him: but the *Muscovites* themselves are no better accomodated. Heretofore they shut up the Ambassadors and their retinue in their lodgings, kept them in as Prisoners, and set Sentinels at the door to hinder them from coming out; or if they permitted some of their people to goe abroad into the City, they were accompany'd by *Strelits*, who observed all their actions: but now they are kept in only till the first Audience, and in the mean they are visited and entertain'd by two *Pristafs*, whose office it is, to see them supply'd with all things necessary. These take occasion to ask the Ambassadors, what the design of their Embassy is, as also to inform themselves whether they have any Presents for the Great Duke, and in what they consist, not forgetting to ask whether they have also any for them. As soon as the Ambassadors have delivered in their Presents, the Great Duke causes them to be valu'd by persons that know their worth. Heretofore, the Ambassadors were entertain'd, after their first publick Audience, in the Great Duke's Chamber, at his own Table; but some years since this custom was abolish'd, and they send, to their Lodgings, the Meat design'd for their treatment. All Ambassadors who bring Presents thither, receive others for themselves and their retinue; nay they give Presents to Gentlemen who come thither as Envoys, and to all those that bring but so much as a Letter from a forein Prince. To make a fuller discovery of the Political Government of *Muscovy*, it will not be much from our purpose, by a short digression, to give an account of what hath pass'd there within this three hundred years.

Muscovian Ambassadours.

A remarkable Present.

The Great Duke *John Basilouits*, Son of *Basili*, came to the Crown very young, in the year 1540. No History of his time, but speak of his Wars, and the un-heard of cruelties exercis'd by him on all sorts of persons, through his whole reign. They are so horrid, that never any other Tyrant did the like; so that *Paulus Jovius*, a Bishop, might have forborn giving him that noble quality, of a *Good and Devout Christian*; since that it may, without any injury to him, be said, he deserves not to be numbred even among Men. 'Tis true, he would go often to Church, say the Service himself, sing, and be present at Ecclesiastical Ceremonies, and

An Epitomy of the History of Muscovy. Juan Basilouits.

1636. execute the Functions of Monks and Prieſts: but he abus'd both God and Men, and had not ſentiments of humanity, ſo far was he from having any of piety. He had ſeven lawful wives, and by the firſt, two ſons, *Juan* and *Fœdor*, that is, *John* and *Theodore*. Being once very angry with the elder, he ſtruck him over the head with a ſtaff hoop'd with iron at the end, ſo as that within five days after he died of it. He had by the laſt, *Demetrius*, and dy'd the 28 of *March* 1584. feeling at his death ſome part of thoſe afflictions, which an infinite number of innocent perſons had ſuffered through his means.

Fœdor Juanouits, now eldeſt by his Brother's death, was crown'd the laſt of *July*, the ſame year. He was 22 years of age when he ſucceeded his Father, but had ſo little underſtanding, that, being not fit for affairs, the adminiſtration thereof, with the Regency of the whole Kingdom was conferr'd on *Boris Gudenou*, High-Steward of *Muſcovy*, and Brother in law to the Great Duke. *Salomon Henning*, in his Chronicle of *Livonia*, ſays, that this *Fœdor* was ſo ſimple, that he could find himſelf no greater divertiſement than tolling of the Bells before Service.

On the contrary, *Boris Gudenou* knew ſo well how to anſwer the good opinion conceived of him, and to inſinuate himſelf into the affection of the people, that ſome ſtuck not to ſay, that if God ſhould be pleaſed to diſpoſe otherwiſe of the two hereditary Princes, it was not to be doubred, but they would call in him, who gave ſo many demonſtrations of an excellent conduct. During the regency, *Boris*, perceiving that *Demetrius* was the more likely to ſtand in his way, reſolv'd to remove him out of it. This young Prince was but nine years old, brought up in the City of *Uglits*, whither a Gentleman belonging to *Boris* went, and kill'd him with his own hands. But inſtead of receiving the great reward he expected for his pains, *Boris* caus'd him and all the Complices to be kill'd as ſoon as they were return'd to *Moſcou*. By this execution of the Murtherers, he, for ſome time, kept undiſcovered the true Author of the murther: but, to prevent the people from conceiving him any way engag'd in it, by giving them a greater cauſe of affliction, he caus'd ſeveral houſes to be ſet a-fire, and ſo conſum'd a great part of the City; while, on the other ſide, he ordered the Caſtle of *Uglits* to be demoliſh'd, and baniſh'd the Inhabitants, as if they had countenanc'd the murther, and ſheltred the murtherers. The weakneſs of *Fœdor Juanouits*, ſenſible, though of nothing elſe, yet of his own weakneſs, left the management of all affairs, to *Boris*, who was in effect what the other had only the name and appearance of, yet did he not think it fit to be over-forward, but let ſome years paſs on, after which, *Fœdor* fell ſuddenly ſick, in the year 1597. and died without children, having reigned twelve years.

Boris Gudenou. *Boris* was preſently look'd upon. He, to divert the popular jealouſie, was ſo crafty, as, in appearance, to refuſe the Royal Dignity, and, as we have ſaid before, to fly into a Monaſtery, while his Election to the Dukedom was, according to his ſecret inſtructions, preſs'd by ſome friends, by whoſe opportunity he ſeem'd to be overcome, and to accept the Crown.

In the reign of *Boris* happened a very remarkable thing, through the impoſture of a *Muſcovian* Monk, named *Griska Utropoja*, born at *Gereſlau*, of a Noble houſe, but not very rich, one that had been thruſt into a Monaſtery for his debauches, and lew'd life. He was a very handſome perſon, and had an excellent Wit, which qualities an old Monk of the ſame Monaſtery made his advantage of, to put this Impoſtor into the World, and advance him to the Throne. The better to carry on his deſign, he made him leave the Monaſtery, and go into *Lithuania*, where he was entertain'd by a Great Lord, named *Adam Weſnewetski*, into whoſe favour he in a ſhort inſinuated himſelf, by his ingenuity, and the conſtancy of his ſervices. One day his Maſter being angry with him, call'd him *Bledinſin*, or Son of a Whore, and ſtruck him. *Griska* making his advantage of that diſgrace, fell a weeping, and told his Maſter, that if he knew who he was, he would not call him Son of a Whore, nor treat him in that manner. The curioſity of the *Poliſh* Lord was ſo great, as to preſs *Greska* to tell him who he was. The Impoſtor made anſwer, that he was lawful Son to the Great Duke *John Baſilouits*, that *Boris Gudenou* would have murther'd him, but the misfortune fell upon a Prieſt's Son very like him, whom his friends had ſubſtituted in his place, while he was convey'd away. He thereupon ſhews a golden Croſs beſet with precious ſtones, which he ſaid was hung about his neck at his Baptiſm. Adding that the fear of falling into the hands of *Boris Gudenou* had kept him from diſcovering himſelf till then. Upon which he caſts himſelf at his Lords feet, and intreats him to take him into his protection, enlivening his relation with ſo many circumſtances, and his actions with ſo much ſhew of ſincerity, that his Maſter, perſwaded he ſpoke nothing but truth, immediately furniſh'd him with Cloaths, Horſes, and attendance befitting the greatneſs of a Prince of that quality. The noiſe of it ſpreads over all the Country, finds credit every where, and the preſumption grows ſo much the ſtronger, by reaſon the Great Duke *Boris Gudenou* proffers a great ſum of mony, to any that ſhould bring in that counterfeit *Demetrius* alive or dead. His Maſter, not thinking him ſafe at his houſe, ſends him into *Poland*, where he is receiv'd by the *Weywode* of *Sandomira*, who promiſes him a ſufficient aſſiſtance to reſtore him to his Throne, upon condition he would tolerate the *Roman* Catholick Religion in *Muſcovy*, as ſoon as he had ſetled himſelf in the Government thereof

thereof. *Demetrius* not only accepted of that condition, but, being ſecretly inſtructed, chang'd his Religion, and promiſed to marry the *Weywode*'s Daughter, as ſoon as he ſhould be eſtabliſh'd. The hope of ſo advantageous an allyance, and the zeal the *Weywode* had for his Religion, engag'd him to employ his credit and friends, by whoſe means he got together a conſiderable Army, enter'd *Muſcovy*, and declared a War againſt the Great Duke. He took in ſeveral Cities, debauch'd and corrupted moſt of the Officers employ'd by *Boris* againſt him, and grew ſo proſperous, that the grief *Boris* conceived thereat ſtruck him ſo to the heart, that he died of it, *Apr.* 13. 1605. The *Knez* and *Bojares*, who were at *Moſcou*, immediately cauſed his Son *Fœdor Boriſſouits* to be crowned, though very young: but reflecting on the continual ſucceſs of *Demetrius*'s Arms, their minds chang'd, and deriving, from his victories, an ill preſage againſt the new Great Duke, they concluded, that he muſt be the true *Demetrius*, the lawful Son of *John Baſilouits*, and that they did ill to take up arms againſt their natural Sovereign. It was no hard matter to inſinuate this into the people, who preſently cry'd, *Live* Demetrius, *true Heir of the Kingdom, and may his Enemies periſh.* Whereupon they ran to the Caſtle, ſeis'd upon the young Great Duke, impriſon'd him, ranſacked, miſuſed, and forc'd away all the kindred and friends of *Boris Gudenou*, and at the ſame time ſent to intreat *Demetrius* to come as ſoon as he pleas'd, and take poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of his Anceſtors. They alſo begg'd his pardon for what they had done through ignorance, upon the inſtigation of *Boris*, aſſured him of their affection and obedience, and as a pledge of their fidelity, they profer'd to put into his hands the deceaſed Duke's Son, his Mother, and all his Family, to be diſpoſed of as he ſhould think it. Upon theſe overtures *Demetrius* ſent a *Deak*, or Secretary named *Juan Bogdanou*, with order to ſtrangle the Mother and Son, and to give out that they were poiſon'd. Which was accordingly executed the 10. of *June* 1605. in the ſecond moneth of the reign of *Fœdor Boriſſouits*.

1636.

Fœdor Boriſſouits.

The 16. of the ſame moneth, *Demetrius* came to *Moſcou*, with his Army, which ſtrangely encreaſed as he came along. The whole City went out to meet him, and made him Preſents. He was Crown'd the 21. of *July*, with extraordinary Ceremonies. And that there might be no queſtion made of the lawfulneſs of his birth, he ſent for the Mother of the true *Demetrius*, whom *Boris Gudenou* had ſhut up in a Monaſtery, at a great diſtance from *Moſcou*. He went to meet her with a Noble retinue of Courtiers, lodg'd her in the Caſtle, where he cauſed her to be treated with all magnificence, viſiting her every day, and doing her all the honour a Mother could expect from a Son. The good Lady knew well enough, that *Demetrius*, her Son, had been kill'd, but ſhe cunningly diſſembled it, as well out of the reſentment ſhe had againſt the memory of *Boris Gudenou*, and the fear ſhe was in to be ill-treated by this counterfeit *Demetrius*, as for that ſhe was not a little pleas'd to ſee her ſelf ſo much honour'd, and enjoy the ſweetneſs of a happy life, after the miſeries and afflictions ſhe had endured in the Monaſtery, ſince her Son's death.

A counterfeit Demetrius.

But when the *Muſcovites* found his manner of life different from that of the Great Dukes his predeceſſors, that he was reſolv'd to marry a *Roman Catholick*, the *Weywode* of *Sandomiria*'s daughter, and ranſack'd the Treaſuries of the Kingdom to furniſh her according to the advancement ſhe expected, they began to miſtruſt him, and to perceive they had been miſtaken. One of the principal *Knez*, named *Vaſili Zuski*, was the firſt that offer'd to ſpeak of it to ſome other Lords, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Secular, and to remonſtrate to them the danger whereto both the State and Religion were expos'd, by the Alliance which that Counterfeit intended to make with a ſtrange woman, and of a contrary Religion; adding, that, of neceſſity, he was an Impoſtor, and a lewd perſon. Upon this it was reſolv'd he ſhould be diſpatch'd out of the way: but the Conſpiracy being diſcover'd, and *Zuski* taken, *Demetrius* got him ſentenc'd to death, but ſent him a pardon upon the point of execution, hoping by that mildneſs, to gain the affection of the *Muſcovites*. Accordingly all was quiet till the day of his marriage, which was the 8. of *May*, 1606. The Bride being arriv'd, with a great number of *Poles*, Armed, and in a capacity to become Maſters of the City, the *Muſcovites* began to open their eyes. *Zuski* got to his own houſe, ſeveral *Knez* and *Bojares*, propos'd to their conſideration the preſent State of Affairs, the unavoidable ruine of both State and Religion, and, profer'd, for the preſervation thereof, once more to expoſe his perſon and life. They gave him thanks, and promis'd to aſſiſt him with their Perſons and Eſtates, when there ſhould be an opportunity to put their deſign in execution. They had a fair one the laſt day of the Nuptial ſolemnity, which was the ninth after the Wedding, and the 17. of *May*. The Great Duke and his Company being got drunk and aſleep, the *Muſcovites* cauſed all the Bells in the City to be rung, as they are wont in caſe of fire, to give an Alarm, whereupon they immediately put themſelves into Arms, and ſet upon the Caſtle, where, having defeated the *Poliſh* Guards, and forc'd the Gates, they entred the Great Dukes Chamber, who thought to avoid preſent death by leaping out at a window into the Court, in hope to ſave himſelf among the Guards, which were ſtill there in Arms: but he was taken, and cruelly us'd. The Caſtle was ranſack'd. *Zuski*, addreſſing himſelf to the pretended Mother of *Demetrius*, oblig'd her to ſwear by the *Croſs*, whether *Demetrius* was her

A conſpiracy againſt the counterfeit Demetrius.

1636. Son, or no, to which having answer'd, that he was not, and that she never had but one Son, who had been unfortunately murther'd, they shot the Counterfeit *Demetrius* in the head with a Pistol. They imprison'd the pretended Great Dutchess, with her Father and Brother, as also the *Polish* Ambassador. The Ladies and Gentlewomen were abus'd and deflour'd, and above 1700. men kill'd, among whom were many Jewellers, Merchants, who had abundance of Jewels about them. *Demetrius*'s body was stripp'd, and dragg'd to the place before the Castle, where it lay expos'd for three whole days. After which they buried it, but it was immediately taken up again, to be burnt, and reduc'd to ashes.

Demetrius kill'd.

This conspiracy thus succeeding, the *Muscovites* chose into the place of *Demetrius*, Knez *Basilouits Zuski*, the Ring-leader of the Enterprise, who was Crown'd *June* 1. 1606. But he was no sooner got into the Throne, ere another Impostor disputed the possession of it. His name was *Knez Gregori Schacopski*, who at the pillaging of the Castle, having found the Seals of the Kingdom, fell into a League with two *Polanders*, and made a shift to go into *Poland*. He made use of the same invention as his Predecessor, and took the name of *Demetrius*, giving out, where he came, that he had escap'd the Massacre, in the night time, that they had kill'd another in his stead, and that he was going into *Poland* to raise another Army, to punish the *Muscovites* for their infidelity and ingratitude.

Zuski made Great Duke.

A second counterfeit Demetrius.

About the same time started up another *Demetrius*, in the City of *Moscou*. He was Clerk to one of the Secretaries of State, got into the field, made use of the same imposture as the two others, and found abetters, by whose assistance he became Master of many great Cities. This occasion'd many other disorders, which the *Polanders* countenanc'd out of their resentment of the affront they had receiv'd from the *Muscovites*. The events of the War, occasioned thereby, prov'd so fatal and unhappy, that the *Muscovites* quarrell'd at *Zuski*, and look'd upon him as the sole cause of all their misfortunes. They said, his Government was unjust, because unfortunate, and that there must needs be something fatal in his person, when victory seem'd to shun him, to side with his Enemies. Three *Muscovian* Lords, *Zacchary Lippanow*, *Michael Molsaneck*, and *Juan Kesefski*, were the first that amus'd the people with these reports, and, perceiving they were well receiv'd among them, proceeded in their design, depriv'd *Zuski* of his Dignity, shut him up in a Monastery, and had him shaved.

A third Impostor.

Upon this, the *Knez* and *Bojares*, to avoid the jealousie, which the Election might raise among themselves, resolv'd to take in a forein Prince. The *Polanders* still countenanc'd the second *Demetrius*, so far as that they forc'd the former's Widow to acknowledge him for her husband, and expected satisfaction for the affront they had received at *Moscou*, at the marriage of *Demetrius*, so that the *Muscovites* willing to satisfie the *Polanders*, and not finding any Prince near them so well qualified as *Uladislaus*, eldest son to *Sigismond* King of *Poland*, sent to the King, his father, to desire, that he might accept of the Crown of *Muscovy*. The King consented; but the Treaty agreed upon, among other Clauses, had this, that *John Basilouits Zuski* should be taken out of the Monastery, and, with some other Lords of his Kinred, should be put into the hands of the King of *Poland*, who kept them, a long time, Prisoners at *Smolensko*, where *Zuski*, at last, died, and his body was buried near the High-way, between *Thorn* and *Warsaw*. *Stanilaus Solkouski* was, in the mean time, advanc'd with his Army to the very Gates of *Moscou*, with order to revenge the death of *Demetrius*, and the *Polanders*, who were Massacred with him. But news coming of the conclusion of the Treaty, they laid down their Arms, and *Stanislaus* had order, in the Prince's name, to receive homage from the *Muscovites*, and to stay at *Moscou*, till the Prince were come thither in person. The *Muscovites* were content, and, having taken the Oath of Allegiance, they reciprocally administred it to him, and permitted him, with a thousand *Poles*, to enter the Castle, and to keep a Garrison there. The rest of the Army stay'd without the City, not doing any thing at which the *Muscovites* might conceive any jealousie. On the contrary, there was much kindness shewn on both sides, till that the *Poles*, having crept by degeees into the City, to the number of above six thousand, took up the Avenues of the Castle for their quarters, and began to incommodate the Citizens, and to become insupportable, by reason of their insolences, and the violences they dayly committed upon Women and Maids, nay, upon the *Muscovian* Saints, at which they shot off their Pistols. So that the *Muscovites* not able to endure them any longer, and impatient for their Great Duke, met together on the 24. of *January* 1611. in the place before the Castle, where they made a noise, and complained of the outrages which they daily received from the *Polanders*, saying, it was impossible for them to maintain so great a number of Soldiers, that their Trade was destroy'd, that they were exhausted to the least drop of their blood, that the new Great Duke came not, which made them apprehend, there was something ominous in it; that they could live no longer at that rate, and that they should be forc'd to those remedies, which nature had furnish'd them with, for their safety, if some other course were not taken.

Uladislaus Prince of Poland *chosen* Czaar *of* Muscovy.

The Muscovites *discontented against the* Polanders.

An insurrection at Moscou.

The *Polish* General did all he could to appease them, causing to be severely punish'd some of his Soldiers who most deserv'd it; but the *Muscovites* thought not that enough. The *Polanders*,

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Michael Federowitz great Duke of Moscovie Aged xlix Yeares 1645.

on their side, fearing a general insurrection, doubled their Guards, possess'd themselves of the principal streets, and prohibited the *Muscovites* to assemble, and bear Arms. This incens'd them so, as that they all rose, and met together in several places of the City, purposely to oblige the *Polanders* to divide their forces. The *Polanders* thought it not enough to stand only upon the defensive, but set the City on fire in three or four several places, thereby obliging the *Muscovites* to run to the relief of their Wives and Children, and making their advantage of that calamity, they set upon the *Muscovites* where ever they met them, and made so horrid a slaughter of them, that it is said, the sword and the fire destroy'd, in those two dayes, above 200000. persons, and all the houses in the City, excepting the Castle, the Churches, and some few stone-buildings. The Great Duke's Treasury was ransack'd, as also the Churches and Monasteries, out of which the *Polanders* got, and sent into *Poland*, an incredible quantity of Gold, Silver, and precious Stones, among which, the *Muscovites* do, to this day, regret the loss of a certain *Unicorn*'s horn, enrich'd with *Diamonds*. They say, the Soldiery got such a booty, that some of them charg'd their Pistols with great round Pearls. Fifteen dayes after this disorder came *Zachary Listpenow* with a good Army, and besig'd the *Polanders* in the Castle, kill'd many of them in several assaults, and, at last, forc'd them to a composition, and to depart the Kingdom. 1636.

The *Muscovites*, having weather'd out all these calamities, proceeded to the Election of a new Great Duke, and chose *Michael Fœderouits*, the son of *Fœdor Nikitis*, a Kinsman, but far remov'd, of *Juan Basilouits*. This man had forsaken his wife, for God's sake, as they call it, and became a Religious man, whereupon he was made *Patriarch*, and, in that dignity, chang'd the name of *Fœdor*, into that of *Philaretes*. The Son, who was of a very good nature, and much inclin'd to Devotion, hath alwayes express'd a great respect for his Father, taking his advice in affairs of greatest importance, and giving him the honour of admittance to all publick Audiences and Ceremonies, at which he alwayes gave him precedence. He died in the year 1633. some few dayes before our first Embassy. *Michael Federouits chosen Great Duke.*

The first thing this new Great Duke did, after his establishment, was, to make a Peace with his Neighbour Princes, and to abolish the memory of his Predecessors Cruelties, by so mild a Government, that it is granted, *Muscovy* hath not had, these many ages, a Prince deserving so great commendations from his Subjects. He died *July* 12. 1645. in the 49th. year of his age, and the 33. of his reign. The Great Dutchess, his Wife, died eight dayes after him, and his son, *Knez Alexei Michalouits* succeeded him.

The reign of *Michael Fœderouits* was very quiet. But as, in the times of *Boris Gudenou*, and *John Basilouits Zuski*, there were Counterfeit *Demetrius's*, so, in *Michael*'s time, there started up an Impostor, who had the boldness, to assume the name and and quality of *Basili Jouanouits Zuski*, Son to the Great Duke *Juan Basilouits Zuski*. His name was *Timoska Ankudina*, born in the City of *Vologda*, in the Province of the same name, and son to a Linnen-Draper, named *Demko*, or *Dementi Ankudina*. The Father having observ'd somewhat of more than ordinary wit in him, had brought him up to writing and reading, which having attain'd, he was look'd upon as a very excellent person among those who have no further acquaintance with Learning. The excellency of his voice, and his skill in singing Hymns at Church, recommended him to the Arch-Bishop of the place, who took him into his service, wherein *Ankudina* behaved himself so well, that the Arch-Bishop having a kindness for him, married him to a Grand-Child of his. This Allyance, which might have been very advantageous to him, prov'd the first occasion of his ruine: for he presently began, in his Letters, to assume the quality of Son-in-law to the *Weywode* of *Vologda*, and *Vellicopernia*. Having, after the Arch-bishops death, squander'd away his Wife's fortune, he came, with his Family, to *Moscou*, where, upon the recommendation of a friend of the Arch-bishop's, he found an employment in the *Novazetvert*, that is, the Office where such as keep common Tip-ling-houses are oblig'd to take the Wine, Strong-water, and Hydromel, which they sell by retail, and where they give an accompt of what they have spent. He was made Receiver there, but became so unfaithful, that, the first Accompt he made he could not bring in what was due to the Prince, by 200. Crowns: and in regard they expect a great exactness upon such an accompt in *Muscovy*, he put his invention upon the rack to make up the said sum. To that end, he went to one of his fellow Officers, named *Basili Gregorowits Spilki*, who had Christen'd a Child of his, and done him several kindnesses, when occasion required, and told him, that one of the chiefest Merchants of *Vologda*, one to whom he was very much oblig'd, being come to the City, he had invited him to Dinner, and would be glad to let him see his Wife; intreating him to lend him his Wife's Pearls and Rings, that he might present her in a condition suitable to his employment. The other did it without any difficulty, nay, without any thing to shew from the other, of his having receiv'd them, though they were worth above 1000. Crowns. But *Timoska*, instead of pawning the Jewels to make up his accompts, sold them, made use of the money, and confidently averr'd that his friend had not lent him any. *Spilki* clapt him up in prison, but, having no evidence to convict him, he could not hinder his being set at liberty, *Timoska* had some difference with his Wife, *A counterfeit* Zuski. *Son of a Linnen-Draper.* *His first preferment.* *Cheats his fellow Officer.*

1636. Wife, who often reproach'd him with his perfidiousness, and other vices, especially his Sodomy: so that fearing, on the one side, to be called to accompt for what he was in arrear to the Prince, and, on the other, that his Wife might happly be the first that should accuse him, bethought him one day to send his son to a friend of his, to shut up his Wife in a stove, and to set the house a-fire, in which his Wife was burnt. Having done thus, he went into *Poland*, but so secretly, that it was thought at *Moscou*, the same fire had consumed him, with the rest of his family.

Burns his wife, and retreats into Poland.

Timoska went away, about the latter end of the year 1643. but hearing, in 1645. that the Greak Duke was to send an Ambassador to the King of *Poland*, and that his being at the Court of *Warsaw* was known in *Muscovy*, he went in the year 1646 to *Chmielniski*, General of the Cosaques, and begg'd his protection, against the persecutions which he suffer'd, upon no other accompt than this, that the Great Duke knew him to be a near kinsman to the Prince *Juan Basilouits Zuski*. He had wit enough to carry on the Imposture, and had got such an influence over *Chmielniski*, that he began to grow considerable, when a *Muscovian Postanik*, named *Jacob Koslou*, who had been sent to this *Cosaque* General, knew him, and advis'd him to return to *Moscou*, and endeavour, to make up the sum which was due from him to the Great Duke, which was not so great, but, that having paid it, the intercession of his friends might easily get his pardon: for it was not yet known, that he pretended to be son to the Great Duke *John Basilouits Zuski*. But this course he thought not safe, and, fearing he might be secur'd, he went, in the year 1648. to *Constantinople*, where he abjur'd the Christian Religion, and was circumcised. He stay'd not long there, but, fearing to be punish'd for some Crimes he had committed there also, he went into *Italy*, and so to *Rome*, where he became a *Roman Catholick*. Thence he went in the year 1650. to *Vienna*, and thence into *Transilvania*, to Prince *Ragotskie*, who gave him Letters of recommendation to Queen *Christina*, of *Sueden*. This Princess receiv'd him kindly, and giving credit to what he related, allowed him an honourable subsistence. The *Muscovian* Merchants, who were then at *Stockholm*, soon acquainted the Great Duke with this man's Imposture, who stuck not to give out every where, that he was son to *John Basilouits Zuski*. The Great Duke immediately sent thither the aforesaid *Koslou*, who had seen him with *Chmielniski*, to desire the Queen to deliver up that man to him: but *Timoska*, who knew that enquiry would be made for him, was already got away. His man, whose name was *Kostka*, or *Constantine*, whom some business had detain'd after his Master at *Stockholm*, was taken, and sent, well chain'd, to *Muscovy*, where they found *Timoska*'s Mother and Kinred, whereof some were put to the Rack and executed. *Timoska* was taken at *Reuel*, in *Livonia*, by order from the Queen of *Sueden*; but he made a shift to get out of prison, and went, by the way of *Holland*, to *Brussels*, where he saw the Arch-Duke *Leopold*. Thence he went to *Wittenberg*, and to *Leipsig*, where he made profession of the *Lutheran* Religion, and Writ, himself, his Confession of Faith in *Latin*. Thence he went to *Noustadt*, in the Dutchy of *Holstein*, where *Peter Miklaf*, who had brought Letters from the Great Duke to the Duke of *Holstein*, got him secur'd. He was carried thence to *Gottorp*, where he was well guarded, till the Great Duke had sent expres order for the bringing of his person to *Muscovy*. The Letters which the *Czaar* Writ upon that occasion are such as may be well inserted in this place, that we may thereby discover somewhat of the elegance of the *Muscovian* manner of writing.

Goes to Chmielniski.

Turns Turk

Becomes a Roman Catholick.

Goes into Sueden.

To Brussels.

Embraces the Lutheran *religion*

The Great Duke's Letters to the Duke of Holstein.

In the name of Almighty God, who does all in all, and protects all Nations in good consolations, from Him, who, by the Grace, Providence, Power, Vertue, Operation, and good pleasure of God, to be magnifi'd in the blessed Trinity, and glorious in all Eternity, hath been chosen, and holds the Scepter of the true Christian Faith, to govern and preserve, with Gods assistance, in peace and quiet, without troubles, the Great Empire of the Russians, *with all the Provinces thereunto annexed, by Conquest or otherwise. We the Grand Seigneur,* Czaar, *and Great Duke,* Alexei Michaelouits, *Conservator of all the* Russes, *&c. To the most mighty* Frederick, *Hereditary Prince of* Norway, *Duke of* Sleswick, Holstein, Stormarie *and* Ditmarse, *Count of* Oldenbourg, *and* Delmenhost, *Health. In the year* 1644. *or, according to the Calculation of* Muscovy, *in the year* 7152. *the mentioned* Timoska Ankudina, *and* Kostka Konichou, *having robbed our Treasure, to avoid the death they had deserved, departed the Countries under our Jurisdiction, to go to* Constantinople, *where they professed the* Turkish *Religion. There they did so great mischief in a short time, that they were forc'd to fly, and to retreat into* Poland *and* Lithuania, *where they endeavoured to sow divisions between the neighbouring Princes. To that end they went to* Theodat Chmielniski, *General of the* Cosaques, *whom the King* John Casimir *of* Poland, *our Brother, commanded to put those Robbers into the hands of* M. Germolitzowi, *Gentleman of his Chamber, who had order to send them to* Muscovy, *under the conduct of* M. Peter Protesiowi, a *Gentleman of our retinue, as the said* Chmielniski *had made known to our* Czaarick *Majesty. But these Robbers and Traitors got to* Rome, *where they embraced the Latin Religion. Afterwards they passed through several other Provinces of* Europe, *where they changed their names, so as* Timoska, *sometimes, assumed that of* Zuski, *and sometimes that of* Sinensis, *while* Kostka *went under the name of his Servant, till such time as both having been known at* Stockholm, *by some of our Merchants of* Novogorod, *and other places, and thereupon secured, one at* Ruel, *the other at*

Narva,

Narva, *the Governours of thoſe two places made ſome difficulty to deliver them up to us, without expreſs order from the Great Queen of* Sueden. *But when we had deſired the ſaid Great Queen of* Sueden, *to put thoſe Traitors into the hands of the Gentleman whom we had ſent expreſsly for that purpoſe, it happened that at his coming to* Reuel, *with the Orders of the ſaid Great Queen, the Governour had already ſuffered one of them to make his eſcape, ſo that he could bring along with him but only the ſaid* Koſtka. *We have underſtood ſince, that the other hath been taken and impriſoned in the Country of* Holſtein, *wherefore we have thought fit to ſend to your Highneſs our* Poſlanick, Baſili Spilki, *accompany'd by ſome of our Subjects, with Letters from our* Czaarick *Majeſty, to intreat you, that you will be pleas'd to deliver up unto them, and to ſend to us thoſe Traitors.* 1636.

The Letters were dated the laſt of *October*, 1652. after which the Great Duke ſent another of the 5 of *January*, 1653. to the ſame effect, ſave that, at the end of the Letter, were added the lines following. *Since that time, there came to us, in the moneth of* December *laſt*, Peter Micklaf, *of* Novogorod, *who hath informed us, how that, in purſuance of your Orders, the ſaid Traitor had been ſecured in your Ducal City of* Neuſtat, *and that upon the Remonſtrance made to you by the ſaid* Micklaf, *you had tranſlated him to* Gottorp, *to be there kept under a good and ſure guard. Wherefore we ſend back again unto you the ſaid* Micklaf, *with Letters from our* Czaarick *Majeſty, to entreat you, to deliver up the ſaid Traitor to him and* Baſili Spilki, *that he may have no further opportunity to eſcape, and raiſe new troubles in the World. In acknowledgement whereof our* Czaarick *Majeſty ſhall ſerve your Highneſs, in ſuch occaſions as ſhall preſent themſelves. This Robber and Traitor to our* Czaarick *Majeſty, named* Timoska, *is of very mean Birth, the ſon of a Linnen-Draper that dealt only in coarſe cloaths, named* Demki Ankudina, *of the Suburbs of* Vologda, *His Mother is called* Salmaniska, *and his Son, who is yet living,* Tereska. Timoska *was an under Officer in the* Nova Zetvert, *and he hath robb'd our Treaſury, hath kill'd his Wife, and, with his own houſe, hath burnt ſeveral other houſes that were near his, whereby many of our Subjects have been ruined. Wherefore knowing that he could not avoid death otherwiſe than by flight, he got away in the manner we have mentioned. Given at our* Czaarick *reſidence of* Moſcou, *the third of* January, *in the year of the Worlds Creation, 7161. and of the birth of our Saviour*, 1653. *After this, he alſo writ a third Letter, of the* 17 *of* October *the ſame year, upon which the Priſoner was delivered up to thoſe, whom the Great Duke had appointed to receive him.*

One of theſe Deputies was the ſame *Spilki* whom *Timoska* had cheated of his Wife's coller and Pearls. To be Goſſips is a great allyance in *Muſcovy*, beſides they had been fellow-Officers in the ſame Employment, wherefore *Spilki* deſired, his Highneſs would give him leave to ſee the Priſoner, and to ſpeak to him in the preſence of ſome Officers of the Court. But *Timoska* behaved himſelf as if he knew him not, and would not ſpeak the *Muſcovian*, but the *Poliſh* language, purpoſely to gravel the other, who could not ſpeak it well. *Spilki* asked him, whether his name were not *Timoska Ankudina*, and whether he had not robb'd the Great Duke's Treaſury, and committed ſeveral other enormous crimes? *Timoska* made him anſwer, that it might be *Timoska Aukudina* had robb'd the Great Duke's Treaſury, or converted his money to his own uſe, but that he was not concern'd in it. That his name was *Johannes Sinenſis*, and in the *Poliſh* language *Zuiski*, cunningly avoiding to hint at what he had ſaid before, to wit, that he was Son to the Great Duke, *John Baſilouits Zuski*. But when *Spilki* ask'd him, whether he remembred not his life paſt; the other derided him, gave him injurious language, and added, that he could not acknowledge him in the quality of a *Poſlanick*, ſince he was but a poor Shop-keeper, and ſeller of Pins, alluding to his name, *Spilki*, which ſignifies, a Pin-maker. *Timoska* would needs, one day, intreat his Highneſs of *Holſtein* to appoint his Chancellor, and ſome others of his Councel, to receive from his own mouth the ſtate of his affairs. They askt him what houſe and family he was of, and whether he were of kin to the Great Duke, why the Great Duke perſecuted him, and wherein he could any way prejudice him? He anſwer'd, that it was known; his name was *Johannes Sinenſis*, and in the *Poliſh* language, *Zuski*; that, at his Baptiſm, he had been named *Timotheus*; that he was the Son of *Baſili Domitian Suiski*; and that he had been ſo ſurnamed, from a City in *Muſcovy* called *Suia*: That he was originally a *Muſcovite*, but born and brought up in *Poland*, in the Province of *Novogarka Severskhio*, and that he was hereditary Lord of *Hukragina Severska*, upon the Frontiers of *Muſcovy*: That the Great Duke was not his Kinſman, in as much as the Great Duke's Father had been but a Gentleman, whereas his was a Prince born, and that was the reaſon why the Great Duke perſecuted him. That the *Cham* of *Tartary*, who was then ingaged in a War againſt the King of *Poland*, would have employ'd him in a War againſt the Great Duke, but he had a greater affection for the Country of his Predeceſſors, than to trouble its quiet: That it was in his power to ſend above a 100000 men into *Muſcovy*, but that God, of his goodneſs, had diverted his thoughts from doing any ſuch thing. He had written ſomewhat to that purpoſe to the Patriarch. For the *Poſlanick*, who came from *Sueden*, having enter'd into a Familiarity with him, and adviſed him to write to the Patriarch, as the moſt likely perſon to procure his par-

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1636. don, he reſolv'd to do it, and deliver'd his Letter to the *Poſlanick*, in which he writ to the Patriarch, that he was indeed a *Muſcovite*, and, at his Baptiſm, had been named *Timothy*, whereof the word *Timoska* is the diminutive. That he had had a deſire to enter *Muſcovy* with an Army of 300000 men, but that he had been diverted from that pernicious deſign by the Guardian Angel of *Muſcovy*. That thereupon he came to himſelf, and was reſolved to return into his Country, whereas, had he been minded to continue his wicked life, it had been eaſie for him to get out of the priſon at *Neuſtat*, but that it was his intention to return into *Muſcovy* voluntarily, with thoſe whom the Great Duke had appointed to conduct him. The *Poſlanick*, who doubted not, but that, upon this Letter, he would have made ſuch a confeſſion, as might have convinc'd him, open'd, and read it in his preſence. But he had to do with a man, whom ſo ſmall a matter would not make to betray himſelf. He would perſwade them that the *Poſlanick* was a cheat, and that the Letter was counterfeited, that he had never writ it, and to make good what he ſaid, he writ another Letter of a Stile and Character ſo far different from that of the former, that the *Poſlanick*, mad to ſee himſelf ſo abuſed, flung it in his face. *Timoska* took it up, and tore it to pieces.

Timoska varies in his depoſitions.

But the diſtraction of his conſcience was but too apparent in the inconſiſtency of his depoſitions, and the declarations he had made, both by word of mouth and writing. For, one while, he ſaid, he was Son to the Great Duke, *Baſili Juanouits Zuski*; and another, he ſaid his Fathers name was *Baſile Domitian*, though it was known, that, in that time, there were but three Lords of the Houſe of *Zuski*, and not any of them was of that name. Sometimes he would be thought a *Polander*, and would confidently maintain that he could make it as clear as the Sun at Noon, that he was no *Muſcovite*, and that there was not any thing in his perſon, language, or manner of life which might perſwade the World that he was. Indeed his beard was quite after another faſhion than the *Muſcovitet* ordinarily wear theirs. He had the *Latin*, *Italian*, *German* and *Turkiſh* Languages, ſo well, as to be underſtood in any of them, and he had ſuch an art in counterfeiting all ſorts of hands, that it was hard to convince him by that which he writ in his firſt employment. Nay he would have had us ſuſpect as counterfeited, the Letters ſent by the Great Duke to our Prince, becauſe he had not ſigned them, and might have ſurpriz'd us with that allegation, had we not learnt in *Muſcovy*, that the Great Duke never ſigns expeditions, but leaves that to be done by the Secretaries of State.

Would procure his own death.

Timoska perceiving theſe evaſions would not ſerve his turn, fell into deſpair, and would have kill'd himſelf. For, being upon his way to *Travemunde*, to be ſhip'd away, not far from *Neuſtat*, he caſt himſelf down headlong from the Wagon, and ſhuffled himſelf under the Wheels, hoping they would paſs over his Body; but the ground being ſoft and ſandy, his fall did him no hurt, and the Wagon was immediately ſtaid; ſo that they had the time to return him to his place, where they faſten'd him beyond all fear of ſhewing ſuch another trick. He ſeem'd to be in a very good humour all the way, yet ſought all the means he could imagine, to compaſs his own death; but he was ſo narrowly watch'd, that at laſt being out of all hope to effect it, the joy he had expreſs'd before was much abated. Coming to *Novogorod*, he fell into ſo deep a melancholy, that he was become abſolutely diſconſolate. Which yet hindred not but that amidſt the greateſt tortures he expreſs'd ana dmirable conſtancy, at leaſt if I may ſo call the reſolute obſtinacy, in which he perſiſted, as to his firſt depoſitions; whether it were his deſign thereby to confirm, in ſtrangers, the opinion he would have imprinted in them, or that he conſidered with himſelf, that his confeſſion would not prevent his death, nor alleviate his misfortune. As ſoon as he came to *Moſcou*, he was put to the torture, in the preſence of di-

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vers perſons of quality; but he impudently told them, that, of all the *Bojares*, he would not vouchſafe to ſpeak to any, but *Knez Nikita Juanouits Romanow*; and him only, as knowing him by fame, by reaſon of his goodneſs and courage he ſhould be glad to have ſome diſcourſe withall. While two *Bojares* were gone to find out *Nikita*, *Timoska* deſired ſomewhat to drink. They preſented to him ſome *Quas*, in a wooden diſh, but he would have *Hydromel*, and that it ſhould be brought him in a ſilver Cup; but after they had ſo far comply'd with his humour, he only put it to his lips, and would not drink. Seeing *Nikita*, and the other two *Bojares* come in, he gave them a civil ſalute: but ſtill affirmed, that he was Son to *Baſili Juanouits Zuski*, though it were prov'd againſt him, that he was the Son of *Dementi Ankudina*, a Linnen Draper of *Vologda*, and that the Great Duke *Baſili* had had no children, but only two Brothers, *Knez Demetri Juanouits*, and *Juan Juanouits Zuski*, who both died without iſſue male. For of theſe three Brothers, who were ſent Priſoners into *Poland*, at the election of *Uladiſlaus*, in the year 1610. with the reſt of the Great Dukes kinred, the two elder died there, and the third was releas'd, and ſent back into *Muſcovy*, where he died ſome few years before the execution of *Timoska*. 'Tis true, there was another Lord of the ſame Family, but he had left only one Son, named *Michael Baſilouits Zuski Scapin*, who died without iſſue, when the *Suedes* took the City of *Novogorod*, in the year 1616.

While he endured the torture, they brought his Mother to him, who exhorted him to acknowledge his crime. He ſeem'd to be moved at her preſence, but perſiſted in affirming he knew

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her not, no more than he did *Juan Peſcou*, with whom he had left his Son, when he left *Muſcovy*. This man repreſented to him how much he was to blame, for behaving himſelf ſo in the condition he was in, and told him, that he muſt at laſt pull off the vizard, he had made uſe of for ſo many years, to cheat the World, and diſturb his Country, conjuring him to own his Son, and rely no longer on eluſions and impoſtures, which would only aggravate his miſery, and bring a greater weight of God's vengeance upon him. He was ſo mov'd hereat, that he would not ſpeak one word afterwards, though there were divers perſons brought before him, who had known him while he was employ'd at the Tavern-Office. He was ſearch'd and found to be Circumcis'd. The next day they put him again to the torture, but he would not ſpeak at all: ſo that he was immediately carried to the great Market-place, where his ſentence was pronounced, and preſently put in execution. They cut off, with an Ax, firſt, his right arm, below the elbow, then the left leg, below the knee, and afterwards the left arm and right leg, and laſt of all the head, The members were ſet up on ſtakes, and the trunk left upon the ground: but the Dogs devour'd it in the night, and the next morning the Executioner's Servants dragg'd the members to the place where all the City dirt is thrown. 1636. *And Exe-cuted.*

His man, *Koſtka* was pardoned, becauſe he had confeſs'd the truth; but, in regard he had been unfaithful towards his Prince, he was ſentenc'd to loſe three fingers of his right hand. The Patriarch got that puniſhment to be moderated, upon this accompt, that the Religion of the *Muſcovites* obliging them to make the ſign of the Croſs with the right hand, which ought not to be maimed, he receiv'd his puniſhment in the left, and was ſent into *Siberia*, where proviſion was made for his ſubſiſtence during life. About this time there came a *Poliſh* Envoy to *Moſcou* They gave him audience the ſame day that *Timoska* was put to death, and brought him through the Market-place juſt at the execution, that he might be an eye witneſs of it, and give an accompt, in *Poland*, of the Tragedy of that Impoſtor, who had been there look'd upon as ſon to the Great Duke, *Baſili Juanouits Zuski*.

We ſaid before, that the Great Duke *Michael Federouits* died *Jul.* 12. 1645. The very next day, the *Knez* and *Bojares* would needs crown his Son, *Alexei Michaelouits*, who was not full ſixteen years of age. He it is that now reigns, and makes himſelf known by the War he made upon *Poland*, as alſo by that which he daily threatens againſt *Sueden*. He was born, *March* 17. 1630. *Knez Boris Juanouits Moroſou*, fearing his enemies might take any advantage of the Prince's tender years, ſo haſtened his Coronation, that they could not ſend for all thoſe who are oblig'd to be preſent thereat, nor perform it with the requiſite Ceremonies: which are as followeth.

They ſummon to *Moſcou*, not only all the Metropolitans, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Knez, and Bojares, but alſo the Principal Merchants, of all the Cities in the Kingdom. The day appointed for the Coronation, the Patriarch, attended by the Metropolitans, conduct the new Great Duke to the Church within the Caſtle, where a Scaffold is erected three ſteps high, cover'd with rich *Perſian* Tapiſtry, on which are ſet three Brocado Chairs, at an equal diſtance one from the other. One is for the Great Duke, another for the Patriarch, and upon the third are ſet the Ducal Cap and Robe. The Cap is embroider'd with Pearls and Diamonds, having upon the Crown a Taſſel, on which hangs a little Crown, ſet as thick as may be with Diamonds: and the Robe is of a rich Brocado, lined with the beſt kind of Sables. They ſay the Great Duke *Demetri Monomach* found it, at the taking of *Kaffa*, in *Tartarie*, and that he immediately deſign'd it for the Coronation of the Princes his Succeſſors. *The Ceremonies of the Czar's Coronation.*

As ſoon as the *Czaar* is come within the Church, the Clergy begin to ſing their Hymns, which ended, the Patriarch prays to God, to St. *Nicholas*, and the other Saints, deſiring their preſence at that day's Solemnity. The prayer ended, the Chief Counſellour of State, taking the Great Duke by the hand, preſents him to the Patriarch, and ſayes to him; Since the *Knez* and *Bojares* acknowledge the Prince here preſent to be the next of Kin to the late Great Duke, and lawfull Heir to the Crown, they deſire, that, as ſuch, you immediately Crown him. Whereupon the Patriarch leads the Prince up to the Scaffold, and having ſeated him in one of the three Chairs, he puts to his forehead, a little Croſs of Diamonds, and bleſſes him. Then one of the Metropolitans reads the following Prayer. "O Lord our God, King of Kings, "who didſt chooſe thy ſervant *David*, by the Prophet *Samuel*, and who didſt cauſe him to be "anointed King over thy people *Iſrael*, hearken to our prayers, which, though unworthy, we "offer up unto thee. Look down, from the higheſt Heavens, upon this thy faithful ſervant, "who is here ſeated upon this Chair, and whom thou haſt exalted to be King over thy people, "whom thou haſt redeemed by the blood of thy Son. Anoint him with the Oyl of gladneſs; "protect him by thy power; ſet upon his head a precious Diadem; grant him a long and hap-"py life; put into his hand a Royal Scepter, and make him ſit upon the Throne of Juſtice. "Make ſubject to him all barbarous Languages; Let his heart and his underſtanding alwayes "continue in thy fear. In all the courſe of his life, let him be conſtantly obedient to thy Com-"mandement. Suffer not any Hereſie, or Schiſm to come near his Perſon or Government. Teach "him to maintain and obſerve whatſoever the holy *Greek* Church commandeth and ordaineth.

1636. *Judge thy people in Justice, and be merciful to the poor; that, when they leave this Valley of tears, they may be received into eternal joys.* Which Prayer the Patriarch concludes with these words, *For thine is the Kingdom, the Power, and the Glory; God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost be with us, and remain with us.*

The Prayer ended, the Patriarch commands two Metropolitans to take the Cap and Robe, and having caused some of the *Bojares* to come upon the Scaffold, he commands them to put them on the Great Duke, whom he blesseth a second time, by touching his forehead with the little Cross of Diamonds. Then he causes to be given to them the Ducal Cap, to be set upon his head, while he says, In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and then blesses him the third time. That done, the Patriarch causes all the Prelates to approach, who give the Benediction to the Great Duke, but it is only with their hands. That Ceremony ended, the Great Duke and the Patriarch sit down, but they immediately rise again, to give order for the singing of the Letany, whereof every verse ends with *Gospodi pomiluy*, Lord, have mercy upon us, putting in ever and anon the great Duke's name. After the Letany they sit down again, and one of the Metropolitans comes up to the Altar, and says singing, *God preserve our* Czaar *and Great Duke of all the* Russes, *whom God hath out of his love bestow'd on us, in good health, and grant him a long and a happy life.* All that are present, as well Ecclesiasticks as Laicks repeat the same words, which make the Church echo again with the greatness of their joy. Then the *Bojares* come up to the Great Duke, smite their foreheads in his presence, and kisse his hand. That done, the Patriarch comes up alone before the Great Duke, and tells him; *That, since, through the Providence of God, all the Estates of the Kingdom, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal, have establish'd and Crowned him Great Duke over all the* Russes, *and have entrusted him with a Government and Conduct of so great importance, he ought to apply all his thoughts to love God, keep his Commandments, administer Justice, and protect, and maintain the true* Greek *Religion.* That done, the Patriarch gives him the Benediction, and the whole Assembly goes out of that Church, into that of St. *Michael* the Arch-Angel, which is opposite to the other, where they sing over the same Letanies; which is done afterwards in that also of St. *Nicholas*, where they conclude the Ceremonies, and Dine in the Great Hall of the Duke's Palace.

The Great Dukes favourite.

After the Coronation, *Alexei Michaelouits Morosou* chang'd the quality of Governour into that of Favourite and Chief Minister, and had the same power in Affairs, as he had over the Prince's person during his fathers life. He began his establishment with the great Employments which he bestow'd on the Kinred of the Great Dutchess-Mother, for whom the Prince had a great Veneration: but under that pretence he kept them at a distance from Court, which, as also the chiefest places of publick trust, he in the mean time fill'd with his own Kinred and Creatures, who wholly depended on his fortune. He permitted not any other to come near the Prince's person, whom he would often get out of the Capital City, under pretence of Hunting, or some other divertisement; so to beget in him an aversion to business, that he might have the managemement of all things. He thought the only way to make sure of him, would be to get him a Wife, and to that end, he brought him acquainted with a Gentlemans Daughter, who was an extraordinary Beauty, but of mean extraction. 'Twas his design to marry her Sister, by that means to interesse the Great Duke more nearly in his preservation. These Gentlewomens Father, was one *Ilia Danilouits Miloslauski*, very much look'd upon by the Favourite, not only upon the accompt of his two fair Daughters, but also in regard of his constant attendance on him. So that upon the confidence he had of his affection and fidelity, he one day took occasion to speak to the Great Duke of him, and thence, to celebrate so highly the beauty of those Gentlewomen, that, it rais'd in him a desire to see them. The Great Duke sent for them, under pretence of a Visit to the Princesses his Sisters, and having seen them, he was so taken with the Beauty of the Elder, that he immediately sent one to tell *Miloslauskie*, that he would honour him with Alliance, and marry one of his Daughters. The Gentleman receiv'd the message with much respect, and return'd his humble thanks to the Great Duke for the favour he was pleas'd to do him. Soon after, they carried rich Presents to the intended Bride, and a good sum of money to the Father, who, with others of the Kinred, could not, without that supply, have appear'd at the Marriage of his Daughter. They were married on *Shrove*-Sunday, in the year 1647. but without any noise, lest the consequences of that Solemnity might be frustrated by Charms. Eight days after, *Morosou* was married to *Miloslauskie*'s second Daughter, and so became Brother-in-Law to the Great Duke.

Ilia Danilouits Miloslauskie was no sooner advanc'd to this new-greatness, but he would have all the World to take notice of it. He pull'd down a Wooden house that had been given him in the Castle near the Great Duke's Palace, and built a Sumptuous one of Stone in it's place. He cast off, by degrees, the old Officers of the house, and brought in his own Kindred and Creatures; who being no less necessitous than the chief of their family, let slip no opportunity of advantaging themselves. Among others, he made one *Leponti Steppanouits Plesseou* Chief Judge of the Citie of *Moscou*, in that Jurisdiction which they call *Semskoi Duor*. No Concussion, no Extortion, but this man would undertake. He thought it not enough to receive Presents, but

would

would reduce both parties to the utmoſt extremities. He ſuborn'd falſe Witneſſes, whoſe employment was to bring in charges againſt thoſe, who were rich enough to redeem themſelves out of his perſecutions, impriſoning, and oppreſſing them till they purchas'd their Liberties with the ruine of their Eſtates; and of theſe inſtruments of his Tyranny, one was called *Peter Tichonuits Trochaniotou*, his Brother-in-law. This *Peter* was one of thoſe, whom, in *Muſcovy*, they call *Ocolnits*, out of which number are choſen the *Bojares*, and he had the management of the *Puskarſe Pricas*, that is to ſay, was Overſeer of the Armourers, Canoniers, and all the Mechanicks belonging to the Arſenal, who were very much oppreſs'd by him. For, inſtead of paying them monethly, as they are wont to do in *Muſcovy*, where all that are in the Great Duke's ſervice, are ſo punctually pay'd, that if they come not the firſt day of the moneth for their money, it is ſent home to them; he, on the contrary, kept them ſeveral moneths without it, forc'd them to compound, and to give acquittances for the whole ſum, though they received but ſome part. Beſides, Trading was obſtructed, Monopolies granted, and no Employment could be had, but by dearly purchaſing the Favorite *Moroſou*'s good pleaſure. One got a Patent, prohibiting the further uſe of the ordinary *Ells*, purpoſely to oblige the people to buy Iron ones with the Great Duke's mark upon them: but inſtead of ſelling them at 8. or 10 *d.* a piece, as they were worth, they could not be had under a Crown; by which means was rais'd a vaſt ſum of money, by reaſon of the neceſſity there was of having them all over the Kingdom. Another found out the invention of raiſing the *Poude* (that is 40. pound) of Salt, to thirty pence, which before coſt but twenty. But inſtead of making advantage of it, they found at the year's end, that the dearneſs of the Salt had ſo hindred the ſale of it, that the Great Dukes revenue was not only very much diminiſh'd, but abundance of fiſh was loſt for want of ſufficient ſalting; ſo that had it not been their deſign rather to oppreſs the people than to promote the Great Duke's ſervice, they would ſoon have put down that new impoſition. The Inhabitants of *Moſcou*, who had liv'd very quietly under the late Great Duke's reign could not but diſcover their reſentment of theſe preſſures. They had their aſſemblies about the Churches, at the hours when their Devotions brought them thither, and reſolv'd at laſt to Petition the Great Duke. And in regard no one perſon either would or durſt undertake the delivery of a Petition to him, they appointed a day to give it him themſelves, as he ſhould come out of the Caſtle, to go to his devotions or divertiſements. Their main ſpleen was againſt *Leponti Steppanouits Pleſſcou*, to deſire that his place might be ſupply'd by ſome perſon of honour, of whom they might expect more Juſtice. They had their Petition ready, and ſought two or three times an opportunity to preſent it to the Prince; but the *Bojares*, who attend him in thoſe Ceremonies, took it from them, and making only a report of it, as they had been inſtructed by *Moroſou*, the Petition was not anſwered, nor the people reliev'd. This happen'd ſo often, that the people at laſt reſolv'd to take ſome other courſe, and to make their complaints by word of mouth, upon the firſt opportunity that ſhould offer it ſelf. The 6. of *July* 1648. they took their advantage of a Proceſſion, which the Great Duke made to a Monaſtery in the Citie called *Stertenskie*. The people were got together in the Market-place before the Caſtle, to ſee him paſs by, as they were wont; but at his return, they broke through thoſe that attended the Great Duke, came up to him, laid hold of his bridle, ſtay'd him, and entreated him to hear the complaints they had to make to him, concerning the injuſtices and violences committed by *Pleſſeou*, deſiring there might be put into his place ſome perſon of integrity, who ſhould better ſupply ſo important a charge. The Great Duke though a little ſtartled at their procedure, ſtill kept his countenance, and ſeem'd not a little troubled at the grievances of his good Subjects, promiſed, that he would examine how the matter ſtood, and that they ſhould receive ſatisfaction. The people deſir'd no more, and were going away well ſatisfy'd with that anſwer, when ſome *Bojares*, friends of *Pleſſeou*, would needs give the people abuſive language, thruſt ſome of their horſes, and ſtruck others with their whips, whereat being incens'd, they ſo pelted their Lordſhips with ſtones, that they were forc'd to make all ſpeed they could to the Caſtle, whither the people purſued them ſo vigorouſly, that all the Guard could do was only to ſtop them till the others were gotten into the Great Duke's Chamber. This reſiſtance of the *Strelits*, rather inflamed, than abated, the people's fury, who threatned to force the Prince's Lodgings, and take away all they found there, if *Pleſſeou* were not immediately put into their hands. *Moroſou* came out into a Balcony, and endeavoured to appeaſe the people, exhorting them, in the name of his *Czaarick* Majeſty, to go all to their homes, and make no further tumult. But they told him, that they had as much to ſay to him as to the other. Accordingly, ſome went immediately to his Palace, which was forc'd, ranſack'd, and demoliſh'd in a moment, having caſt out at a window one of his Servants, who would have made ſome oppoſition. Their animoſity was ſuch, as that they ſpar'd not even the Images of their Saints, for which they are wont to have a great veneration. Yet did they ſhew ſome reſpect to *Moroſou*'s Wife, and thought it enough to take away her Pearls and Jewels, which they caſt into the ſtreet, and to frighten her a little, by telling her, that had they not look'd upon her as Siſter-in-law to the Great Duke, they would have cut her to pieces. Among other things, they broke his rich Coach, which, beſides the expence in other things about it,

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1636. had all silver even about the Wheels. Some got into the Cellar, and knock'd out the heads of the Strong-water Barrels, which taking fire consumed all those who had made themselves drunk.

An Insurrection in Moscou. This was the Prologue to the ransacking of several other houses afterwards, as those of *Plesseou*, and *Tichonouits*, the Chancellors, and all that had any relation to, or dependance on the Favourite, which afforded them such a booty, as that they sold Pearls by handfuls, and so cheap, that for thirty Crowns a man might have bought a hat-ful; a black-foxe-skin, or a pair of Sables for 2 *s.* 6 *d.* and stuffs of Gold, Silver, and Silk, in a manner for nothing.

Nazari Juanouits Tziston, Chancellor of *Muscovy*, had farm'd the imposition upon the Salt, and lay sick in his bed, by reason of an accident that had happened to him three days before, which was, that, meeting with a mad Ox, his Horsed started and threw him, so violently, that he was in some danger of his life. But hearing that *Morosou's* house had been ransack'd, and not doubting but they would come to his, he hid himself under a heap of Birch, which they at a certain time make provision of, to serve the Stoves; and to take off all suspicion, he caus'd himself to be cover'd with some Flitches of Bacon: so that he had certainly saved his life, had he not been betray'd by one of his Servants, who making his advantage of his Masters misfortune, took a good sum of Money, and went to *Nisenovagorod*. The enrag'd multitude took him out by the heels, and dragg'd him down stairs into the Court, where they cudgell'd him to death. The body was thrown upon the Dung-hill, and the house so pillag'd, that there was not any thing left. While these disorders were committed in the City, they had the time to barricado themselves in the Castle, against the insolences of the people, who continued all night between the 6 and 7 of *July*, in arms, in such a posture, as shew'd they only expected day-light to begin again. Whereupon, Orders were sent to the *German* Officers and Souldiers, to meet at several rendevouzes, in the City, and to come in to the Great Dukes relief at the Castle. They march'd with Drums beating, and Colours flying, and the *Muscovites* instead of opposing them, gave them way, and told them, that they had no quarrel against them, and knew them to be persons of honour who approved not the miscarriages of the Government. Being got into the Castle, they took up the posts of their Guards, and the Great Duke sent out *Knez Nikita Juanouits Romanow*, whom he knew the people much respected, to endeavour the breaking up of the Assembly. He came to the people, cap in hand, and told them, that he conceiv'd they ought to be satisfy'd with the assurance, which the Great Duke had made them the day before, that he would remedy the disorders of which they complained. That his Majesty had commanded him to tell them as much, and to advise them to go every man to his home, that he might the better perform what he had promised them. This message was well receiv'd, and the people made answer, that they were not dissatisfied with the Great Duke, but those who, under his name, abused his authority, and that they would not stir, till they had deliver'd up to them, *Boris Juanouits Morosou*, *Leponti Steppanouits Plesseou*, and *Peter Tichonouits Trachanistou*, that they might revenge, on their heads, the mischief they had done the whole Kingdom. *Romanow* gave them thanks for the kind answer they had made to his propesition, and told them he would acquaint the Great Duke with the zeal and affection which they express'd towards him; that he doubted not, but Order would be taken for the execution of those three Lords, but that he could safely take his oath, that *Morosou*, and *Trachanistow* had made their escape, and, for the third he should be immediately put to death. Accordingly, *Romanow* was no sooner return'd to the Great Duke, but word was sent to the people, that *Plesseou* was coming to be sacrific'd, and that the other two should come to the same end, as soon as they were found, and that they should send for the Executioner to do his Office. He was soon found, being at the Castle-gate with his servants, whence he came about a quarter of an hour after, leading *Plesseou* to the Market-place, to cut off his head. But the people spar'd him the trouble, falling upon him with Cudgels, so outrageously, that they dispatch'd him in a moment. They dragg'd the Body through the dirt, accompanying it with all the curses imaginable; till at last a Monk, whom the deceas'd had order'd to be cudgell'd, cut off his head. *Morosou* had indeed made his escape; but meeting with Waggoners and some of the people searching after him, he was so fortunate as to avoid them, and by secret ways to get into the Castle. And that it might not be thought, the Great Duke had consented to the escape of the others, there were some sent after *Trachanistou*, who was taken near the Monastery of *Treitza*, twelve leagues from *Moscou*. He was brought, the 8. to *Semskoy Duor*, that is, the place where his Master had sate as Judge, which the Great Duke hearing of, he commanded his head to be cut off. This execution wrought so much upon the people, that being informed how *Morosou* had been met in the Country, and none knew what was become of him, they forbore further pressing the Great Duke to give them what he had not, and, about 11. in the morning, went every man to his home. In the afternoon several houses in the quarters of *Metrosky* and *Twersky*, were set afire; whither the people, which had not yet clear'd the street, ran, not so much to quench the fire, as to steal. It made such havock in a short time, that it consum'd the whole quarter of *Zuargorod*, reducing to ashes all the houses within the *White-Wall*, to the River *Neglina*, and getting over the River, into the Great Duke's Taverns, it got into

Plesseou put to death.

those

thoſe of his Strong-waters, and grew ſo violent, that it was fear'd it would have buried the Caſtle in its aſhes. No body would endeavour to prevent it, thoſe, who were oblig'd thereto, being got ſo drunk, that, lying along in the ſtreets, the vapours of the fire, they had in their bodies, together with the ſmoak of that which was then in its way to burn down the whole City, choak'd them as they lay. About 11. at night, ſome ſtrangers looking, with no ſmall aſtoniſhment, on the fire in that houſe where they kept the Strong-water, for the Great Duke's Proviſion, perceiv'd at ſome diſtance a Monk coming towards them with a great burthen, which by his blowing they conceiv'd muſt needs be very heavy. Being come near, he call'd for ſome, deſiring them they would help him to caſt into the fire, the body of the abominable *Pleſſcou*, which he dragg'd after him, it being, as he ſaid, the only way to quench it: But the *Germans* refuſing to meddle with it, he fell a-ſwearing and curſing, till ſome *Muſcovites* did him the good office, and holp him to caſt the Carcaſs into the fire, which immediately began to abate, and ſome time after went out ere they left the place. 1636.

Some dayes after this accident, the Great Duke treated the *Strelits* with Strong-water, and Hydromel, and his Father-in-law, *Ilia Danilouits Miloſlausky*, invited divers Citizens of ſeveral Profeſſions to dine with him, and ſpent ſeveral dayes together in entertainments. The Patriarch alſo enjoyn'd the Prieſts and Monks to endeavour the ſettlement of unquiet ſpirits, and to preſs unto them the reſpect and obedience to which their conſciences oblige them. All thus quieted, and the Great Duke, having ſupply'd the places of the executed, with able and approved perſons, he took the opportunity of a Proceſſion, to ſpeak to the people, in the preſence of *Nikita Jeuanouits Romanou*, and told them, that he was extremely troubled, to hear of the injuries and violences done by *Pleſſcou* and *Trachaniſtou*, under his name, but contrary to his intention; That he had put, into their places, perſons of integrity, and ſuch as being acceptable to the people, would adminiſter Juſtice equally, and without corruption; and that they might not fail therein, he would have an eye over them; That he repeal'd the Edict about the impoſition laid on Salt, and that he would, with the ſooneſt, ſuppreſs all Monopolies; That they ſhould enjoy all their Privileges, which if occaſion were, he would augment. Whereupon, the people having ſmitten their forehead, and given his Majeſty thanks, the Great Duke re-aſſumed his diſcourſe and ſaid, That it was true indeed, he had promis'd to deliver up to them the perſon of *Boris Juanouits Moroſou*, and acknowledg'd, that he could not abſolutely juſtifie him, but that he could not alſo reſolve to condemn him; That he hoped, the people would not deny the firſt Requeſt he ſhould make to them, which was, that they would pardon *Moroſou*, only for that time, as to what he might have diſpleas'd them in; That he would be anſwerable for him, and durſt aſſure them, that *Moroſou* ſhould ſo behave himſelf for the future, as that they ſhould have occaſion to ſpeak well of him; That if they would not have him to be any longer of of his Councel, he would diſmiſs him; but that he deſir'd them to look on that Lord, as one who had been a Father to their Prince, and one that having married the Great Dutcheſs's Siſter, muſt needs be extremely dear to him, and conſequently, that it would be very hard for him to conſent to his death. The tears which concluded this diſcourſe of the Great Duke's, diſcover'd the affection he had for that Favorite, and ſo mov'd the people, that they all cry'd out, *God grant His Highneſs a long and happy life. God's and the Great Duke's will be done.* The *Czaar* conceived an extraordinary joy hereat, thanked the people, and highly celebrated the zeal and affection they expreſs'd for his eſtate and perſon. Some few dayes after, *Moroſou* appeared in publick, among thoſe who attended the Great Duke, upon occaſion of a Pilgrimage, which he made to the Monaſtery of *Troitza*. He went uncover'd, from the Caſtle to the City gate, ſaluting the people on both ſides with great ſubmiſſions; and from that time, he laid hold on all occaſions to gratifie, and aſſiſt thoſe, who addreſſed themſelves to him, in any buſineſs they had at Court.

The ſtory we have related confirms the truth of what we have ſaid elſewhere, that the *Muſcovites*, how ſubmiſſive and ſlaviſh ſoever they may be, will endeavour the recovery of their freedom, when the Government becomes inſupportable to them, and caſts them into deſpair. I ſhall here add another later example, which will be the leſs tedious, in that it hath ſome dependence on the precedent, and relates very much to what we have ſeen, much about the ſame time, in all the other Countries of *Europe*.

The Great Duke of *Muſcovy* ſent in the year 1649. a ſolemn Embaſſy to the Queen of *Sueden*, the chief perſon whereof was, the *Ocolnitza*, *Boris Juanouits Puskin*. He had order, among other things, to accommodate the difference, which ſeemed to threaten thoſe two States with an inevitable War, proceeding hence, that the Subjects of both Crowns, left their own habitations, and got into the other Kingdom to avoid the payment of their debts. And in regard that for 32 years, that accompt had not been clear'd, and that there were more *Suedes* in *Muſcovy*, than there were *Muſcovites* in *Sueden*, it was mentioned in the Treaty made by *Puskin* at *Stockholm*, that for the firſt thirty years, there ſhould be a liquidation of all accompts, and for the two other, the Great Duke ſhould pay to the Queen and Crown of *Sueden* 190000 *Roubles*, that is 390000 Crowns, part in mony, part in Rye, and that the payment ſhould be

1636. be made in the Spring of the year 1650. Accordingly, *John de Rodes*, being come at that time to *Moscou*, in the quality of Commissary for the Queen of *Sueden*, receiv'd, in *Copecs*, and *Ducats* 300000. Crowns, and order was sent to *Fœdor Amilianou*, a Merchant of *Plescou*, to provide as much Rye as should amount to 90000. Crowns. This interess'd man caus'd all the Rye, wherever it were, to be seized, and permitted not private persons, to buy so much as a bushel without his permission, which good leave of his they were forc'd to buy at a dear rate. The Inhabitants of *Plescou* were so impatient under this oppression, that they not only quarrel'd at the avarice of the *Suedes*, but charg'd *Puskin* with prevarication in his Employment, and perfidiousness towards his Prince. They said that *Morosou* held correspondence with Strangers, and presuming that this negotiation was concluded, contrary to the Great Duke's intention, they endeavour'd to engage the City of *Novogorod* in their quarrel, and went so far on in their work, that some of the chiefest Merchants having declared for them, the *Weywode* had much ado to prevent an insurrection of the whole City. Both these and the others resolv'd that they would stop the money, when it was to be transported into *Sueden*, and that they would no longer endure the Treaty of the Rye, because it would in likelyhood starve the Country. With this intention they sent three Deputies to *Moscou*, to wit, a Merchant, a *Cosaque*, and a *Strelits*, with Order to know whether this Treaty was made, and put in execution with the Great Duke's consent. In the mean time, without expecting the return of their Deputies, they ransack'd *Amilianou*'s house, and tortur'd his Wife, to make her confess, where her husband, who had made his escape, had laid up his money. The *Weywode* came, in hope to prevent the disorder, but he was forc'd out of the City, and the neighbouring Nobility invited to come in, and joyn with them against Monopolies and Patentees. These three venerable Deputies were no sooner come to *Novogorod*, but the *Weywode* caus'd them to be put into Irons, and in that posture, sent them to *Moscou*, whether came at the same time the *Weywode* of *Plescou*, and the Merchant *Amilianou*. Intelligence was brought, that those of *Plescou* had robb'd and abus'd a *Swedish* Merchant, whereupon the Great Duke sent back the *Weywode*, and with him a *Bojar*, to endeavour the further prevention of these disorders. Those of *Plescou*, who at first would not receive them, at length opened their Gates, but it was, to put the *Weywode* in prison, and to affront the *Bojare*, who had the imprudence, at so unseasonable a time, to treat them with so much severity, that the people fell upon him with Cudgels, and pursu'd him to a Monastery, where he was so beaten, that he was given over for a dead man.

However, the Great Duke pursu'd the execution of the Treaty made with *Sueden*, and paid money instead of the Rye, sending along with the *Swedish* Commissary a good Convoy of *Strelits*, who were to bring him to the Frontiers of *Sueden*. He gave order at the same time to *Juan Nikitouits Gavensky*, to assemble the Nobility of the neighbouring Provinces, and the foot-Regiments of Colonel *Kormichel*, and Col. *Hamilton*, which made up a bove 4000 men, and to besiege the City of *Plescou*. The Inhabitants, at first, pretended to stand out, but their courage and strength soon fail'd them, so that they were forc'd to make an accommodation, at the cost of the Authors of the Sedition, who were put to death, or sent into *Siberia*.

These disorders have occasion'd a great change in the Affairs and Government of *Muscovy*. For, though *Miloslauski* and *Morosou* have much credit, and the Patriarch himself a very great Authority about the Prince, yet have the other *Knez* and *Bojares* a great hand in publick Affairs, and execute their charges every one according to his Birth and Employment. There are commonly some 30 *Bojares* about the Court, though in *Zuski*'s time there were numbred 70. In the year 1654. when the War of *Smolensko* was resolv'd on, there were present at the deliberations of that important affair, twenty nine *Bojares*, who names were these.

Boris Juanouits Morosou, the *Czaar*'s Favourite.
Boris Nikita Juanouits Romanou, the *Czaar*'s Great Uncle.
Juan Basilouits Morosou.
Knez Juan Andreouits Galizin
Knez Nikita Juanouits Odouski.
Knez Jacob Kudenieteuits Tzerkaski.
Knez Alexei Nikitouits Trubetskoi.
Gleeb Juanouits Morosou.
Wasili Petrowits Tzemeretou.
Knez Boris Alexandrouits Reppenin.
Michael Michelouits Soltikou.
Basili Juanouits Stresnou.
Knez Vasili Simonouits Posorouski.
Knez Fedor Simonouits Kurakin.
Knez Jurgi Petrouits Buynessou Rostouski.
Juan Juanouits Solikou.
Knez Jurgi Alexeouits Dolgoruski.

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Gregory Baſilouits Puskin.
Knez Fœdor Federouits Volchanski.
Laurenti Demetriouits Soltikou.
Ilia Danilouits Miloſlauski, the Great Duke's Father-in-Law.
Baſili Baſilouits Butterlin.
Knez Michael Petrouits Pronski.
Knez Juan Nikitouits Gavenski.
Knez Fœdor Jurgiouits Chworoſting.
Baſili Boriſſouits Tzemeretou.
Nikita Alexouits Suſin.

The *Ocolnits*, or Lords, out of whoſe number, the *Bojares* are choſen, are,

The *Ocolnitza*, *Knez Andre Federouits Litwinou Maſalskoi.*
Knez Juan Federouits Chilkou.
Mikifor Sergeouits Zabackin.
Knez Demetri Petrouits Lewou.
Knez Baſili Petrouits Lewou.
Knez Simon Petrouits Lewou.
Knez Juan Juanouits Romadanouski.
Knez Steppan Gabrielouits Puskin.
Knez Simon Romanouits Boſarskie.
Bogdan Mattheouits Chytrou.
Peter Petrouits Gowowin.
Juan Andreouits Miloſlauski.
Knez Juan Juanouits Labano Roſtouski.
Knez Demetri Alexeouits Dalgaruski.
Simon Lukianouits Streſnou.
Michael Alexeouits Artiſcho.
Precoſſi Federouits Sochouin.
Knez Boris Juanouits Troikurou.
Alexei Demetriouits Collitziou.
Waſili Alexandriouits Zioglockou.
Juan Baſilouits Alferiou.

The perſons of greateſt quality next the *Bojares*, and the *Ocolnits*, are thoſe whom they call *Dumeny Duorainy*, and *Simbojarski*, that is to ſay ſons of *Bojars*; and they are ſix in number; to wit,

Juan Offonaſſouits Gabrienou.
Fedor Cuſmits Felliſſariou.
Bogdan Fedrowits Narbickou.
Sdan Baſilouits Conderou.
Baſili Federouits Janou.
Oſſonaſſei Oſſipouits Prontziſſou.

The Chancellour and Secretaries of State, are,

Almas Juanouits, Chancellour.
Simon Juanouits Saborouski.
Lariouton Demetriouits Prontziſſou.

Theſe are the names of the Lords, who, at this day, have the principal charges, and govern the whole Kingdom of *Muſcovy*, as well in the Councel of State, as for private affairs; as we ſhall ſee anon.

The principal Officers of Muſcovy, and their rank.

The chiefeſt Dignity of the Kingdom was, heretofore, that of *Sunderſtreuoi Coiniſche*, that is, Lord high Steward of *Muſcovy*; but this charge was ſuppreſs'd when *Zuski*, who had it, was called to the Crown. The next, which is now the chiefeſt, is that of *Duoretskoy*, or, *Great Maſter*, who hath the over-ſight and direction of all the great Duke's houſhold. After him comes the *Oruſnitſchei*, who hath the over-ſight of the Arms and Horſes, which are for the Great Duke's peculiar ſervice, as alſo of the Harneſſes and other Ornaments, which are uſed at Entrances, and publick Ceremonies. Theſe three Officers precede all the other *Bojares*, *Ocolnits*, *Dumeni-Diaki*, and the Secretaries of State, who, in their turns precede the *Poſtilnizei*, or him who makes the Great Duke's bed, the *Connutnoy Klutziom*, that is, the Chamberlain, the

1636. the *Craſitzey*, or Carver, the *Stolniki*, or Gentlemen Sewers, the *Strapſi*, or Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, and the *Duoraini*, or ordinary Gentlemen. The *Silzi*, or Pages, the *Diaki*, or Secretaries, and the *Boddiotzei*, or the Commiſſaries or Clerks, who are the laſt in Dignity and Function.

The Bojares obliged to follow the Court.

All the *Knez* and *Bojares*, who have Eſtates, are oblig'd to ſet out their Lands, and to give their perſonal attendance at *Moſcou*, where they are oblig'd to be every day at Court, and to ſmite their foreheads in the Great Duke's preſence, who looks on this attendance of theirs as an argument of their fidelity, and an aſſurance of his Eſtate being in quiet, which might ſoon be diſturb'd by the authority, theſe Great men might aſſume in the Provinces, were they permitted to make their aboad there.

Their expence.

Their Houſes, or Palaces, are great and magnificent, and they make great oſtentation, as well in their expences at their houſes, as in cloaths and retinue when they go abroad. When they ride, they have at the bow of their Saddle, a little Timbrel, a foot Diameter, which they ever and anon touch with the handle of their Whip, to make their way through the throngs, which are frequent in the Markets and Streets. The *Knez*, who have no employment at Court, and have not the means to make any great appearance there, retire into the Countrey, where their manner of life is not much different from that of Peaſants.

They eſteem Nobility.

They make very great accompt of the antient Nobility; not only of that of their own Countrey, but alſo of others; which they very particularly inquire into, but above all, are very curious in informing themſelves of the extraction of thoſe that are ſent Ambaſſadors in *Muſcovy*, They never match but with thoſe of an equal rank with themſelves.

The *Bojares* are not only ſeen at publick Ceremonies and Audiences, but effectively participate of the management of publick affairs, and the deciſion of Law-ſutes, wherein they aſſume the quality of Preſidents. The Councels for State-affairs are ordinarily held in the night time, and the Counſellors meet at one in the morning, and are together till nine or ten.

We ſhall ſpeak of the particular employment of the *Bojares*, when we have firſt given a ſhort accompt of the Great Dukes revenue, who, having an Eſtate of a very vaſt extent, conſiſting of a great number of Provinces, muſt needs be very rich and very powerfull, as well in reſpect of his Demeſn, as the advantages accrewing from the Traffick made by his Factors, and the Taxes, Duties, and Impoſitions paid by his Subjects. In times of peace, the Impoſitions are not great, but in the time of War, the Contributions are ſo exceſſive, that when the Great Duke *Michael Federonits*, was to beſiege the Citie of *Smolensko*, in the year 1632. he oblig'd the ſubject to pay him the *Pettina*, or fifth part of their Eſtates; but the preſent Great Duke, at the beginning of the preſent War, contented himſelf with the tenth. The *Knez*, *Bojares*, and Gentlemen pay no Taxes, but are oblig'd, as are alſo the Monaſteries, to raiſe and maintain a certain number of men, horſe and foot, proportionably to their Revenue.

The Cuſtoms bring in ſo conſiderable a ſum, that, ſome years, the Cuſtom-houſe of the Citie of *Archangel* it ſelf payes in above 600000. Crowns. The *Cruciſnouduor*, that is to ſay, the Taverns, where the Great Duke allows the ſelling of Wine, Beer, Hydromel, and Aquavitæ, pay a vaſt ſum, ſince he receives from three Taverns of the Citie of *Novogorod* above 12009. Crowns, and that, ſince this duty came to belong to the Sovereign, they are above a thouſand houſes, where the Great Duke alone hath all the advantage made by the ſale of Wine and Aquaviræ.

Sables alſo, and other Furs bring in much, becauſe he reſerves the Traffick thereof wholly to himſelf, as alſo that of *Cavayar*, and ſeveral other Commodities. The Revenue of the money which he lets out to his Factors is not ſo certain, as well in regard the Merchants profit is not alwayes the ſame, as for that the Factors ſometimes break. At our being there he had put 4000 Crowns in the hands of a Merchant named *Savelli*, who inſtead of improving it to his advantage, ſquander'd it away in leſs than three years, that he lived in *Perſia*. The Great Duke, ordered the *Poſlanick*, *Alexei Sawinouits Romanitſikou*, who went into *Perſia* along with us, to take him, and bring him back into *Muſcovy*. Coming to *Scamachy*, we had notice of his being in the City; but the *Poſlanick's* Interpreter dying, he diſſembled his having any order to take him, and deſir'd him to be his Interpreter, in that Negotiation, with a deſign, under that pretence, to bring him to the Frontiers, and ſo to carry him away. The other, who ſtood upon his Guard, ſerv'd him indeed during the *Poſlanick's* aboad at *Iſpahan*, but, when he ſaw him ready for his departure into *Muſcovy*, he got into the *Allacapi* or Sanctuary, was Circumciſed, put himſelf under the protection of *Mahomet*, and continued in *Perſia*.

His Expence.

The Great Duke farms out all his Demeſn, but the revenue ariſing thence, goes, for the moſt part, towards the ſubſiſtence of the *Strelits*, whereof he is obliged conſtantly to maintain a very great number, as well in the City of *Moſcou*, where there are above 16000. of them, as upon the Frontiers; inſomuch that the ordinary Militia makes above 100000. men. In a word, if his receipts are great, his expences are proportionable thereto. There hardly paſſes a year, but he is forc'd to purchaſe a Peace with the *Tartars*, with great ſums of Money and Preſents. He does not carry on his Wars at ſo eaſie a rate as they do elſewhere. For, taking into his

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service, a great number of *Germans* and other Foreiners, as well Officers as Souldiers, he is forc'd to pay them extraordinarily, and some times before hand. The Embassies he receives stand him in no less than those he sends, for he defrays all publick persons, and makes them very considerable Presents. The expence of his Table, and the rest of his Court must needs be very great, there being above a thousand Persons who have meat provided for them. 1636.

At Dinner and Supper, there is no sounding of Trumpets, as there is elsewhere, but one of the Officers goes to the Kitchin and Sellar-doors, and cries *Godusar Kuschinung*, that is, The Grand Seigneur would be served, and immediately the meat is carried up. The Great Duke sits at the midst of the Table, alone; if he invites the Patriarch or any other great Lord to Dine with him, there is another Table set at the end of his, and they are serv'd with some of the meat which had been presented to the Great Duke, I say, presented, for as much as all making up but one Course of about fifty Dishes of meat, the Gentlemen set them not down upon the Table, but hold them in their hands, till the Carver hath shewed them to the Prince, and he made choice of what he is desirous to eat. If none Dine with him, he sends the Dishes he hath not medled with, to some Lords in the City, or to his Physicians. The present Great Duke hath but one, who is the same that went along with us into *Persia*. He is no superstitious *Galenist*, but, with very good success makes use of Chymical remedies: he is grown so famous, that not only the Prince, but the *Bojares* and other great Lords about the Court employ him. His salary is 124 Crowns, a Month, besides a Pension of six hundred Crowns, *per an.* and he hath more Wheat, Barly, Honey, and several other Provisions than he can spend in his Family. The Great Duke is never purg'd, nor bled, but the Physician hath a present of a hundred Crowns, and a piece of Satin or Velvet, or a Zimmer of Sables, which is worth no less. The *Bojares* do not give their Physicians money, but a certain number of Flitches or Gammons of Bacon, Sables, Strong-water, and other Provisions. They are obliged to go every day to Court, and to smite their foreheads in the Great Dukes presence, or at least, before those who are entrusted with the care of his Cabinet of Druggs, and other Apothecary's stuff.

There are many Interpreters for other Languages, especially for the *German*, the *Polish*, the *Suedish*, the *Turkish*, and the *Persian*. He whom the Great Duke does chiefly make use of in his most important affairs is a *Dane*, and is so generally vers'd in all the *European* Languages, that coming three years since to the Court of *Vienna*, with *Juan Juanouits Boklakouskoi*, and *Juan Polycarpousin Michailou*, the Emperor lik'd him so well, that, out of his own inclination, he made him a Nobleman. The Great Duke's Court hath this common with those of other Princes, that Vice takes place of Vertue, and gets nearer the Throne. Those who have the honour to be neerest his person, are withall more subtile, more deceitful, and more insolent than the others that have not. They know very well how to make their advantages of the Princes favour, and look for the greatest respects and humblest submissions imaginable, from those who make their addresses to them; which the others render them, as much to avoid the mischief they might do them, as for the good they expect from them.

The Great Duke's Council is divided into six Classes, or, as they call them, Courts of Chancery. The first is for strangers Affairs; the second for War; the third, for Crown-Lands and the Prince's Revenue; The fourth receives the Accompts of Factors, and those who manage the Taverns. The fifth takes Cognizance of Appeals in Civil Causes; and the sixth, of those, of Criminal Causes.

We said before, that the *Bojares* are not only employ'd in State-affairs, but also in the decision of private differences, at which they preside, alone, or with other Judges, according to the nature of those affairs that present themselves.

They call *Pololskie Pricas*, the place, where they regulate the affairs of Ambassadors, as also the Posts of the Kingdom, and what concerns such Merchants as are strangers. *Almas Juanouits* is Secretary of the Court.

In the second Court, or Chamber, which they call *Roseradni Pricas*, there is a Register kept of the quality and families of the *Bojares* and all the Gentlemen of *Muscovy*, as also of all exploits of War, and the advantages or losses which the Great Duke receives thereby. *Juan Ossonassinouits* hath the Presidency of it.

In the *Pomiestnoi Pricas*, which is the third Chamber, there is a Register kept of all the Mannors held by homage, and the sutes concerning the same are judged. There are also received the duties belonging to the Great Duke, from the said Mannors; under the direction of *Fœdor Cusmits Jellisarion*.

In the *Casanskoy*, and *Siberskoy Pricas*, that is to say, the fourth and fifth Chamber, the differences of the Provinces of *Casan* and *Siberia*, are judged, and an accompt is kept of the Skins and Furrs, which come from those Provinces to the Great Duke. *Bojar Knez Alexei Nikiteuits* is President of those two Chambers.

1636. In the *Durovoi Pricas*, are judged the differences between the Great Duke's Servants, and what concerns his Houſe; under *Bojar Baſilouits Butterlin.*

The *Inaſemski Pricas*, is for ſuch Military Officers as are ſtrangers, whoſe Cauſes are there try'd; and who in times of Peace do there receive their Orders, from *Ilia Danielouits Miloſlauski*, the Great Duke's Father-in-law, who is the Preſident thereof.

The *Reitarskoi Pricas*, judges the Cauſes of the *Muſcovian* Cavalry, and there, in time of Peace, they receive their Orders and pay; to wit, ſixty Crowns, *per an.* for every Horſeman, under the preſidency of the ſame *Ilia Miloſlauski.* This Cavalry conſiſts for the moſt of Gentlemen, who have very little of Eſtate, yet hold Mannors by homage and fealty.

In the *Boſchoi Pricod*, all the Receivers of the Great Duke's duties give in their accompts once a year. The *Bojar, Knez Michael Petrouits Pronski*, who is Preſident of this *Pricas*, ſets a tax on forein Bread and Wine. He hath alſo the over-ſight of Weights and Meaſures all over the Kingdome. It is alſo his place, to pay thoſe Strangers that are in the Great Duke's ſervice.

The *Sudnoy Wolodimirskoy*, and the *Sudnoy Moskauskoy Pricas*, have for Preſident the *Bojar, Knez Gregory Simonouits Kurakin*, who, in the former, judges the *Knez* and *Bojares*; in the other, the Gentlemen and Officers of the Court.

The *Bojar, Knez Boris Alexandrouits Reppenin* preſides in the *Rosboinoy Pricas*, and judges Robberies upon the High-way, Murthers, and other criminal cauſes.

Peter Tychonouits Trachaniſtou, was Preſident in the *Puskarskoy Pricas*, and had the over-ſight of Founders, Furbiſhers, Canoniers, Armourers, Smiths and Carpenters, who wrought to the Arſenal; but his place is beſtow'd on the Bojar, *Knez Jurgi Alexouits Dolgaruskoi*, not only to judge of differences between them, but alſo to receive their work, and pay them their wages.

The *Jamskoy Pricas* is for the regulation of Stages and Poſt-maſters, and the payment of their Salaries; as alſo to give paſſes to thoſe that deſire them, and are to have their carriadge upon the Great Duke's accompt, under the Preſidency of the *Ocolnitza*, *Jnan Andreowits Miloſlanski.*

The *Diaks*, Secretaries, Clerks, Captains of the Gates, and Meſſengers of the ſeveral *Prica*'s have their particular Judge, who is the *Ocolnitza*, *Peter Petrouits Gollowin*, in the *Tziolobitnoi Pricas.*

The *Semskoy Duor*, or *Selmskoy Pricas*, is for the judgement of all other Civil Cauſes between the Citizens of *Moſcou.* There, are paid the duties ariſing from places and houſes that are ſold, as alſo the rates levied for the reparations of Bridges, Gates, Fortreſſes, and other publick buildings, under the direction of *Ocolnitza, Bogdan Matheowitz Chitrou.*

The *Golops*, that is to ſay, Slaves, have a particular Court, where they make their declaration when they are ſold, and where they take out a Certificate, when they redeem themſelves, or recover their liberty any other way. This is called the *Choloppi Pricas*; the Preſident, *Steppan Juanouits Iſlenion.*

The place, where an accompt is kept of all the Stuffs, as *Brocado*, Velvet, Satin, Damask, &c. which are for the uſe of the Court, and whereof Garments are made for the Great Duke to preſent to forein Ambaſſadors, and other perſons of quality, is called the *Bolchikaſni Pricas.*

Under the Magazine is the Treaſury, or Exchequer, where all the money that remains at the years end, is put into the Kings Coffers, under the overſight of *Ilia Danilouits Miloſlauski*, who is alſo Preſident of the Chamber, where are judged the Cauſes of the Great Duke's principal Merchants and Factors, which is called *Caſamoi Pricas.*

The *Ocolnitza*, *Knez Juan Federouits Chilkou*, is the Judge of all Eccleſiaſtical perſons, as well Secular Prieſts as Monks, who are oblig'd to ſubmit to the temporal Juriſdiction, unleſs it be in privileg'd Caſes; in the *Monaſterski Pricas.*

The Great Duke hath a very vaſt ſtructure deſign'd for the Stones, Lime, Wood, and other Materials which are for his own uſe, which place is called the *Carmenoi Pricas*; and there it is that the *Duorainin, Jacob Juanouits Sagraiskoi* decides the differences between Carpenters, Maſons, and other Workmen, and pays them for their work.

The Revenue of *Novogorod* and *Niſenovogorod* is paid in at the *Pricas*, called *Novorodkoi Zetwert*, where the particular receivers of thoſe two Cities give in their accompts. Sometimes the Cauſes of the Inhabitants of thoſe two places are judged in this *Pricas.* For though ordinarily there be no appealing from the *Weywodes*, yet thoſe who miſtruſt the ſucceſs of their buſineſs, by the partiality they obſerve in the *Weywode*, may remove their Cauſes to *Moſcou.* The Chancellor *Almas Juanouits* is the Preſident of it.

The Provinces of *Gallitz* and *Volodimer* have alſo their particular *Pricas*, for the ſame purpoſe; it is called *Galliasko-Volodimirski Pricas*; the Preſident, the *Ocolnitza*, *Peter Petrouits Gollowin.*

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The monies arising from all the Taverns and *Kabacs* of *Muscovy* is paid in at the place called *Nova Zetwert*, where all those who keep publick drinking houses are oblig'd to take the Wine, Hydromel, and Strong-water they sell by retail, and to give an account of the sale of it. There they also punish those who sell any without Licence, as also those who sell or take *Tobacco*, if they be *Muscovites*, the *Germans* and others, Strangers, being permitted the Traffick and use of it. The *Ocolnitza Bogdan Matheowits Chitrou* prelides in this *Pricas*. 1636.

The *Bojar*, and Master of the Ordinance, *Gregori Basilouits Puskin*, under whose jurisdiction are *Castrom*, *Jareslou*, and other Cities of those quarters, receives their accompts, and decides their differences, in the *Castromskoi Pricas*; as the *Ocolnitza*, *Knez Demetri Basilouits Lewou* does those of *Ustoga*, and *Colmogorod*, in the *Ustogskoi Pricas*.

The same *Gregori Basilouits Puskin* keeps the Jewels of the Crown, and hath the over-sight of the *German* Gold-smiths, who make Gold and Silver Plate, and sell precious Stones, and hath his Office for those things in the *Solotoya Almasnoy Pricas*. He hath also a key to the Great Duke's Magazine of Arms, and administers Justice to those who are employ'd about Arms for his particular use, and pays them, in the *Rusiannoy Pricas*.

The Physicians, Apothecaries, Chirurgeons and Operators, and all of that function are oblig'd to smite their fore-heads in the presence of *Ilia Danilouits Miloslauski*, who is their Overseer, and whom they are to acquaint, if the Great Duke wants any thing that relates to their Professions.

Tamosini Pricas is for the receit of all duties of entrance into the City of *Moscou*, which is made by one of the *Goses*, accompany'd by two or three Assessors, who give in their accompt thereof to a Chamber called *Bolschoi Prichod*; these *Goses* are changed every year.

The payment of the tenth penny, towards the War, is made to the *Bojar*, *Knez Michael Petrouts Pronski*, and the *Ocolnitza*, *Juan Basilouits Aleriou*, in the *Sbora dezatti dengi Pricas*.

The Affairs that have no peculiar *Pricas* have a general one, called *Siskoi Pricas*, under the superintendency of *Knez Jurgi Alexowits Dolgaruskoi*.

The Patriarch hath his particular *Pricas*'s; to wit; that of *Roscrad*, where a Register is kept of all the Church-goods, and where are the Charters and Archives; that of *Sudny*, where the Patriarch hath his Spiritual Jurisdiction; and that of *Casaunoy*, where the Patriarch's Revenue and Treasure is kept. He hath also his Ecclesiastical Judges and Officers, who give him an account of all their actions.

There is no *Pricas*, but hath its *Diak*, or Secretary, and many Clerks and Coppiers, who all write very well, and are skill'd in Arithmetick, according to their way, in which they make use of Plum-stones instead of Counters. Whence it comes, that there is no Officer but hath about him a certain quantity of them in a little purse. They are forbidden, upon pain of whipping, to take *Poschnl*, or Presents; yet they venture to do it; nay their avarice is such, that many times, they will, of themselves, proffer Copies of dispatches, and private resolutions, out of a hope to get somewhat for them. But these proffers are to be mistrusted, for I know by experience, that those people seldom have what they put others in hope of; or if they have, it is so dangerous to communicate it, that for the most part they put off forgeries and supposititious pieces. In the year 1643. the Minister of a Forein Prince being desirous to have a Copy of my Dispatches, one of the Clerks of the Counsel sold it him at a very dear rate. I was shewn it afterwards; but when at my return to *Holstein*, the Letters were translated, there was nothing of what I had seen in the Copy.

They do not keep a Register of their Acts in Books, but they write them in Rolls of paper pasted together, till they are 25. or 30. ells in length; of which their Offices are full.

At our coming to *Moscou*, we were made believe, that Presents could procure any thing at Court. Indeed I have known some Lords, who though they would not take ought themselves, were not sorry to see any thing sent to their Wives: but I have also known some, who made it appear, they were absolutely incorruptible, and that their fidelity to their Prince was Present-proof, to their great regret, who consider, that where nothing is given, nothing is thence obtain'd.

Their administration of Justice.

Justice is administred in the *Pricas*'s we have spoken of. The *Bojar*, who presides there, hath his Secretary, and Assessors, and finally determines whatever comes before him. Heretofore the *Muscovites* had but few Laws, and few Customs, according to which all Cases were decided. They concern'd only attempts against the Great Duke's person; Treasons against the State, Adulteries, Thefts, and Debts between private persons. The decision of all other Affairs depended on the breast of the Judge. But in the year 1647. the Great Duke assembled together the most Famous Men of the Kingdom, and caused to be set down in writing, and to be publish'd, several Laws and Ordinances, whereby the Judges are to regulate themselves. They were printed, *in folio*, under the Title of SOBORNA ULOSIENIA, that is to say, *Universal and General Right*, for the direction of the *Bojares*.

Heretofore their proceedings were thus. In those Causes, where the parties were not agreed as to the matter of fact, and had no evidence of either side, the Judge asked the Defendant, whe-

1636. ther he would take his Oath, that the matter was as he alleged, or refer it to the Plaintiff's Oath. He who proffer'd to take his Oath, was, once a week, for three weeks one after another, brought before the Judge, who every time, preſs'd unto him the importance of an Oath, and the ſin he would burthen his Conſcience withall, if he ſwore falſly. If, notwithſtanding theſe remonſtrances, he ſtill perſiſted in his readineſs to take his Oath, though he ſwore nothing but the truth, yet people look'd on him as an infamous perſon, would ſpit in his face, and turn him out of the Church, into which he was never receiv'd afterwards, much leſs was he admitted to the Communion, unleſs it were at the point of death. Now, they do not proceed with ſo much rigour, but only bring him who is to take his Oath before an Image of one of their Saints, where he is asked, whether he will take his Oath upon the ſalvation of his Soul? If he perſiſt, they give him a little Crucifix to kiſs, and afterwards the Saint's Image, which for that purpoſe, is taken down from the Wall. If the Oath be good, the party who took it is not to be admitted to the Communion for three years, and though he be not treated as an infamous perſon, yet thoſe of any quality will not eaſily ſuffer him in their Company: but a perjur'd perſon, is ſeverely puniſhed; firſt cruelly whipt, then baniſh'd. Whence it comes, that the *Muſcovites* endeavour all they can to avoid it, though upon any trivial occaſion, eſpecially in their dealings, they ſtick not to ſwear at every word, and have inceſſantly in their mouths their *Po Chriſtum*, by Chriſt, making the ſign of the Croſs at the ſame time: but there is little credit to be given thoſe kinds of Oaths, as proceeding from deceit and paſſion. They permit ſtrangers to take their Oaths, according to the rules of their ſeveral Religions.

No invention but they make uſe of to force people to confeſs the truth by Torture. One of the moſt cruel, in my opinion, is the *Strapado*, which is often given in this manner. The Malefactor, having his hands ty'd behind him, is wound up into the air, and ſo hangs, having faſten'd to his feet, a great beam, upon which the Executioner ever and anon gets up, to augment the pain, and further the diſlocation of the Members, while the ſmoak and fire which are made under his feet, burns and ſtifles him. Sometimes they cauſe the Malefactor's head to be ſhaven, and, as he is ſo hanging, they pour cold water, drop by drop, upon the crown; which is ſuch a torment as no other comes near, not even that of whipping, (which they many times give thoſe in that condition) though they at the ſame time clap a red-hot Iron upon the ſtripes.

In ordinary quarrels, he who gives the firſt blow gets the worſt. Murther, committed without any neceſſity of defence, is puniſh'd with death. The guilty perſon is kept ſix weeks in a very cloſe Priſon, and fed only with bread and water; after which he receives the Communion, and hath his head cut off.

Thieves are Tortur'd, that they may diſcover their Complices, and confeſs their other Crimes. If it be the firſt offence, they are whipt from the Caſtle-Gate to the great Market place, where the offender hath an Ear cut off, and is put into priſon for two years. If he offends the ſecond time, he is puniſh'd in the ſame manner, and is kept in priſon, till he hath company, to be baniſh'd into *Siberia*. Theft is never puniſh'd with death in *Muſcovy*; but the concealers and receivers fare no better, which is the beſt courſe could be taken to bridle the lewd inclinations of that people.

Their ordinary puniſhments. The ordinary puniſhments, are ſlitting the noſtrils, Whipping, and the *Baltoki*. The laſt is not alwayes infamous and publick; yet is there not any Maſter of a Family, but gives it his Children and Servants. He who is to receive this Chaſtiſement, puts off his *Kaftan*, and, having only his ſhirt on, layes himſelf down upon the ground, on his belly, and then two men ſet themſelves croſs upon him, one upon his Neck, the other upon his Feet, having each of them a little Wand or Switch in his hand, wherewith they beat him upon the Back, much after the manner that Fell-mongers beat their Furs, to get out the Worms. They ordinarily have their Noſtrils ſlit who have taken Tobacco, in ſnuff, contrary to the Great Duke's prohibition.

Whipping as it is given in *Muſcovy*, is one of the moſt barbarous puniſhments that ever were heard of. *Sept.* 24. 1634. I ſaw eight men and one woman Whipt, for ſelling of Aquavitæ and Tobacco. The Executioner's man took them up one after another upon his back, being ſtript down to the waſte, and having their feet ty'd together with a Cord, which paſſing between his Legs that held them up, was held by another ſervant of the Executioner's, ſo faſt, that they were not able to ſtir. The Executioner ſtood three paces off, with a Bull's Pizzel, having faſten'd to the end of it, three ſtraps or thongs of an Elk's skin, not tann'd, and conſequently as ſharp as a Raſour, with which he lay'd on their backs with all his ſtrength, ſo as that the blood guſh'd out at every laſh. The men had each of them 25. or 26. till the Clerk, who had in a Note what number of laſhes they were to receive, cry'd *Polno*, that is to ſay, enough. The Woman had but 16. yet did ſhe fall into a ſwound. Being thus diſciplin'd, ſo as that their backs were in a manner ſlic'd and ſlaſh'd all over, yet were they all tyed by the Arms, two and two together, thoſe who had ſold Tobacco having a little horn full of it, and thoſe who had ſold Aquavitæ, a little bottle about their Necks, and whipt through the Citie, and after they had walk'd them above half a league about, they were brought back to the place of their firſt execution, and diſmiſs'd. This is ſo cruel a puniſhment, that ſome die of it, as we

ſaid

said before of the son of General *Herman Schein*. Some after they are thus punish'd wrap themselves up in the skin of a sheep newly kill'd. 1636.

Heretofore these punishments were not infamous, and those who had pass'd through the Executioner's hands, were admitted into the best Companies, as was also the Executioner himself, whose Profession was accounted so honorable, that sometimes even Merchants quitted theirs, to serve the Magistrate at Executions, and would buy the employment, and after certain years sell it again to others. The advantages of it ly in this, that the Executioner is not only paid by the Judge, but gets money also out of the Criminal, to be more gently treated, though indeed, the greatest profit he makes comes from the Aquavitæ, which he sells underhand to the Prisoners. But now this employment is not much courted, since the *Muscovites* have begun to learn somewhat of civility from their Neighbours. Nor is the Executioner permitted to sell his Office, but it must continue in his family, which failing, the Butchers are oblig'd to recommend to the place one of their body.

All we said of the cruelty of their punishments is yet below what they inflict on such as cannot pay their debts. He who pays not at his time, mentioned in the Bond, is put into a Sergeants house, having a certain further time to make satisfaction. If he fail, he is carried to prison, whence he is every day brought out, to the place before the Chancery, where the common Executioner beats him upon the shin-bone with a Wand about the bigness of a man's little finger, for a whole hour together. That done, he is return'd to prison, unless he can put in security to be forth-coming the next day at the same hour, to be treated in the same manner, till he hath made satisfaction. And this is executed with much rigour upon all sors of persons, what condition or quality soever they be of, Subjects, or Foreiners, Men, or Women, Priests, or lay persons. 'Tis true, some present being made to the Executioner, he suffers the Debtor to put a thin Iron-plate within his boot, to receive the blows; or it may be he smites more gently. If the Debtor have not to satisfie, he must be sold, with his Wife and Children, to the Creditor.

As to the Religion of the *Muscovites*, before we enter into the discourse of it, we shall say, that there have been *Lutherane* Doctours in *Sueden* and *Livonia*, who have made it a problematical question, *whether the* Muscovites *were Christians or not*? They might as well have made it disputable in their Acts, whether the *Muscovites* are men; since there is not so great a difference between their Religion and that of other Christians, as there is between their Morality and manner of life, and that of many other men: but as laughter and speech makes them men, so Baptism and their external profession of the *Christian* Religion, denominates them Christians. If a man would take their word for it, they are the only true Christians in the World, since they only have been baptized, whereas others have been only sprinkled; which is the reason, they receive no Proselyte, till he be re-baptized. They ground their Religion on the Books of the Old and New Testament, and they use Sacraments. Their Translation of the Bible is that, which they call of the seventy Interpreters, which some few years since they have got Translated and Printed in their own Language. They permit not that a man should bring the whole Bible to Church, for fear of profaning it by several, not over-modest, passages they find in the Old Testament: whence it comes they bring only the New, and some Verses taken out of the Psalms and Prophets; but in their houses they are permitted to read the whole Bible. In the explication of the Bible, they give much authority to St. *Cyril* Bp. of *Jerusalem*, whom they call *Quirila Jerusalimski*, and who writ a Catechism, under the Emperour *Theodosius*. He flourish'd about the end of the fourth age, and is not to be confounded with *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, whose memory the *Greeks* celebrate on the 9. of *June*, whereas they celebrate the Festival of the other upon the 18 of *March*, as may be seen in their Menologies. The other Fathers, whose authority they follow, are *Juan Domaskin*, (*John Damascene*) *Grigori Bogoslova*, (St. *Gregori Nazianzen*) *Juan Solotauska*, (St. *John Chrysostome*) and *Ephrem Syrin*, *Ephraim*, Deacon of the Church of *Edessa*, in *Syria*. They relate of him, as also does *Gerard Vossius*, who hath Translated him into *Latin*, that an Angel having presented to him a Book writ in Golden Characters, which no body could open, he immediately deriv'd those illuminations from it, which are at this day apparent in the books he hath publish'd. Besides him, they have also another particular Doctor, named *Nicholas Sudatworits*, who hath writ certain spiritual Treatises. The *Muscovites* have so great a Veneration for this man's memory, that it is not long since, that Wax-Candles were lighted before his Picture, for which they had built a particular Chapel, in the great street which leads to *Twere* Gate: but both were destroy'd by the late fire.

The Religion of the Muscovites.

S. *Athanasius* Creed is their rule of Faith. They believe in *God the Father*, as Creator of all the World, in *God the Son*, as Saviour and Redeemer of all Mankind; and in *the Holy Ghost*, as Sanctifier of all the Faithful.

'Tis true, their Religion is full of abundance of chaffy Superstitions; in that they consider the Virgin *Mary*, the *Evangelists*, the *Apostles*, and an infinite number of other *Saints*, not only as simple Intercessors, as the most intelligent affirm, but also as causes, and co-operators

1636. tors of their Salvation. There is no *Muscovite* but gives his Saints and their Images, the honour due only to God, who is so jealous thereof, that he treats that false Worship as spiritual Whoredom. The ignorance of the meaner sort of people is so gross, that they place all Religion in the honours and veneration they give their Images. It is also all the instructions they give their Children, who in order to devotion, learn only to stand with great respect before those Images to say their Prayers. Their good works, (which they believe meritorious) are, building of Monasteries and Churches, and giving Alms; besides which they do nothing whereby a man might judge of their Faith by their works.

They stand very much upon their being Members of the *Greek* Church, and their Histories and Annals say, that Christian Religion was planted in *Russia* in the Apostles times. That St. *Andrew* leaving *Greece*; embark'd upon the River *Boristhenes*, and came, by the Sea of *Ladoga*, to *Novogorod*, where he preach'd the Gospel. That, since that time, *Christian* Religion had been absolutely destroy'd, by the *Tartars* and other Pagans, who became Masters of all *Muscovy*; and that about the year 989. *Wolodimer*, Great Duke of *Russia*, having gain'd very great victories over his Neighbours, and re-united several Provinces to his Crown, became so considerable, that *Basilius*, and *Constantinus Porphyrogennetes*, Emperours of *Constantinople*, sent a solemn Embassy to congratulate and complement him. That brought him first acquainted with the *Christian* Religion, which he afterwards embraced, and was baptized. The Bishops and Priests sent thither by the Patriarch of *Constantinople* further instructed and baptized the people, who have ever since made profession of the *Greek* Religion.

Johannes Curopalates, who writ part of the *Byzantine* History, and liv'd about that time, says, that this Conversion was not effected without miracle, and that the Bishops faith prevail'd more upon the spirits of these *Barbarians*, than the preaching of the Gospel. For being not able to comprehend the wonderful things which are said of our Saviours life, they desired a proof of that promise he makes to the faithful, of giving them by the Father what ever they should desire in his name. The Bishop undertook it, and told them, that he had so great an assurance of the Word of God, that they could not desire any thing, which his prayer should not obtain from God. Whereupon they said, that since God had preserv'd *Daniel*'s companions in the fiery Furnace, he might as well prevent the Bible, which is full of all those marvellous things, from being consumed by fire. The Bishop was content to stand to this tryal, and so cast the Bible into a great fire, where having lyen till the fire was all spent, the Book was taken out as untouch'd as when it was cast in. *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras* confirm the truth of this story, and say that *Wolodimir* was so moved at this miracle, that he immediately abolish'd all Idolatry, and banish'd it his Territories.

Hence it comes that the *Muscovites* love the *Greeks*, and have a kindness for them, and do them all the good they can, when any occasion offers it self. In the year 1649. The Patriarch of *Jerusalem* came to *Moscow*, and brought the Great Duke some of the earth of our Saviour's Sepulchre, though it is known 'twas cut out of a Rock, and some holy-water from *Jordan*. He was most magnificently receiv'd, and conducted by the whole Clergy to his audience, which the Great Duke gave him, together with a Present of above 100000 Ducats: but he was so unfortunate in his return, as to fall into the hands of some *Turks*, who took away all had been given him. There come almost every year to the *Czaar*'s Court, some of the *Greek* Priests or Monks, to sell their Reliques, which they put off at very good rates.

The *Muscovites* do all profess the same Religion, which being as it were particular to them, may be said to extend as far as the Great Duke's Dominions do; unless it be, that it is also exercised at *Narva*, under the Jurisdiction of the King of *Sueden*, and that the *Tartars* have also their *Mahumetan* and *Pagan* Religion, along the *Wolga*, and beyond *Astrachan*, upon the *Caspian* Sea. There are not any, not even among their Monks and Priests, that can give any reason of their belief; because they have not the Word of God preached unto them; upon which accompt it is, that the Patriarch suffers them not to dispute of Religion, or inquire into that of foreiners. Some few years since, a Monk of *Nisenovogorod* had some conference with a *Protestant* Minister; but the Patriarch coming to hear of it, sent for him, and cast him into prison, where he must have endur'd a great deal of misery, had he not had the wit to say, that the Minister had discover'd some inclinations to the *Muscovian* Religion, and would, in all likelyhood, be converted.

Their Characters they have from the *Greeks*, as well as their Religion; but as they have altered the later, so also have they changed and augmented the former, as may be seen by the Table we shall here give of them.

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Characteres linguæ Rutenicæ

А а	*Aas*	*A*
Б б	*Buki*	*b*
В в	*Wedi*	*w*
Г г	*glagol*	*g*
Д д	*dobro*	*d*
Е е	*jest*	*e*
Ж ж	*schiwet*	*sch*
З з	*Sielo*	*S*
З з	*Zemla*	*Z*
И и	*Jsche*	*i*
І і	*Ji*	*ij*
К к	*kakoi*	*k*
Л л	*liidi*	*l*
М м	*Muslori*	*m*
Н н	*Naas*	*n*
О о	*On*	*o*
П п	*Pokoi*	*p*
Р р	*Ertzi*	*r*
С с	*Slowo*	*S*
Т т	*Twerdo*	*t*
У у	*Jik*	*ú*
Ф ф	*phert*	*ph*
Х х	*Chir*	*ch*
Ѡ ѡ	*ot*	*ot*
Ц ц	*Tzi*	*Z*
Ч ч	*Tzerf*	*Z*
Ш ш	*Scha*	*Sch*
Щ щ	*Tscha*	*tsch*
Ъ ъ	*Jer*	*j*
Ы ы	*Jeri*	
Ь ь	*Jet*	*ie*
Э э	*ie*	*ieh*
Ю ю	*ito Ju*	*iu*
Я я	*iús*	*iús*
Ѧ ѧ	*Ace*	*ce*
Ѯ ѯ	*ksi*	*ks*
Ѱ ѱ	*psi*	*ps*
Ѳ ѳ	*phita*	
Ѵ ѵ	*ischil tza*	*iu*

Numeri

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	20	30
40	50	60	70	80	90	100	200

Г҃о҃с҃по҃д҃ и҃ помилу҃й

These Characters they make use of as well in their printed Books, as Writings, their Language being peculiar to themselves, but coming so near the *Sclavonian*, and the *Polish*, that he who hath one will find it no great difficulty to learn the other. It hath nothing common with the *Greek*, though indeed in their Liturgy there are some words, borrow'd from the *Greeks*, but they are not used any where else. We said before, that the *Muscovites* in their Schools learn only to read and write in their own Language, and care not for the Learning of any other: but within these few years, they have, with the Patriarch's consent, opened a School, where *Greek* and *Latine* is taught, under the direction of a natural *Grecian*, named *Arsenius*. It is not yet known, what may be expected from it, but certain it is that there are among the *Muscovites* those that want neither ingenuity nor an inclination to Study, and would learn any thing, did they but meet with any body to teach them. *Almas Juanouits*, the present Chancellor, or Chief Secretary of State, was so happy in his youth, as to have travell'd into *Turkey* and *Persia*, and learn'd the Languages of those two Countries so well, that he needs no Interpreter, when he hath ought to do with the *Grand Seigneur*, or King of *Persia*'s Ministers. The *Danish* Interpreter we spoke of before, hath translated into their Language, certain *Latin* and *French* Books, which have taken so well, that it is hoped, the Courtiers will, in time, apply themselves to the study of those Languages, which can acquaint them with such excellent things.

All their exercise of Religion consists principally, in Baptism, Reading of the Word of God in the Church, going to Mass, praying to Saints, making reverences and inclinations before their Images, Processions, Pilgrimages, Fasting certain dayes in the year, Confession and Communion.

They think Baptism so much the more necessary, in that they think it the only door through which a man must enter into Christ, and so into Paradise. They acknowledge themselves conceived and born in sin, and that God hath instituted Baptism for their Regeneration, and to cleanse them, by water, from their original impurity. Whence it is that they baptize their Children as soon as they are born. If the child be weak, he is immediately baptized, yet not in the same room where the Woman lyes in: but if well, he is carried to Church by the Godfather and Godmother. The Priest receives him at the Church door, signs him with the sign of the Cross in the forehead, and gives him the Benediction, saying, *The Lord preserve thy coming in and thy going out.* The Godfathers deliver the Priest nine Wax-candles, which he lights and fastens cross the Font, which stands in the midst of the Church. He incenses the Godfathers, *Their Baptism.*

1636. thers, and conſecrates the water with many ceremonies. Then he makes a Proceſſion together with the Godfathers, who have wax-candles in their hands, about the Font. The Clark goes before carrying the Image of St. *John*, and they go about it three times, the Prieſt in the interim reading out of a Book, That done, the Prieſt askes the Godfathers, the name of the Child, who give it him in writing. He puts the paper upon an Image, which he holds upon the Child's breaſt, and having muttered over certain prayers, he askes the God-father, whether the Child believes in God the Father, Son, and holy Ghoſt? Then they all turn their backs to the Font, to ſhew their averſion and horrour for the three queſtions which the Prieſt is to make them afterwards; to wit, whether the Child forſakes the Devil, whether he forſakes his Angels, and whether he forſakes his Works? The Godfathers anſwer to every queſtion, yes, and ſpet ſo many times upon the ground. That done, they face about to the Font, and then the Prieſt, having asked them whether they promiſe to bring up the Child in the true *Greek* Religion, exorciſes him, by putting his hands upon the Child, ſaying, *Get out of this Child thou unclean Spirit, and make way for the holy Ghoſt*, and by blowing three times croſs, upon the Child, to drive away the Devil, by whom they believe Children are really poſſeſſed before Baptiſm. I I have been told, that now, the exorciſm is performed at the Church-door, leſt the Deuil, when he comes out of the Child, ſhould profane the Church. Then, he cuts off a little of the Child's hair, and puts it into a Book, and having asked the Godfathers, whether they bring that Child to be baptiſed, he takes him, being ſtark naked, into his arms, and dips him three times into the water, pronouncing the ordinary words of the Sacrament, *I baptiſe thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghoſt*. After the Baptiſm, he puts a corn of Salt in the Child's mouth, makes the ſign of the Croſs, in the fore-head, upon the hands, the breaſt, and the back, with an Oil purpoſely conſecrated for that uſe, and, putting a clean Shirt about him, ſayes, *Thou art as clean and as clear from thy Original Sin as this Shirt*. The Ceremonies are concluded with a little Croſs of Gold, Silver, or Lead, according to the ability of the Parents, ſuch as our Biſhops wear, which the Prieſt hangs about the Child's neck, with ſo ſtrict an Obligation to wear it all his life time, that if it be not found about him at his death, they would not bury the Carkaſs, but drag it to the common Dung-hill. The Prieſt does alſo aſſign the Child a particular Saint, whoſe Image he delivers to the Godfathers, and charges them to oblige the Child, when he is come to years of diſcretion, to have a particular devotion for his Patrone. Then he embraces, and kiſſes the Child, and the Godfathers, and exhorts them to love one another, but above all things that they take heed of inter-marrying. If it happens there are many Children to be Chriſtned at the ſame time, the Font is emptied ſo often as there are Children to be baptiſed, and other water is conſecrated; it being their perſwaſion, that the former being ſoil'd with the impurity of that Child's Original Sin who had been baptiſed before, is not fit to cleanſe a ſecond, much leſs a third. They will not by any means heat this water by fire but, when it is very cold, put it into a hot place to make it a little warmer. Perſons of age that are to be baptiſed, ſuch as Apoſtate *Chriſtians*, *Turks* and *Tartars*, receive their Baptiſm in a Brook or River, where they are plunged over head and ears, be it as cold as it will, nay ſometimes they break the Ice to get them into the water. Thus, above all others, are treated thoſe whom they call *Chaldeens*, or *Chaldæans*. Theſe are a ſort of raſcally fellows, who get leave of the Patriarch to diſguiſe themſelves, by putting on Vizards, and to run up and down the ſtreets from the 18. of *December*, till *Twelve*-tide, with Fireworks, wherewith they ſet fire in their hair and beards whom they meet. Their main ſpleen is againſt the Peaſants, whom they force, every time they are met, to pay a *Copec* ere they get out of their hands: and this they exact with ſuch inſolence, that I have ſeen them ſet a load of Hay on fire, and burn the Peaſant's beard and face, becauſe he made ſome difficulty to give it them. They are all diſguiſ'd, and have on their heads great wooden hats, fantaſtically painted, daubing their beards with honey, that the ſparkles might not faſten in them. Theſe artificial fires they make of a powder which they call *Plaua*, made of a certain herb not known elſewhere. It makes a noble and very delightful flame, eſpecially in the night. But of theſe hereafter, when we come to treat of the *Perſian* Fire-works. Theſe men, as they ſay, repreſent thoſe who heated the Oven, into which *Shadrach*, *Meſak*, and *Abednego* were caſt, by the command of *Nebuchadnezzar*.

Theſe people are treated as profane perſons, and are numbred among Pagans and Infidels; ſo that being in a ſtate of inevitable damnation, they muſt neceſſarily be reconciled to God, and enter into the Church by Baptiſme. To that end they pitch on *Twelf*-day, as that on which ſometimes happened the vocation of the Gentiles, and afterwards, they are as clean, and become as holy as the beſt *Chriſtians*, who are ordinarily baptized but once, whereas one of theſe *Chaldæans* may have been baptiſed ten or twelve times. The inſolences committed by them occaſioned the prohibitions made by the late Patriarch, that any ſhould put on Vizards or diſguiſe themſelves.

Thoſe who are to profeſs the *Muſcovian* Religion are oblig'd to go, for ſix weeks, into a Monaſtery, where the Monks inſtruct them, and teach them their Prayers, the manner of honouring the Saints, of doing reverence to the Images, and making the ſigns of the Croſs. Then they

they are brought to the place where they are to be baptiſed, where they are obliged to abjure their former Religion, to deteſt it as Heretical, and to ſpit as often as it is named. After their Baptiſm, they are clad in *Muſcovian* habits, being preſented with a noble Veſtiment from the Great Duke, who alſo allows them a Penſion ſuitable to their quality. 1636.

There is a great number of Apoſtates at *Moſcou*, where many forein Souldiers, eſpecially *French*, were rebaptiſed, after the War of *Smolensko*, about 25 years ſince, though they were not acquainted with the Language of the Countrey, nor had any knowledge of the *Muſcovian* Religion. Which may in ſome meaſure be excuſable in common Souldiers, who mind not much what they are to expect in the other World; but my wonder is, how perſons of Quality, ſuch as want neither Ingenuity nor Judgement, ſhould be induc'd to Apoſtatize, and embrace a contrary Religion, meerly for ſubſiſtence ſake, as the Baron *de Raymond*, and Monſieur *Groin*, *French* Gentlemen, Colonel *Alexander Leſley*, and Count *Slakof*. This laſt came in the year 1640. to *Holſtein*, and thence went into *Denmark*, where he pretended himſelf deſcended from the houſe of *Slick* in *Bohemia*, and that he had loſt his Eſtate upon the accompt of Religion; which the King of *Denmark*, and the Duke of *Holſtein* believing, gave him Letters of recommendation to the Great Duke of *Muſcovy*. He was no ſooner come to *Moſcou*, but he gave out, that it was purpoſely to change his Religion, and to be a ſervant to his *Czaarick* Majeſty. The Patriarch, and *Muſcovian* Lords were the more glad to receive him becauſe he was accompted among them, a perſon of noble extraction, and great worth, which yet was further heightned in him by his being vers'd in ſeveral Languages, eſpecially the *Latin* and *Poliſh*. They receiv'd him with great joy, caus'd him to be baptis'd, and the Great Duke gave him, with the name of *Leo Alexander Slick*, and the quality of *Knez*, a Penſion of 200. Crowns a moneth. He made his Addreſſes to the Princeſs *Irene Michaelouna*, and was ſo fond as to think, the Great Duke would have beſtowed his own Siſter on him; ſo that hearing, there were two perſons of quality diſpatch'd away to Negotiate the Princeſſe's marriage with a forein Prince, he fell into ſuch a melancholy, that he came not to himſelf again, till they had given him a Daughter of one of the greateſt *Bojares* in the Kingdom. The King of *Denmark* coming afterwards to hear of this man's carriage, and underſtanding withall, that, far from being of the Illuſtrious houſe of *Slick*, he was a ſubject of Count *Gaſpar*'s, of *Denhof*, in *Poland*, and that he had ſurpriz'd him in his recommendatory Letters, he ſent notice thereof to the Great Duke, who reproach'd him with his diſſimulation and impoſture, but ſuffer'd him to enjoy what he had beſtow'd on him, which he does ſtill, under the name of *Knez Leo Alexandrouits Slakouſeskie*.

Colonel *Leſley* fell into that misfortune out of weakneſs. He had in that quality ſerv'd the Great Duke, during the firſt War of *Smolensko*, by which he had gotten a very great ſum of money. But thoſe of his profeſſion being not alwayes the beſt husbands, he ſoon ſpent what grew every day leſs and leſs. To repair the breaches of his fortune, he thought it his beſt courſe to return to *Moſcou*, which he did upon occaſion of an Embaſſy which the Queen of *Sueden* ſent, ſome time ſince, to the Great Duke, whereof *Eric Gillenſtiern*, a Senator of the Kingdom was the chief. But for as much as there was at that time, no likelyhood of any War in *Muſcovy*, and that the Great Duke was unwilling to burthen himſelf with Penſions, *Leſley* ſent him word, that he would be content with ſome Lands, which he would make what advantage he could of, and thereupon got a noble Mannor upon the *Wolga*. He was now in ſuch a condition, as that he might have lived like a Lord all the reſt of his dayes, if his Wife's niggardly humour had not exaſperated the Countrey-women againſt them. She treated them ſo hardly, that being not any longer able to endure it, they complain'd of her, alleging that ſhe forc'd them to eat fleſh on faſting dayes, that ſhe allow'd them not the time to make their inclinations before the Images, much leſs to go to Church, and, what was worſt of all, that ſhe had taken the Images from the Walls, and caſt them into the fire. There needed no more to make her odious to the whole Nation. They immediately ſent for *Leſley* and his whole Family, and the Countrey-women, and the Colonel's Wife were brought face to face; ſhe confeſs'd indeed, that ſhe had forc'd them to work hard, but deny'd all the reſt. All the Servants that were ſtrangers took their Oaths on her behalf, and yet the others proffering to make good their accuſation by enduring the torture, ſhe could not ſo far clear herſelf, but that the Patriarch, taking cognizance of the buſineſs, oblig'd the Great Duke to take thoſe Lands out of the Strangers hands, and to put out an act, whereby it ſhould not be lawful for any to be poſſeſs'd of ſuch Mannors if they were not *Muſcovites*, either by Birth or Religion. *Leſley* finding himſelf reduc'd to his extremity, and having not wherewith to maintain his Children and Family, declar'd, that if the Great Duke would continue him in the ſaid Mannor, he and his Family would change their Religion. They take him at his word, and he, his Wife and Children are put into a Monaſtery, where they are inſtructed and re-baptized. *Ilia Danilouits Miloſlauski* and his Wife were pleas'd to anſwer for them at their Baptiſm, and to be at the charge of their Wedding, it being neceſſary they ſhould be married a-new. The Great Duke made them great Preſents, and, among other things, beſtow'd on them, the ſum of ſix thouſand Crowns in ready money. But the Peaſants

1636. hearing, that, by this change of Religion, they were to be reduc'd to their former slavery, petition'd His Majesty that they might have another Lord, and pitch'd upon Monsieur *Groin*, who had revolted at the same time, and had some pretence to those Lands, as having had a promise made him of some of that nature. So that *Lesley* was forc'd to content himself with a Pension of 90. Crowns *per mensem*, which is the ordinary pay of a Colonel in times of Peace, and another somewhat less for his Son.

The admirable constancy of an English Gentlewoman.

I shall here make a short digression for a Lady's sake, who hath, by an admirable constancy, made it appear, that, if Men are many times subject to the weakness of Women, it sometimes happens that Women have those Virtues which may be exemplary to Men. There is this to be said in commendation of the *Muscovites*, that they never force any to profess their Religion, unless that in a Family, the Husband or Wife be of it, in which case they suffer not the other to continue his former profession. We said, the Baron *de Raymond* was one of those that chang'd their Religion after the first War of *Smolensko*. He was married to an English Gentleman's Danghter (who had liv'd many years at *Moscou*, and whose name was *William Barnesley*, being the handsomest Woman of any Stranger that was in the Country) and had chang'd his Religion rather out of fickleness, and to comply with the Great Duke, than out of any conscientious motive, was re-baptised, and took the name of *Juan* instead of that of *Peter*, which had been given him at his first Baptism. According to the Law of the Country, his Wife was to follow his Example, which to effect, her Husband used all means imaginable, but found so great a constancy on the other side, that he was forc'd to recurr to the Authority of the Great Duke and Patriarch. These at first went mildly to work, offering her very great advantages in their Religion: but the young Gentlewoman, though but 15. years of age, was inflexible, cast her self at the Great Duke's feet, and entreated him rather to take away her life, than force her to embrace a Belief, which she was not satisfy'd of in her Conscience. The Father us'd the same submissions, but the Patriarch put him off with kicks, and told him that she was to be treated as a Child, that she knew not what was for the good of her Soul, and that she must be baptized whether she would or no. Accordingly she was put into the hands of certain Religious Women, who violently dragg'd her to a Brook, where she was re-baptized, notwithstanding the protestations she made, that that pretended Baptism, which they then gave her against her own consent, could not blot out the Character, which her first true Baptism had imprinted in her Soul. When they plunged her in the water, she drew one of the Religious Women in along with her, and when they would oblige her to detest her former Religion, she spit in their faces, and would never abjure. After her Baptism, they sent her to *Stuatka*, where her Husband was *Weywode*, and there she stay'd till her Husband's three years Government was expired, who dying soon after his return to *Moscou*, she thought she might re-assume her former Habit, as she was a Stranger, and profess her former Religion, which was the *Protestant*. But that would not be permitted, her two Sons were taken from her, and she, with a little Daughter, was sent to the Monastery of *Belossora*, some 10. or 12. leagues from *Moscou*, where she liv'd five years among the Nuns, and was never suffer'd to speak with any one that could give her the least account of her Friends, or Children. During all that time, she heard from them but once, by the means of a Tiler, a *German*, who, under pretence of calling his Boy, and shewing him the Tiles he wanted, directed the disconsolate Lady to a place where she should find Letters. The Patriarch dying, she got out of the Monastery, and his Successor allow'd her the liberty of her Conscience at her own House, as also to give and receive visits: but they would never permit her to go to Sermons. I often visited her while she was in that condition, and have heard, that this Virtuous Lady died some two years since, firm and constant in the profession of her Religion to the last gasp. To which I may add, by the way, that it is not long since, that her Father *William Barnesley* died in *England*, having attained the age of 126. years, after he had married a second Wife, at 100.

Those *Muscovites*, who change their Religion in other Countries, and would return to their Communion, must be first re-baptized; which is the more observable, in that the *Greek* Religion, though she approves not the Baptism of the *Latin* Church, yet seems to be satisfy'd with the former which they might have receiv'd in their Church, so as not to oblige Converts to re-baptization upon their change of Religion.

Their Festivals and Feasts are regulated and certain, and they observe them very strictly. Till within these few years, the *Muscovites* thought they kept Holy-day well enough, when they had been at Mass in the morning, though they spent the rest of the day in their ordinary Employments; insomuch that at the time of our first Embassy, upon Sundayes, and Holy-dayes, shops were open, and Merchants and Tradesmen were at work; it being, as they said, only for great Lords to mind their enjoyments upon Holy-dayes. But the present Patriarch, hath ordered shops to be shut, not only upon Sundayes, but also on Wednesdayes and Fridayes, which are their Fasting dayes, not permitting the Taverns to sell Wine or Aquavitæ in Service time.

Their great Festivals, besides Sunday, are thirteen, and, according to their year, which begins the first day of *September*, stand in this order; The

The 8. of *September*, *Praſnick roſoſtua priziſte bogorodice*, that is to ſay, the Feaſt of the Nativity of the Bleſſed Mother of God. 1636.

The 14. of *September*, *Vzemirna woſdui ſenja Chreſta*, The Exaltation of the Croſs.

The 21. of *November*, *Vedenja priziſte bogorodice*, the Oblation of the bleſſed Mother of God.

The 25. of *December*, *Roſoſtua Chriſtoua*, the Nativity of our Lord.

The 6. of *January*. *Boje jaulenia*, or *Creſchenia*, the Epiphany.

The 2. of *February*, *Stratenia Goſpoda Boga*, Candlemas-day.

The 25. of *March*, *Blagaueſcenia priziſte bogorodice*, the Annunciation of our Lady.

Werbna Woſcreſchenia, Palm-Sunday.

Welikoiden, or *Woſcreſchenia Chriſtoua*, Eaſter-day, or the Reſurrection of Chriſt.

Woſneſcenia Chriſtoua, the Aſcenſion of Chriſt.

Schieſtuie ſwetaga Ducha, Pentechoſt, or the ſending of the Holy Ghoſt.

The 6. of *Auguſt*, *Preobroſiena goſpodo Chriſtoua*, the manifeſtation of the Glory of *Jeſus Chriſt*, upon the Mountain.

The 15. of *Auguſt*, *Vſpenia priziſte bogorodice*, the Aſcenſion or Aſſumption of the Mother of God.

They celebrate the Feaſt of the *Trinity*, the morrow after *Pentecoſt*, and that of *All-Saints*, upon the Sunday following.

No day in the year but is the particular Feaſt of ſome Saint, ſometimes of two or three, but the people obſerve them not. Only Eccleſiaſticks are oblig'd to ſay the Offices of thoſe dayes. They have their perpetual *Almanack*, according to the *Old-ſtile*, wherein, without any trouble, they find all the Feaſts both moveable and immoveable.

Upon the great Feſtivals and Sundayes, they go thrice to Church; firſt in the morning, before day, to *Mattens*, which they call *Saſterim*; at noon, to the *Obedny*; and in the evening, to *Wadſchemi*, or *Veſpers*. The whole Service conſiſts in the reading of certain Chapters out of the Bible, Pſalms, and St. *Athanaſius*'s Creed: whereto they ſometimes add a Homily out of St. *Chryſoſtome*, and certain Prayers, which they ſing, much after the ſame manner as *Antiphona's* are ſung, ſaying ever and anon their *Goſpodi Pomilui*, Lord have mercy upon me, which the people repeats three times, making the ſign of the Croſs. This done, the Prieſt goes up to the Altar, attended by a Clerk, and ſayes the Office, according to the Liturgy of great St. *Baſil*. He pours Claret-Wine and Water into the Chalice, with ſome little bits of Bread, conſecrates them, and ſayes certain Prayers, which ended, he takes out the Bread with a ſpoon, but gives not of it to any other, unleſs ſome ſick Child be brought, to whom he gives the Communion. If the Prieſt hath known his Wife that day, he is not to come near the Altar, but muſt get Maſs ſaid by another. The people ſtand all the ſervice time, and inceſſantly bow themſelves before the Images, pronouncing the *Goſpodi Pomilui*. They read only the bare Text of the Bible, and certain Homilies, as we ſaid before, giving this reaſon for it, that the Holy Spirit having grounded the Church upon the pure Word of God, without any explication, neither are they to trouble themſelves with any, ſince that the different interpretations of it, do partly occaſion the Errours and Hereſies, whereby the Church is divided. About five years ſince, the Protopope of *Morum*, taking upon him to Preach, and making uſe of God's Word, to exhort the people to Piety, the Patriarch depoſed him, together with all the other Prieſts that would have follow'd his example, excommunicated them, and baniſh'd them into *Siberia*.

They have made a certain Book, wherein they treat the Hiſtories of the Goſpel after a ſtrange manner, and adulterate them with ſo many fabulous, impious, and impertinent circumſtances, that it is not to be much admired that vice and ſin reign among them, when they are furniſh'd with examples thereof in their Books of Devotion. This minds me of a ſtory, which the *Daniſh* Gentleman, I have elſewhere ſpoken of, relates in his Travels into *Muſcovy*. Diſcourſing one day with his *Priſtaf*, concerning matters of Religion, the *Muſcovite*, whoſe name was *Fœdor*, a man well ſtricken in years, told him, that there was no great harm in contracting a habit of ſinning daily, provided a man had an intention to repent him of it at the point of death, and brought for his reaſon the example of *Mary Magdalene*. This *Mary*, ſaid he, was a profeſs'd Curtezan, ſo that it is not to be doubted but ſhe offended God very often. Yet it happened one day, ſhe met a man upon the high-way, who deſired of her that kindneſs which ſhe had not deny'd any other: but, thoſe even of her profeſſion being not alwayes in the ſame humour, ſhe would do nothing, till ſuch time as the man deſir'd her to do it for God's ſake: That then ſhe ſatisfy'd his deſire, and that doing, for God's ſake, what ſhe was unwilling to do out of complaiſance, the action became ſo meritorious, that ſhe had not only expiated all her other Sins, by that Act of Charity, but alſo deſerv'd to be put in red letters in the Books of the Saints. There is no Evangelical ſtory which they have not thus adulterated, and dreſs up in circumſtances no leſs abominable.

They are all bare in the Church, even the Great Duke himſelf. Only their Prieſts have on their *Skufia*, or Caps, which are given them at their Conſecration. When they make their In-

1636. clinations to the Images, they often make the ſign of the Croſs, with three fingers of the right hand, touching, firſt, the fore-head, then the breaſt, then the right ſhoulder, and laſtly the left. And that it might not be thought this is done without Myſtery, they ſay, the three fingers ſignify the *Trinity*, putting them to the fore-head, they would ſignify, that *Chriſt* is Aſcended into Heaven; to the breaſt, that a man ſhould love God with all his heart; and the paſſing of them from the right ſhoulder to the left, puts them in mind of the day of Judgement, when God ſhall place the Righteous on his right hand, and the Wicked on the left; thoſe, to be called to eternal Salvation; theſe, to be tumbled down into the abyſſes of Hell. The *Muſcovites* undertake not any thing, but they firſt make the ſign of the Croſs, as eating, drinking, or any other civil actions.

Their Images. As for *Images*, they confeſs there were not any in Churches, during the firſt Centuries, and till the time of *Conſtantine* the Great, or if there were, they were not honoured with any worſhip; but that they are uſed, only to repreſent the ſtories of the Bible. They ſay, that they follow herein the opinion of *John Damaſcene*: but it is moſt likely they have it from the *Greek* Church, with which, they ſuffer not any that are carved or graven, as being forbidden in the Decalogue, but they have Images painted with oil upon wood, wretchedly coloured, and ill-proportioned, about a foot in breadth, ſomewhat more in length. They will not meddle with them if they are not made by one of their Religion, though they came from the beſt Painter's hand in *Europe*. At *Moſcou*, there is a particular Market-place for Images, where nothing elſe is ſold, though they call that kind of Commerce, bartering or trucking with money, out of a belief they have, that the names of *buying* and *ſelling* carry not reſpect enough in them, for ſacred things. Heretofore they oblig'd ſtrangers to have of them in their houſes, that their *Muſcovian* Servants might be thereby excited to the exerciſe of their Devotion: But the preſent Patriarch permits not, they ſhould be profaned by the *Germans*; inſomuch, that *Charles du Moulin*, having bought a ſtone houſe, the Seller ſcrap'd the wall, where an Image had been painted, and carried away what he had ſcrap'd off. The Peaſants would not permit us to touch them, not to turn our feet towards them when we lay down. Nay, ſome were at the charge of Incenſe to purify them, after we had left their Houſes.

The walls of their Churches are full of them, and they repreſent, for the moſt part, our *Saviour*, the Virgin *Mary*, St. *Nicholas*, Patron of *Muſcovy*, or the particular Saints they make choice of for the principal object of their Devotions. Thoſe who commit ſins deſerving excommunication, are oblig'd to cauſe their Saint to be taken away, who is not to be ſuffer'd in their Churches, no more than their perſons. Great Perſons, and Rich Merchants adorn their Images with Pearls and other precious Stones. All *Muſcovites* look upon them as things ſo neceſſary, as that without Images they could not ſay their prayers; which whenever they do, they alwayes ſet Wax-candles before their Saint, and look very ſtedfaſtly upon him, as long as the Devotion laſts.

When a *Muſcovite* comes into a Houſe, or Chamber, he ſaies not a word, till he hath fixt his eyes on the Saint he looks for, which they ordinarily hang in a corner behind the Table, or if he finds him not, he askes, *Jeſt le Boch*, where is the God? Aſſoon as he perceives him, he makes him one very low reverence, or more, and pronounces at every time, *Goſpodi Pomilui*: then he turns to the Company and ſalutes them.

The *Muſcovites* reſpect their Images, as if there were ſomewhat of Divinity in them, and they attribute unto them the virtue of Miracles, whereof we had this example in the year 1643. that an old Image beginning to change colour, and to turn a little reddiſh, they immediately cry'd out, *a Miracle*. The Great Duke and the Patriarch were frighted thereat, as if that red colour preſag'd ſome misfortune to either the Prince or the people; nay, they had ſent out Orders for extraordinary faſts and publick prayers to be made all over the Kingdom, if the Painters who were ſent for to have their adviſe in this affair, had not all aſſured them, that there was nothing they ſhould be troubled at, ſince there was nothing extraordinary, but that Time, having conſum'd and eaten out the paint, had only diſcover'd the firſt colour of the wood, which was red.

Their Monks and Prieſts have nevertheleſs the art to make them do Miracles, or to obſerve ſuch things in them as oblige the people to extraordinary Devotions, which muſt not want their offerings, that the Prieſt may not want his advantage. The City of *Archangel* furniſhes us with a good example to this purpoſe, of two Prieſts there, who, having got together a vaſt ſum of money by their Impoſtures, muſt needs fall out at the parting of it, and upbraid one another of their cheats, ſo loudly, that the Magiſtrate coming to hear of it, they had thirty laſhes a-piece, with the Executioner's good will, after the manner we have before deſcribed their whipping. Theſe Juglers put the people into continual frights, and beſot them with ſo ſtrange a veneration for their Images, that in their greateſt dangers, their recourſe is only to them. *Jacob de la Gardie*, General of the *Swediſh* Army, having in the year 1610. taken the City of *Novogorod*, ſome part of it was ſet a-fire, and one of the Inhabitants ſeeing his Houſe all of a flame, preſented thereto an Image of St. *Nicholas*, entreating it to ſtay the progreſs of the furious Element,

which

which was ready to ruine him. But perceiving the fire went on ſtill, he flung his Image into it, 1636.
ſaying to it, that ſince it would not help him, let it help it ſelf, and quench the fire if it would. It was then alſo obſerv'd, that the *Swediſh* Souldiers, not finding any thing in their Houſes, carried away the Images of the *Muſcovites*, and by that means oblig'd them to follow them, and to redeem their *Saints* at a very dear rate.

The firſt thing they teach their Children, is to make their reverences and inclinations to the Images. At *Ladoga* I lodg'd at a Womans Houſe, who would not give his breakfaſt to a Child ſhe had, who could hardly either ſtand or ſpeak, till he had firſt made nine inclinations before the Saint, and as often, as well as he could pronounce it, ſaid his *Goſpodi*.

Nor is it to be thought, but that among ſo great a number of innocent perſons, there are ſome ſo well inſtructed, as to ſee a glimpſe of truth through theſe thick Clouds of ignorance. There was at *Ruſſian Narva* a rich Merchant, who is ſtill living, one that came often to viſit the Ambaſſadors, and dined with them. He diſcours'd very rationally, and would ſay, that he did not approve the opinion, which the reſt of the *Muſcovites* have of their Saints, nor the worſhip of their Images, and he did not expect his Salvation from Colours, which he might wipe out with his handkercher, and from wood, which it was in his power to caſt into the fire: That he found in the Holy Scripture, which he had attentively read over, much more ſolid comforts, and ſuch foundations for his happineſs, as could not be ſhaken: That their Faſting ſignify'd nothing, when, inſtead of eating Fleſh, they glutted themſelves with the beſt ſorts of Fiſh, and the moſt delicious Hydromel, and Aquavitæ: That bread and water might ſuffice thoſe who were deſirous to faſt, and that prayer was the beſt part of that mortification. The Ambaſſadors ask'd him, why, having all theſe good ſentiments about him, he had not withall the Charity to inſpire them into his Country-men? He anſwered, that it was not his calling, and that, if he endeavour'd it, he ſhould not prevail, becauſe he was already look'd on as a Heretick among them: That he ſuffer'd Images in his Houſe, but, only for the honour of God, and to honour the memory of the Saints: That he had a Picture of the King of *Sueden*'s, and kept it, for the Heroick actions done by that Prince, and that he conceiv'd he might do the like with thoſe of *Jeſus Chriſt* and the *Saints*, who had not only done great actions, but alſo Miracles. We found by the ſequel of his diſcourſe that he knew all the reaſons alleged by the *Greeks* at the Council of *Conſtantinople* againſt thoſe whom they called *Iconomachi*, in the year 787. againſt which Council *Charlemaign* called, in the year 797. that of *Frankford*, in which the Doctrine of the *Greeks* concerning Images was condemned and anathematized.

Not long ſince, a Protopope of *Caſanskey*, whoſe name was *Juan Neronou*, began to inveigh againſt the honour done to Images, charging thoſe with Idolatry who worſhipped Colours and Wood. He ſaid, that if there were any veneration due to Images, that they were rather to admire, in man, that of God, and to honour the Painter, rather than the Image made by him. But the Patriarch ſoon took an order with this Prieſt, degraded him, and ſhut him up in the Monaſtery called *Cameno Monaſtir*, upon the River *Wolga*.

When the wood of their Images comes to rot, they do not caſt it away, but throw it into the River, that the water may carry it away; or they bury it in ſome Garden, or Church-yard.

The Saints of *Muſcovy*, as well as thoſe of other places, have their Miracles. *Poſſevin* ſays, they are all Fables, and that the ſtories related of them are ridiculous. They have one of a very late date, named *Sudatworets Philip Metropolite*, of the Houſe of *Colitziou*. He lived in the reign of the Tyrant *John Baſilouits*, and grew famous for the remonſtrances he made to that Prince of his wicked life. The Tyrant, troubled thereat, ſent him into a Monaſtery far from *Moſcou*, ſo as that he might be no longer importun'd with his reproaches: but the other made the Pen do what his tongue could not, and, from time to time, repreſented the Judgement of God to the Eyes of the Great Duke, ſo preſſingly, that the other not able any longer to endure his reprehenſions, ſent one of his Servants to ſtrangle him. The Executioner found him ready enough to dy, with this deſire only, that, inſtead of ſtrangling him with a Cord, he would run him with a Knife into the Heart; which he accordingly did. The Monks of the Monaſtery put him into the Catalogue of their Holy Martyrs, and ſent his Body to be buried in the Iſland of *Solofka*, in the *White Sea*, near *Archangel*, where they ſay he hath done many Miracles. The preſent Patriarch perſwaded the Great Duke, that, while he was Metropolitane of *Roſtou*, and *Jariſlau*, he had heard that many ſick perſons had been healed there, and that the Body of the Saint was as whole as the day he was kill'd, and prevail'd with him to have it tranſlated from *Solofka* to *Moſcou*. The Miracles which are known to have been really done at the tranſlation thereof, are theſe: *viz.* that *Knez Michael Levontgewits*, who was employ'd to ſee it done, going thither with a *Diak*, and his two Sons, and having embark'd himſelf with ſome of his retinue in a great open Boat, he got ſafely into the Iſland, but it could never be known what became of the three others, and all thoſe that were with them. The other Miracle was, that the Great Duke, the Patriarch, and all the Court going a league out

of

1636. of *Moſcou*, to meet the Saint, the Metropolitane of *Roſtou* and *Jaroſlau*, named *Warlam*, being a corpulent fat Man, and about 70. years of age, wearied with ſo ſmall a Journey, fell down ſtock-dead, As ſoon as he came to the ſhrine. Which at leaſt, is as certain as what the *Muſcovites* ſay of the great number of the blind, dumb, deaf, lame, perſons troubled with agues, and paraliticks, whom that body hath healed, ſince it was placed in the great Church of the Caſtle. At firſt, no week paſs'd, but it did five or ſix Miracles: but now it doth not any at all, and they ſay it is by reaſon of the incredulity of the people, that that Virtue hath left the Saints Body; which they ſay is ſtill intire: but it is forbidden, upon pain of death, for any man to lift up the cloath which covers it.

In the Monaſtery of *Troitza*, 12. leagues from *Moſcou*, they have another Saint named *Sergius*. He was a very tall man, a thing the *Muſcovites* have a great veneration for, and had ſometime been a Soldier; but the crimes and diſorders he had committed in his youth, touch'd his Conſcience ſo to the quick, that he forſook the World, and turn'd Hermite. He quitted that ſolitary kind of life, and got into the Monaſtery of *Troitza*, where he was ſoon choſen *Igumine*, or Abbot, and did there, with his Diſciple *Nikon*, ſo many Miracles, that, dying in the year 1563. they were both Canonized. They ſay, their heads are there yet to be ſeen intire, and that when the *Polanders* beſig'd that Monaſtery, the head of *Sergius* only, forc'd them back in the midſt of their aſſault, and made them turn their arms againſt themſelves. Of which yet there is nothing to be found in the Hiſtory of that time, which ſpeaks but of one ſiege of *Troitza*, under *John Sapiha*, a *Poliſh* General, who was indeed forc'd to raiſe it, not upon the vigorous reſiſtance of the Monks, or by the aſſiſtance of *Sergius*, but by the *Swediſh* Army, which came in to the relief of the *Muſcovites*.

Since this Saint was buried there, that Monaſtery hath been called *Zergeofski Troitza*, though it be properly dedicated to the *Trinity*. It is ſo rich, that it maintains above 300. Monks, and its revenue increaſes dayly, through the Great Duke's liberality, and the alms of thoſe who go thither to perform their Vows, they had made in their travels or ſickneſs, and ſettle Annuities for Services to be ſaid after their death. The Great Duke, who goes thither twice a year, lights off his Horſe when he is come within half a league of the Monaſtery, and ſo walks it. Having ended his Devotions, he ſpends ſome dayes there in Hunting, during which, the Abbot maintains him and his retinue, both with Man's meat and Horſe meat.

Some years ſince, the *Muſcovites* found an Image of the Virgin *Mary*, at *Caſan*, and ſent a copy of it to *Moſcou*, where there is a Church built for the reception of it in the Market-place, near that ſtreet where the Cutlers have their ſhops. The Church is called *Preciſta Caſanska*, the holy mother of *Caſan*, and many Pilgrimages are made to it. They go alſo in Pilgrimage to the Monaſtery of *Chutina*, a league and a half from *Novogorod*, to the Sepulchre of their Saint *Warlam*, who was born at *Novogorod*, and buried at *Chutina*, whence they call his Feſtival, *Praſnick Warlama Chutinskoga*.

Their Churches. As to their Churches, we ſaid, there were above two thouſand Churches and Chapels in the City and Suburbs of *Moſcou*. Thoſe which are of ſtone are round and vaulted, becauſe God's Houſes ought to repreſent Heaven which is his Throne. They have neither Seats nor Benches, by reaſon none ſit down, but all ſay their prayers either ſtanding or kneeling. The late Great Duke, who was much given to Devotion, lay all along upon the ground, when he ſaid his prayers. They have no *Organs* or other muſical inſtruments in their Churches, not uſing any, out of this perſwaſion, that things inanimate cannot glorify God; That they were allow'd in the Pædagogy of the Law, but that, under the new Teſtament, they were no more to be uſed than any other of the Jewiſh Ceremonies. The Patriarch that now is hath ſhewn his enmity to Muſick, yet greater, in prohibiting the uſe of all thoſe muſical inſtruments, which the *Muſcovites* were wont to make uſe of at their merry meetings. Some four or five years ſince, he cauſed all private houſes to be ſearch'd, for Inſtruments, and having loaden five Wagons with them, he ſent them over the River of *Moſcou*, where they were all burnt. Only the *Germans* kept theirs, nor could the Patriarch, with all his Authority, oblige the Bojar, *Boris Nikita Juanouits Romanou* to put away his Muſicians. There is no Stone-Church, but hath, in the midſt of four Turrets, a Tower form'd at the top much like the Knobs we ſet on Bedſteads, having upon it a triple Croſs, by which they ſay they repreſent our Saviour, as Head of the Church, ſaying, that the Croſs being the Badge of Chriſtianity, it is neceſſary the Church of Chriſt ſhould be known by it. They hold, they are prophaned by Strangers, that is to ſay, ſuch as are not of their Communion; upon which account it was, that when, at the beginning of our Travels, we entred into them, they came and thruſt us out, and many times they ſwept after us. If it chance a Dog gets in, they think it not enough to ſweep the Church, but they alſo Incenſe it, and purify it with holy Water. They have alſo very much reſpect for their Church-yards, and ſuffer not that any ſhould make their water in them.

Their Bells are not in ſteeples, but in a certain Engine, or Machine, near the Church, in the Church-yard, and are for the moſt part ſo ſmall, that few of them are 150. or 200. pound weight. They toll them at the beginning of ſervice, and at the Elevation of the Chalice, for the

the Bread being put in immediately after Conſecration, they make but one Elevation. The Rope is not faſten'd to the Bell, but to the Clapper, ſo that one man may toll three or four Bells at the ſame time, if the Ropes be faſten'd to both his Elbows and both his hands, which, making a certain chiming, the *Muſcovites* are much taken with. But this kind of chiming of the almoſt infinite number of Bells, which they many times toll at the ſame time in all their Churches, makes a very ſtrange noiſe, to their ears, who are not accuſtomed thereto. 1636.

They think this chiming ſo neceſſary, that, without it, the divine Service would be defective. Upon which perſwaſion it was, that a certain *Priſtaf*, who conducted the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors, hearing that they were deſirous to do their Devotions, it being *Michaelmas*-day, told them, that he could not imagine what ſhift they would make to do it, ſince he had not, by reaſon of the greatneſs of the Journey, brought any Bells along with him.

There is no Church but hath an Image over the door; and at every corner of a Street, and upon all the Gates of the City, there are Images, before which the *Muſcovites* make a halt to ſay their *Goſpodi*. They alſo addreſs the *Goſpodi* to the Croſſes which are upon the Churches, ſo that they goe through no Street, but they make a ſhort ſtay to do their Devotions.

The Eccleſiaſtical Government conſiſts of a Patriarch, ſeveral Metropolitans, Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Arch-Deacons, Protopopes, and Prieſts. The Patriarch, among them, hath the ſame authority as the Pope has in the *Latine* Church. The Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* had heretofore the nomination of him. In time, he came to have only the confirmation of him; but now of late, he hath loſt both. *Filaretes Nikitits*, the late Great Duke's Father, was the laſt that deſired confirmation from the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. At preſent, the Patriarch of *Muſcovy* is choſen by the other Prelates, who meet in the great Church within the Caſtle, called *Sabor*, and name two or three Prelats, of the moſt eminent for Learning and good Life, and preſent them to the great Duke, who, after ſome conference with the Prelats, proceeds joyntly with them, to the election; unleſs thoſe that are named be all of ſuch eminency, that they are at a loſs which to make choice of, and ſo forc'd to it by lott which courſe they took at the Election of this laſt Patriarch. He was a Prelate of the Second Order, and hath been named, with two other Metropolitans, upon the reputation of his good life. The lot falling upon him, all thoſe of the Firſt Order were diſcontented thereat, ſo that they put it to the Lot a ſecond time, in which alſo it fell again to him: but the ambition of the other Competitors appearing ſtill in their countenances, the Great Duke was pleas'd to comply with them, and to put it to the Lot a third time, which fell in like manner to the ſame Perſon, upon which all acquieſc'd. His name is *Nicon*, and he had been before Metropolitan of *Roſton* and *Jaroſlou*, and is now about 45 years of age. He lives within the Palace, where he hath built him a houſe of ſtone. He keeps a good Table, and is a perſon of ſo pleaſant a diſpoſition, that he diſcovers it in thoſe actions that require the greateſt gravity. For, a handſome Gentlewoman being preſented to him, for his Benediction, after ſhe had been re-baptized, with ſeveral others of her Friends, he told her, that he was in ſome doubt, whether he ſhould begin with the kiſs, which is given to *Proſelites* after their Baptiſm, or with the Benediction. *Their Hierarchy.*

The Patriarch's authority is ſo great, that he in manner divides the Soveraignty with the Great Duke. He is the Supreme Judge of all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, and abſolutely diſpoſes of what ever concerns Religion, with ſuch power, that, in things relating to the Political Government, he reforms what he conceives prejudicial to Chriſtian ſimplicity and good manners, without giving the Great Duke any accompt of it, who, without any conteſtation, commands the orders made by the Patriarch to be executed. He hath under him, four Metropolitans, ſeven Archbiſhops, and one Biſhop. The Metropolitans are thoſe of.

Novogorodskoi, and *Welikoluskoy*, who lives at *Novogorod*.
Roſtoufskoy, and *Jaroſlauskoy*, at *Roſtof*.
Caſanskoi, and *Swiatskoi*, at *Caſſan*. And that of
Sarskoi, and *Pondoskoy*, who lives within the Caſtle at *Moſcou*.

The Archbiſhops are, thoſe of
Wologdskoi, and *Weliko Premskoy*, who lives at *Wologda*.
Reſanskoi, and *Moromskoi*, at *Reſan*.
Sudalskoi, and *Torruskoi*, at *Suſdal*.
Twerskoi, and *Caſſinskoi*, at *Twere*.
Sibirskoi, and *Tobolskoi*, at *Toboleska*.
Aſtrachanskoi, and *Terskoi*, at *Aſtrachan*.
Pleskouskoi, and *Sborskoi*, at *Pleſcou*.

There is but one Biſhop in all *Muſcovy*, to wit, that of *Comenskoi*, and *Caſſieskoi*, who lives at *Colamna*. The Patriarch hath about him an Arch-Deacon, who is as it were his Vicar-General, and in the Caſtle of *Sabor*, he hath a Proto-Deacon. The other Eccleſiaſtical Orders are diſtinguiſh'd into *Proto-popes*, *Popes* (or *Prieſts*) and *Deacons*. Thoſe who make clean

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1636. the Churches, and toll the Bells, are called *Pannamari*. In their Monaſteries they have *Archimandrites*, *Kilari's*, and *Igumeni's*, who are their Abbots, Priors, and Guardians.

Their Prelates marry not. The Patriarch, Metropolitans, Archbiſhops and Biſhops are not to marry, but make a Vow of Chaſtity, for the time they ſhall continue in that Dignity, which, it ſeems, give them not an indelible Character, as it does elſewhere, to thoſe that are advanced to it. They are forbidden to wear Rings on their fingers. They wear no Drawers, nor Shirts of Linnen-cloath, but of Flannen, and do not ly upon Beds.

How the Monks live. Thoſe that enter into any Religious Order eat no fleſh, nor freſh-Fiſh, and drink neither Wine, Aquavitæ, nor Hydromel; but are oblig'd to content themſelves with their *Quas*, though when they are out of their Monaſteries, they diſpence with the rigour of that Law, and eat of any thing that is given them, making uſe of their time ſo well that many times they are glad to be carried home.

The Habits of the Eccleſiaſticks. The ordinary Habit of the Patriarch, as alſo of the Metropolitans, Arch-biſhops *&c.* and even of their Monks, is a kind of black Caſſock, over which they have an upper-Garment of the ſame colour, not much different from thoſe of the other *Muſcovites*. Their Hoods, or covering of the Head, is at leaſt an ell and a half diameter, having in the midſt a round piece, as big as a Trencher, which hangs on the hinder part of the head. When they walk into the City, they have in their hands a ſtaff forked at the end after the form of a Right angle, which ſerves them for a Croſier, and they call it *Poſok*.

What a vaſt number of Prieſts and Eccleſiaſticks there muſt be about *Moſcou*, may be judg'd by that of the Churches, of which not any, that ever ſo little exceed their ordinary Chapels, but have three or four, or more Prieſts belonging to them. Thoſe who are deſirous to embrace that kind of life, addreſs themſelves to the Patriarch, or firſt Metropolitane they can come to, who examins them, and if he finds they can make a ſhift to read and write, and ſing in the Church, he gives them Orders, and an Atteſtation of their being received into the Prieſthood. At their Conſecration, they are habited after the manner before mentioned, and have the hair cut off on the Crown of their heads, on which is put a little Cap like a *Callotte*, which is the only Character of their Prieſthood. For they never take it off, but when they cut their hair, and he, who fighting with a Prieſt, ſhould make his *Callot* fall to the ground, would be ſeverely puniſh'd, and oblig'd to pay him the *Biceſtie*, or a certain mulct impoſed upon him: whereas otherwiſe a man may bang or cudgel one of that profeſſion with the ſame impunity as he may another, but to do it without any danger, he is only to take off his *Callot*, before he falls to work with him, and when he hath ſufficiently paid him, to be ſo reſpectful to him as to put it on again.

The Prieſts are oblig'd to marry. The *Protopopes* and ſimple Prieſts are obliged to marry once, but cannot the ſecond or third time, unleſs they quit the Prieſthood. They allege to this purpoſe the Text of St. *Paul*, 1 *Tim.* 3. where the Apoſtle ſayes, that a Biſhop ſhould be *the husband of one wife*. Which place they underſtand not of *Biſhops*, though the Text expreſly mentions them, nor yet in the leaſt imagine that the Apoſtle ſpeaks of *one* wife in oppoſition to *Polygamy*; but infer thence, that there is a neceſſity that the Prieſt ſhould marry, that ſo he may be the husband of one wife. This point of the marriage of Prieſts makes one of the principal differences between the *Muſcovites*, with all the *Greek* Church, and the *Romane*, which allows not the marriage of Prieſts. For confirmation of their opinion, they allege, as what makes moſt for them, the fourth Canon of the Councel, which was held at *Gangres*, in *Paphlagonia*, not long after that of *Nice*, which Anathemizes thoſe who make any difficulty to receive the Communion from the hands of a married Prieſt. But the *Muſcovian* Prieſts hold this beſides, that they are oblig'd to be in the ſtate of marriage, before they take Orders, and that they are to marry a Maid, and not a Widdow, or a Woman of a ſcandalous life: in which punctilio they are ſo circumſpect, that if a Prieſt, upon ſearch made the the firſt night of his marriage, find that his VVife hath been defiled before hand, he muſt either be divorc'd from her or from the Prieſthood. The Prieſt who hath given his VVife her benevolence in the night, is not to approach the Altar the next day: and as ſoon as a Prieſt is a VViddower, he is not to Adminiſter the Sacraments any longer. He may be preſent at the Offices of *Faſterini* and *Vetzerni*, but is not admitted to that of *Obedni*, at which the Communion is receiv'd, and cannot give his Benediction to marriages. Thoſe who are not willing to live in that condition, and are weary of a ſingle life, take up ſome other profeſſion, turn Merchants or Tradeſmen, and marry again: and to do that, they are only to put off their Sacerdotal habit, and their *Callot*. If they are too old to marry, they retire to a Monaſtery, and there end their lives.

Their Monaſteries. They have a great number of *Monaſteries*, both for Men and VVomen, as well in Cities, as up and down the Countrey, and they all in a manner follow the Rule of Great St. *Baſil*. Indigence, Age, Infirmities, Domeſtick diſcontents, and violence fill their Convents, rather than Devotion. VVhen any embrace that kind of life of their own accord, if they are of ability, they are permitted to carry ſome part of their Eſtates along with them into the Monaſtery, but are obliged to leave the remainder to their Heirs. Heretofore the more ſuperſtitious ſort made

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over all they had, and the extravagance had so far prevail'd on many, that in time, the Monks would have been Masters of the best part of *Muscovy*, if a course had not been taken to prevent it. They have set hours for their service, and they say most of their prayers by Beads. Their Austerity of life is very great, in as much as they live only on Salt-fish, Honey, Milk, Cheese, Herbs, and Pulse, especially Cowcumbers, fresh and pickled, which they mince very small, and eat with a spoon in some of their *Quas*. They have this common with all the other *Muscovites*, that they can hardly write and read. Not one in ten can say the Lord's Prayer, much fewer that are acquainted with the Creed and the ten Commandments. These Monks live not so retired a life, but that they are seen in great numbers, both in Cities, and all over the Countrey, where their employment is the same with that of the Peasants, from whom they are distinguish'd only by their habit. It is also true, there are abundance of *Anchorets*, who build Chapels upon the High-ways, and live in Woods like *Hermits*, subsisting only by the Alms given them by Travellers. 1636.

They fast *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, and abstain so strictly from all kind of flesh, nay, even from Eggs and Milk, that within these few years, some of the more devout would not use any Sugar, because they know that there are whites of Eggs used in the clarifying of it. *Their Fasts.*

Their year consists of more fasting days than flesh days. For, besides the two days of every week, and the Eves of great Festivals, they fast in *Lent* seven weeks together, though in the first they eat Butter, Milk, and Eggs, and this week is their *Carnaval*, during which they commit incredible excesses in drinking, and withall such insolences, as the Patriarch hath not yet found any way to remedy. The next week, they eat only Honey, Herbs, and Pulse, and drink only *Quas* and Water; they bath, and cleanse themselves from the impurities they had contracted in their excessive debauches. All the rest of the *Lent* they live very temperately, and the most devout eat no fish but on Sundays. Their second *Lent* begins eight days after *Whitsuntide*, and lasts till St. *Peter*'s tide. The third is from the first of *August*, to the 16*th*. and the fourth, from the 12*th*. of *November* to *Christmas*. 'Tis true, there are some abate of this great Austerity; but I never knew any *Muscovite*, who did not strictly observe abstinence during the *Lent*. But as they will not by any means be dispens'd with as to that time, no not in their greatest sickness; so can they not, on the other side, be perswaded to eat fish on Sundays and Holydays out of *Lent*, as believing that it is of Apostolical institution that they should eat flesh on Sundays, and that they are bound to observe the Rule which goes under the name of St. *Clement*, in the Tomes of the Councels printed at *Venice*, which says, that an Ecclesiastick, who fasts on Saturday or Sunday, is to be degraded, and if a lay person commit the same fault, he is to be excommunicated. The same Rule which enjoyns them to abstain from flesh in *Lent*, forbids them also medling with their Wives during that time, upon special penalties.

Those who are come to years of discretion are oblig'd to go to *Confession*, before they Communicate. There are very few but receive the Communion at *Easter*, and they prepare themselves for it by extraordinary mortifications, for eight days together, during which they eat nothing but a hard kind of bread, and drink only Water and *Quas*, which is so sowr, that it causes gripings in the belly, and brings them in a manner to deaths door. They make their Confession standing, in the midst of the Church, and before an Image, on which they have their eyes fastned, as long as the Confession lasts, making a very particular recital of all their sins, and at every sin expressing their remorse, and promising amendment. The Priest, with the absolution, gives them a certain penance to do, which consists for the most part in pronouncing several times the *Gospody Pomilui*, or in making a certain number of Reverences before the Saints, abstaining from Women for a certain time, standing at the Church door: or, if the sins be very hainous, he enjoyns them to make use of a Holy-water, which they Consecrate upon *Twelfth*-day, and is kept by the Priests all the year long for that purpose, and not to be had of them for nothing. They make accompt that that water hath the vertue to cleanse them of their sins, and to restore them into the state of Grace. *Their Confession.*

They receive the Communion, ordinarily, upon *Easter*-Eve; at least they think it must be done upon a fasting-day, and this they so strictly observe, that if one should Communicate on the Sunday, yet is he not to eat any flesh that day. They Communicate in both kinds, and mix water with the Wine. The bread they put into the Wine, taking out a morsel, together with some of the Wine, with a spoon. The bread is leavened, and must have been made up and baked by a Priest's Widow: which they think to be so Essential to the Sacrament, that one of the principal causes of the Schism between the *Greek* and *Latine* Church, is, that the latter makes use of unleavened bread contrary to the express institution of our Saviour, who, to abolish the Ceremony of the *Jews*, who made use of unleavened bread, was pleased to take ordinary bread. This Communion bread is about twice as big, and somewhat thicker than a Crown piece, and hath in the middle the figure of the Crucifix. After the Priest hath Consecrated it, he takes off that figure with an instrument made much after the fashion of a Launcet, and puts it *Their Communion.*

1636. up into a wooden box, which hangs above the Altar, that the Rats and Mice may not come at it. When the Communion is to be Adminiſtred to a ſick perſon, they take a little out of the ſaid box, upon which they pour three drops of Claret-wine, and put it into the Chalice, mingling ſometimes a little water, and ſo they give it the ſick perſon with a ſpoon. But if, through weakneſs or otherwiſe, he be not able to get down the bread, they give him only a little Wine conſecrated. In the ordinary Adminiſtration of the Communion, they make uſe of a ſort of Conſecrated bread, of the ſame form as the other, but not bigger than a half Crown, from which they alſo take away the Crucifix, and break it into as many pieces as there are Communicants, caſt them into Claret-wine, and put thereto a little *warm* water, becauſe no doubt but the blood and water, which came out of our Saviour's ſide, was *ſo*. They hold *Tranſubſtantiation*, and, at the Adminiſtring of the Sacrament, the Prieſt ſayes theſe words: *This is the true body and the true bloud of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which hath been given for thee, and for many more, for the Remiſſion of thy ſins, which thou ſhalt take in remembrance of him. God bleſs thee.* The more devout ſort ſleep after they have receiv'd the Communion, that ſo they may not Sin that day. What remains of the bread after Conſecration ſerves for holy-bread. They call it *Kutja*, and the Sunday following, the Prieſt gives a morſel of it to each of thoſe who had Communicated the week before. There is no Child ſo young but they give him the Communion; but it is only when he is Sick, and then but in one kind, till he be ſeven years of age, and then he is Communicated as the reſt; for which they give this reaſon, that about that age one begins to Sin mortally. No doubt, they have derived this cuſtom from what was done in the third age, wherein St. *Cyprian* ſayes, that they Communicated Children immediately after baptiſm, which cuſtom was continued till St. *Auguſtine*'s time. But in Proceſs of time the cuſtom was changed, ſince that, as *Nicephorus*, the ſon of *Caliſtus*, who lived in the 14th. age, affirms, that in his time, they gave thoſe Children, who were learning the firſt Rudiments of the Sciences, but only the Conſecrated bread which was remaining after the Communion. In *Muſcovy*, they alſo give the Communion to diſtracted perſons; but they only touch their lips with the bread after it hath lain a while in the VVine.

The Prieſt who hath kiſs'd a dead body, or been at the interment of any, can neither conſecrate nor adminiſter the Sacrament that day, for they hold him to be defiled. Nor is it lawful for him to Communicate a VVoman in Child-bed, in the ſame room where ſhe was delivered: but ſhe is obliged to get her ſelf carried into ſome other place, and to be waſhed. Heretofore, they were wont to ſend the Conſecrated bread into the Countrey, to thoſe places which were deſtitute of a Prieſt; nay, they gave of it to ſuch as intended to travel, or were going to the VVars, who made their Confeſſions before their departure, and were to Communicate when they had any convenience to do it, or were in any danger of death, ſo to make it, as it were, their laſt *Viaticum*. Their cuſtom of receiving the Conſecrated VVine in the Church, and carrying away the bread, to be taken at home; as alſo that practiſed by *Anchoretes*, who carried away both to the places of their retirement, is ſo antient, that St. *Cyprian*, nay, even *Tertullian* ſpeaks of it, as a thing very ordinarily done in their times: but this kind of Communicating is now abſolutely aboliſh'd in *Muſcovy*, as well as other places. Thoſe who have taken their Oaths in any Law buſineſs, or have committed murther, or any other hainous ſin, are not to receive the Communion, but at the point of death. All that are ſick to that extremity are Communicated, and at the ſame time receive extreme Unction, but that once done, they ſuffer them not to take any thing elſe, not ought of nouriſhment, unleſs they apparently perceive that the ſick party begins to recover ſtrength, and gives them a great aſſurance of the retrival of his former health. Before the receiving of the Communion, they give thoſe that are ſick, ſome fair water, or Aquavitæ, wherein ſome Relicks had been put. There are thoſe, who, in that condition, cauſe themſelves to be ſhaven, put on Monks habit, and become really ſuch; for, that once done, they are not ſuffer'd to take any thing for the ſpace of eight dayes; it being their perſwaſion, that thoſe who take that habit, which they call *Seraphick*, are not to be numbred among men, but are become Angels. And if, after thoſe eight dayes abſtinency, they recover their former health, they are oblig'd to perform their vow, and to go into a Monaſtery, becauſe the Raſour hath paſs'd upon their heads.

Their manner of burial. Their interrements are accompany'd by abundance of Ceremonies, as indeed are all their publick actions. As ſoon as the ſick perſon is departed, they ſend for all his Kindred and Friends, who being come into the houſe ſtand about the body, excite one another to bemoan him, as it were to heighten the Lamentations of the VVomen, and ask the deceaſed, why he would dye? VVhether his affairs were in a good condition? VVhether he wanted meat and drink? VVhether his VVife were not handſom and young enough? VVhether ſhe had been unconſtant to him? *&c.* Then they ſend a preſent of Beer, Aquavitæ and Hydromel to the Prieſt, that he may pray for the Soul of the deceaſed party. The body is well waſhed, and after they have put a clean ſhirt, or a ſhrowd about him, they put on his feet a pair of new ſhooes, of a very thin *Ruſſia* leather, and ſo lay him into the Coffin with his Arms croſs the breaſt. Their Coffins are made of the Trunk of a Tree, and are to be ſold every where. It is cover'd with a Cloath,

Cloath, or haply with ſome Coat of the deceaſed, and carried to Church. If it be a rich man, and that the ſeaſon of the year permit it, he is not buried ſo ſoon, but kept above ground eight or ten dayes, during which, the Prieſt comes to incenſe the Corps, and caſt holy water on it every day. 1636.

The Funeral ſolemnity is after this manner. Firſt there goes a Prieſt, carrying the Image of the Saint which had been aſſign'd the deceas'd at his baptiſm for his Patron. Next go four Virgins, of the next of Kin to the deceaſed, who are to go as Mourners, and who fill the air with their horrid cries and lamentations, keeping ſuch exact time, that they both give over, and then begin all together. Then follows the body, carried by ſix men upon their ſhoulders; and if it be a Monk or Nun, ſome of their own Profeſſion do them that Office. The Prieſts go all about the body, and incenſe it all the way, to keep off evil ſpirits, and withall ſing certain Pſalms. The Kindred and Friends follow the body, but without any order, having every one a VVax-Candle in his hand.

Being come to the Grave, the Coffin is uncover'd, and the Image of the deceaſed party's Saint is held over him, while the Prieſt ſayes certain prayers, in which there come often theſe words, *Lord look upon this Soul in Righteouſneſs*, as alſo ſome paſſages of their Liturgy, during which the VViddow continues her lamentations, and makes the ſame queſtions ſhe had done before. Then the Kindred and Friends take leave of the deceaſed, kiſſing either him or the Coffin; and at laſt the Prieſt comes up to him, and puts between his fingers a piece of paper, which is a kind of Teſtimonial of his behaviour in this world, ſigned by the Patriarch, or the Metropolitane of the place, and the Confeſſor, who ſell thoſe papers dear or cheap, according to their abilities who buy them. This Teſtimonial, which is a kind of Paſs for his admittance into the other VVorld, runs thus. *We, whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, the Patriarch, or Metropolitane, and Prieſt of the Citie of N. do make known and Certifie, by theſe preſents, that the Bearer of theſe our Letters hath alwayes lived among us like a good Chriſtian, profeſſing the* Greek *Religion; and though he hath committed ſome ſins, yet that he hath confeſſed the ſame, and that thereupon he hath received abſolution, and taken the Communion, for the Remiſſion of his ſins: That he hath honoured God and his Saints.; That he hath ſaid his prayers, and that he hath faſted on the hours and dayes appointed by the Church, and that he hath carried himſelf ſo well towards me who am his Confeſſor, that I have no reaſon to complain of him, nor to deny him the Abſolution of his ſins. In witneſs whereof, we have given him the preſent Teſtimonial, to the end, that upon ſight thereof, St.* Peter *may open unto him the Gate of eternal bliſs.* As ſoon as he hath this Paſsport given him, the Coffin is ſhut up, and put into the Grave, with the face of the deceaſed turn'd towards the Eaſt. Thoſe who accompany'd him thither, do their Devotions to the Images, and return to the houſe of the deceaſed, where they find Dinner ready, and where, many times, they drown their affliction, with all other ſentiments of mortality, in Hydromel and Aquavitæ. Their mourning laſts 40. dayes, during which they make three Feaſts for the Kindred and Friends of the deceaſed, to wit, the 3d. the 9th. and the 20th. day, after the burial. VVherein they imitate the modern *Greeks*, though theſe, inſtead of the 20th. take the 40th. day; upon this ground, that about that time, the heart corrupts, as the body begins to putrifie, towards the ninth, and the face is disfigured, the third.

Some build Huts over their Graves, which they cover with Mat, for the convenience of the Prieſt, who, morning and evening, for the ſpace of ſix weeks together, is to make prayers there for the deceaſed. For though the *Muſcovites* do not believe there is any *Purgatory*, yet they ſay there are two ſeveral places, to which the Souls retire, after their departure out of the body, where they expect the day of Judgement: ſome in a pleaſant and delightful place, having the converſation of Angels; others, in a ſad and dark Valley, having the ſociety of Devils; That the Souls being yet in their way, may be diverted out of the evil way, by the Prayers of Prieſts and Monks, nay, that theſe have ſo great an Intereſt with God, as to obtain a certain eaſe and alleviation of their miſery, for thoſe Souls which are with the Devils, and to appeaſe him againſt the day of Judgement. Such as are of ability, gives Alms dayly during the ſix weeks; which may indeed be ordinary among the *Muſcovites*, who make no difficulty to inrich themſelves any way, and believe that ſin is to be expiated by Alms. VVhence it comes, that no *Muſcovite* almoſt, but, as he goes to Church, or about his occaſions, buyes bread, which he afterwards diſtributes among the poor, who, though very numerous, yet get ſo much, that being not able to conſume all themſelves, they dry up the reſt in an Oven, and make it a kind of Biſket, which they call *Suchari*, and ſell it in the Market to Travellers.

The *Muſcovites* tollerate all ſorts of Religions, and ſuffer all Nations to live among them, as *Calviniſts*, *Lutherans*, *Armenians*, *Tartars*, *Turks*, and *Perſians*, excepting none, but *Jews* and *Roman* Catholicks. There is a great number of *Proteſtants* all over *Muſcovy*, and in the City of *Moſcou* it ſelf, there are above a thouſand, who have the free exerciſe of their Religion. Thoſe of the *Reform'd* Religion and the *Lutherans*, had their Churches heretofore in the quarter of *Czaargorod*; but it is about twenty years ſince that the *Lutherans* loſt theirs, by the imprudence of their Wives: becauſe thoſe of Merchants would not give place to the Officers

1636. wives, who indeed for the moſt part were but ſervant-maids dreſs'd up a little finer than they had gone before: The conteſtation grew ſo high, that they came from words to blows, in the very Church, with ſo much ſcandal, that the Patriarch, then accidentally paſſing by, having underſtood the occaſion of their falling out, commanded the Church to be demoliſh'd, which was immediately done. But they were permitted to build another in the quarter of *Bolſoigorod*. They took away their Church from thoſe of the *Reformed* Religion, becauſe, not content with the wooden Chapel which had been given them within the White-wall, they would needs build there an Edifice of ſtone, which was in a manner finiſh'd, when the Patriarch, who had not given his conſent for the doing of it, cauſed both to be pull'd down. Now, Foreiners have neither Church nor Houſes within the City. For the *Germans* finding themſelves expoſed to the deriſion of the *Muſcovites*, after the Patriarch had ordered them to go in a habit diſtinct from that of the Inhabitants of the Country, to free themſelves out of that perſecution, Petition'd the *Czaar* to protect them againſt the outrages and affronts they dayly received. On the other ſide, the Prieſts complained, that ſtrangers built on their foundations, and leſſened the revenue of the livings; ſo that the Great Duke, to pleaſe both ſides, aſſigned them, without the City, near the Gate called *Pokrofki*, a place big enough to contain all the Houſes of Foreiners, who immediately demoliſh'd thoſe they had in the City, and in a ſhort time made up that part of the Suburbs, which is called *Nova Inaſemska Slaboda*, where the *Lutherans* have two Churches, and thoſe of the *Reformation* two more, one for the *Dutch*, and the other for the *Engliſh*; and where they have this further ſatisfaction, that they converſe but little with the *Muſcovites*, and are out of all danger of thoſe frequent fires, which commonly begin in the houſes of thoſe barbarous *Chriſtians*.

The *Lutherans*, and thoſe of the *Reformed* Religion live very quietly together, and the *Muſcovites* Trade indifferently with either: but they have ſo great an averſion for the *Roman* Catholicks, that they would never grant them a Toleration of their Religion in *Muſcovy*. In the year 1627. the late King of *France* propoſed, by *Louis des Hayes*, a Treaty for the regulation of Commerce with the *French*, and at the ſame time for a Church, where they might have Maſs ſaid, but it was deny'd. And in the firſt War of *Smolensko*, they would not entertain *Catholick* Souldiers. Nay, in the Treaty they made with us, for our paſſage into *Perſia*, it is an expreſs Article, that we ſhould not take any *Roman* Catholicks into our retinue. So that it is much to be admired, that they ſhould call to the Crown *Vladiſlaus*, Prince of *Poland* and *Sueden*; though that Election came to nothing, for reaſons, into which it is beſide the ſubject of our Relation to enquire, as it is alſo into thoſe which may be given of the Animoſity of the *Muſcovites* againſt the *Roman Catholicks*, whereof the grounds are to be ſearched for in *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, which hath nothing common with the Relation of our Travels, the proſecution whereof is the buſineſs of the following book.

THE

THE

TRAVELS

OF THE

AMBASSADORS

FROM THE

DUKE of HOLSTEIN

INTO

MUSCOVY, TARTARY, and PERSIA.

The Fourth Book.

LEaving *Moscou*, we went, by Land, as far as the Monastery of *Simana*, where we embark'd, after we had taken leave of our Friends, who had accompany'd us thither, under the conduct of a *Pristaf*, named *Rodiwon Matfeowits*, who had order to provide for the Ambassadors as far as *Astrachan*. We had hardly quitted the shore, ere the Governor of the Prince, *Boris Juanouits Morosou* came in sight with his Trumpets, and intreated us to come ashore, and favour him so far as to sup with him that night. But the Ambassadors, earnest to be on their Voyage, excused themselves, and sent him, by way of Present, a silver Bowl. He receiv'd it in a little Boat which came along by the side of ours, and express'd how kindly he took it, by the flourishes of his Trumpets. But at last, not able to contain any longer, he came into our Boat, where he staid all night drinking with the Gentlemen, at his parting from whom the next morning, he could hardly forbear tears. 1636. JUNE.

Our *Muscovian* Mariners, whom the Aquavitæ they had taken had made more lively and lusty than ordinary, took such pains in the mean time, being always eight a-rowing, that the next morning at Sun-rising, we were got as far as a pleasant Country house, called *Duoreninou*, seated on the left side of the River, 80 *Werstes*, which make 16 *German* leagues, from *Simana*. At night, we got 40 *werstes*, or 8 *German* leagues, from *Duoreninou*, to a Village called *Mortschuck*; so that in 24 hours, we made so many *German* leagues.

The next day, *July* 2. about noon, near the Village and Monastery of *Porsenis*, we met with several great Boats, loaden with Honey, Salt, and Salt-fish, coming, most of them, from *Astrachan*, bound for *Moscou*.

At night, we were come before the City of *Columna*. It lies on the right side of the River *Mosca*, 180 *werstes*, or 36 *German* leagues from *Moscou*, though by Land there is but 18. which may be travell'd in a short time, especially in the Winter, upon the snow. The City is of a considerable bigness, and looks very delightful on the out-side, by reason of its Towers and stone-walls, which are not ordinary in *Muscovy*. Nay it is indeed of that accompt, that the Great Duke hath his *Weywode* there, which is not seen but in the chief Cities of Provinces. We sent him our Pass-port, by the *Pristaf*, and immediately the wooden Bridge was full of people; and whereas the covering of our Boat was too high to pass under the Bridge, they in a trice Columna.

1636. trice took off one of the Arches, to make us way. We ſaid in the fore-going Book, that there is but one Biſhop in all *Muſcovy*, and that his Reſidence is in this City of *Columna*.

Three *werſtes* above the City, near the Convent of *Kolutin Serge Monaſtir*, founded by one *Sergius*, a Saint among them, whom we have ſpoken of elſewhere, and who is buried at the Monaſtery of *Troitza*, the *Moſca* falls into the River *Occa*, which is incomparably much more delightful, and broader than the other. It comes from-wards the South, and hath on both ſides it a noble Country, well peopled, and very fruitful. Both ſhores are well furniſh'd with Oaks, which is a kind of rarity in thoſe parts. Being got aſhore, we had a Sermon under a great Tree, which ſufficiently ſhaded the whole Aſſembly.

Preſently after Dinner we embark'd, and left, about half a league on the left hand, a great Iſland in the midſt of the River. Afterwards, we paſs'd by ſeveral Villages, namely thoſe of *Scelſa* and *Moroſo*, which are bigger than any of the reſt, and both upon the River ſide, on the right hand.

Pereſla. The 4. about noon, we got to the City of *Pereſla* ſeated upon the River ſide, upon the right hand, 22. leagues and a half from *Columna*, at 54. degrees, 42. minutes, elevation. This hath alſo its particular *Weywode*.

Rheſan. The 5. we left on our right hand the Town of *Rheſan*. It was heretofore a gallant City, and had given its name to the whole Province, but the *Crim-Tartars* deſtroy'd it, with the whole Dutchy, in the year 1568. The Great Duke, conſidering the fertility of the Country, which reaches from the River *Occa*, as far as the Trench made againſt the irruption of the *Tartars*, got together, ſuch of the Inhabitants as the invaſion of the *Barbarians* had diſpers'd, and having cauſed Materials to be brought to a place eight leagues from it, he ordered the building of a City there, which, to this day, is called *Pereſla Reſanski*, becauſe there went thither many of the Inhabitants of *Pereſla*, which ſtands at an equal diſtance from *Moſcou* North-wards, with this South-wards. The Town of *Rheſan* ſtill keeps the honour of having the Reſidence of the Archbiſhop: but we are to correct their errour, who affirm, that the Province of *Rheſan* lies Weſt-ward from *Moſcou*, ſince they themſelves confeſs it is between the Rivers of *Don* and *Occa*, which are not towards the Weſt from *Moſcou*, but towards the Eaſt: ſo that *Rheſan* muſt be placed in the Map, South-ward from the City of *Moſcou*.

The ſame day, we paſs'd in ſight of ſeveral Monaſteries, and Villages; as that of *Seloy*, neer *Rheſan*, on the left hand; and 7. *werſtes* thence, *Kyſtrus*, as alſo, on the other ſide, & 3. *werſtes* thence, the Monaſtery of *Oblozitza*; and 2. *werſtes* thence, *Lippono-Iſſado*; at 2. thence, *Muraton*; at 1. thence, *Kallionino*; and 2. thence, *Schilko*. Near the firſt Village we found a Carkaſs floating on the water, which, in all likelihood, the *Coſaques* had caſt into the River many dayes before, in as much as it was ſo Sun-burnt, that it was become black. In the afternoon, we got four leagues.

The 6. we made two, as far as the Monaſtery of *Tericho*, on the left hand; thence two more, to *Tinerſko Slowoda*, on the right hand; and afterwards 8. *werſtes*, to *Swintzus*; and thence 2. *werſtes*, to *Kopanowo*, where we found another dead Carcaſs: But the *Coſaques*, and the fugitive Slaves, who retire into thoſe parts, do there commit ſo many Villanies, that the *Muſcovites*, to whom thoſe accidents are ordinary, thought it nothing ſtrange.

July 7. betimes in the morning, we left on the right hand, an Iſland, called *Dobrinin Oſtrow*, 30. *werſtes*, or 6. leagues from the laſt Village; and afterwards *Seloy Rubets*, at 7. *werſtes* thence; and, at 7. more thence, on the ſame ſide, *Kurman*. About 6. *werſtes* thence, we had on the left hand, the River *Guſreca*, and ſeveral other Villages, and on the right hand *Molcowa*, at 8. *werſtes*, *Gabiloska*, at two, and *Babino*, at three. Thence we made three *werſtes*, and came at night to *Caſſinogorod*. This City lies on the right ſide of the River *Occa*, in the Principality of *Caſſinou* in *Tartary*, and there it was we firſt met with any *Mahometans*. Not far from the City, in an old ſtone Caſtle, which had ſometime been a Fort, lived a young Prince of that County, whoſe name was *Res Ketzi*, with his Mother and Grand-father, who ſome years before had put himſelf into the protection of the Great Duke of *Muſcovy*. We were told, that the Great Duke, would have preſs'd him to receive Baptiſm, upon ſome hopes given him that he ſhould have married his Daughter, but the young Prince, who was but 12. years of age, ſent him word, that being not come to years, ſo as to make choice of any Religion, he could not take a reſolution of that importance. The Ambaſſadors ſent two Gentlemen of their retinue to give him a viſit, and preſented him with a pound of *Tobacco*, and a bottle of Aqua-vitæ. He took it very kindly, and made it his excuſe, that he could not entertain the Ambaſſadors at his houſe, leſt the neighbouring *Weywodes* ſhould conceive any jealouſy at his entertaining of Strangers, without their permiſſion. He therefore only ſent ſome of his Servants to us, whom our Interpreter could hardly make a ſhift to underſtand, they being all *Tartars*. He ſent us a preſent of two ſheep, a Barrel of Hydromel, another of Beer, and a third of Aqua-vitæ, with ſome pieces of Ice, Cream and freſh Butter, which the Prince's mother had her ſelf taken the pains to beat.

Caſſinogorod.

The night following, and the next day, being the 9. we ſaw, as we paſs'd ſeveral Villages, Monaſteries and Taverns, moſt of them very pleaſantly ſeated, amidſt the woods; among others,

on

on the right hand *Potsink Tatarsko*, three *werstes* from *Cassinogorod*, and at seven *werstes* thence, 1636.
Seloy Pettiowo, Then a Tavern, or *Caback*, at eight *werstes*, and *Brooth*, at five *werstes* one from another, upon the left hand: and then on the right hand, the River of *Moksche*, at eight *werstes*; then on the left hand, another Tavern; at two *werstes* thence, *Sateowa*; at 13 *werstes*, the Monastery of *Adrianou Pustino*; at 13 more *Jekatma*. This last is a great Village, containing about 300 houses, and belongs to the Bojar, *Fœdor Juanouits Sheremeton*. And thence we got 20 *werstes* to the Forest of *Rusbonor*.

The 9. we got ten *werstes*, to the Church of *Woskressenia*, commonly called *Woskressenski-mehl*, upon the left hand; and thence five *werstes*, to a great Village named *Lechi*, belonging to *Knez Boris Michaelouits Lycou*, on the same side; and thence about ten *werstes*, to *Pretzysle Resenskou*, on the right hand; and at last to the City of *Moruma*, on the left hand.

The City of Moruma.

Before we got to the City, we discover'd on the other side of the River a company of *Crim Tartars*, who presently got into the woods, whence they discharg'd their Fowling pieces at us, which we answer'd with Muskets, and so forc'd them to keep off. They were seen afterwards below the City, whence we imagin'd, they would have set upon us the night following; whereupon we lay under the Isle of of *Zuchtsko Ostrou*, and set a strong Guard; but we heard no more of them.

The Tartars of Mordwa.

The City of *Moruma*, is the chiefest of the *Tartars* of *Mordwa*, and is inhabited by *Muscovites* and *Tartars*, but subject to the Great Duke. We sent our Interpreter to the Market to buy some provisions necessary, for the continuation of our Voyage.

The 10. we passed by the Town of *Prewospalo*, belonging to *Knez Juan Borissowits Circaski* one of the Great Dukes Privy Councel, and left, on both hands, several little Villages, and the River of *Morsna Reka*, on the right hand; and at eight *werstes* thence that of *Clesna*, which comes from *Wladimer*. All along from that place, the shore on the right hand rises by little and little, to such an extraordinary height, that looking on it from the water, it seems to be one continued mountain, for above a hundred *German* leagues along the River *Wolga*. Insomuch, that even in that season, as also in the greatest heat of Summer, those parts are not without Ice and Snow, though all elsewhere, the Country is plain, fertile and fit for Tillage, reaching above a hundred leagues towards the South-west, and on the other side, it lies very low, barren, and mooriſh.

July 11. having pass'd by the pleasant Villages of *Isbuilets*, *Troitska*, *Slowoda*, the Monastery of *Dudina*, and *Nosimki*, we got at night before the great and Noble City of *Nise*, or *Nisenovogorod*, where we found the ship, called the *Frederick*, which we had ordered to be built, by our Captain *Michael Cordes*, whereof we spoke in the beginning of our Relation. It was not quite finish'd, by reason the *Muscovian* Carpenters, whom the Captain had employ'd about her, had not answer'd his expectation; yet was it so far on, that the Ambassadors lodg'd in it, and so forbore going into the City. It was built of Deal, being 120 foot long, and 40 broad, having three Masts, and so flat-bottom'd, that it took but seven foot water. It had many Chambers and Closets, for the convenience of the Ambassadors, the Officers and Gentlemen of their Retinue, and some Iron and Brass Guns, a great number of Granadoes and other Fire-arms. And as our design was to make use of it chiefly upon the *Wolga*, which is full of Banks and quick-sands, it was so built, as that if there were no wind, they might use Oars; and to that end, it had twelve seats, two Oars to every seat. We had caused to be made a double Shallop, for the conveniency of unlading the Ship in those places where it might want water, as also to carry the Anchors, Cables, Sails, and other things necessary for so great a Voyage, and to discover those Banks and Sands in the *Caspian* Sea, which might hinder or retard its passage.

We stayd almost three weeks before the City of *Nisenovogorod*, for the finishing of the Ship; which time we spent in visiting our Friends in the City, where the chiefest *Dutch* Merchants entertain'd us at several great Feasts, as also in reciprocally treating them in our Tent, which we had pitch'd by the River side.

Our stay there gave me the convenience to observe the elevation of that place, which I found, at the place where the River *Occa* falls into the *Wolga*, to be at 56 degrees, 28 minutes, and that the Needle of the Compass declined there above nine degrees, towards the West. The Great Duke *Basili* ordered it to be built at the conflux or meeting of those two Noble Rivers, and gave it the name of *Nisenovogorod*, upon occasion of the Inhabitants of the great City of *Novogorod*, whom he caused to be transplated thither. This indeed is not so great as the other, yet hath its Towers and Walls of stone. From *Moscou* to *Nise* are accounted 500 *werstes*, or 100 *German* leagues by Land; but by water, it is above 150. The Suburbs are much bigger than the City, and are above half a league about. The Inhabitants are *Tartars*, *Muscovites*, and *Hollanders*, of whom there are so many as make a *Protestant* Church of about 100. persons. *John Bernarts*, our Factor, was the chiefest man among them, the rest being, for the most

Nisenovogorod.

1636. most part, Military Officers, Merchants, and Victuallers, or Sutlers. The City is Governed by a *Weywode*, who, at our passage that way, was *Basili Petrouits*, under the Great Duke. Provisions were so cheap there, that we bought a Pullet for a penny, a quartern of Eggs for as much, and a Mutton, for 12. 15. or, at most, for 18. pence.

July 24. The Ambassadors sent Monsieur *Mandelslo* and my self, accompany'd by our *Muscovian* Interpreter and the *Pristaf*, to the *Weywode*, to thank him for his civilities towards our people, during the stay they had made in the City, while the Ship was a building, which was almost a year, and to make him a Present of a Jewel worth a hundred Crowns. His reception of us discover'd how magnificently he liv'd, and what a noble house he kept. For as soon as notice was brought him that we were come near the house, he sent two very handsom compleat persons to meet us at the Gate. They conducted us through a very long Gallery, and at the entrance into the Palace it self, we met with two comely old men, richly clad, who brought us to the *Weywode*'s Chamber, who had on a Garment of Brocadoe, and was accompany'd by a great number of persons of Quality. The Room was hung with *Turkie* Tapistry, and had in it a great Cup-board of Plate. He receiv'd us with much civility, and having accepted the Present, and answer'd our Complement, he desir'd us to take our part of a Collation, during which, his Discourse was excellent good, and such as we thought the more extraordinary, in that the *Muscovites*, for the most part, contribute very little to any thing of Conversation. Among other things he asked us whether we did not fear meeting with the *Cosaques*, who in all likelyhood would set upon us ere we got off the *Wolga*, and told us, they were a barbarous and inhumane people, and more cruel than Lions, shewing us at the same time a Picture, wherein was represented *Sampson*'s engagement with one of those Creatures. We made him answer, that we look'd on that Piece as a good omen, in as much as if the *Cosaques* were stout as Lions, we should behave our selves, on the other-side, like *Sampsons*. The *Weywode* reply'd, that he had that good opinion of us, nay believ'd, that the repute our Nation had gain'd, by the services it had done his *Czaarick* Majesty, would frighten the *Cosaques*, and hinder them from attempting ought against us.

The River *Wolga* is four thousand six hundred Geometrical feet wide near *Nise*, at the meeting of the two Rivers; and whereas its waters encrease in the months of *May* and *June*, by reason of the Sun's having melted the Snow, and thaw'd the Rivers which fall into it, the Boatmen who go from *Moscou* to *Astrachan*, do commonly take that time, when there is water enough to pass over the Banks of Sand, nay indeed the little Illands which are very frequent in that River. This consideration, and the example of their misfortune, whose Boats we had seen cast away, and half rotten upon the Sands, made us resolve upon our departure thence with the soonest, before the waters, which visibly decreas'd, were fallen too low, and so we appointed it should be the 30th. of *July*.

The Wolga. The *Wolga*, whereof we gave a short accompt in the precedent book, is, in my opinion, one of the noblest and greatest Rivers in the World, its course being of a vast extent, from its source to the place where it falls into the *Caspian* Sea, below *Astrachan*. Whence it came that I took a delight to observe all the particularities thereof, from League to League, and from *Werste* to *Werste*, with all possible exactness, and with the assistance of a *Dutch* Master's-mate, named *Cornelius Nicholas*, one of the most able I ever came acquainted with in that Science, as also of some *Muscovian* Pilots, I have drawn a very exact Map of it, which I had made the World a promise of some years since, but now part with it, so well done, that I hope the Judicious Reader will be satisfy'd therewith.

Having bought Provisions for our Voyage as far as *Astrachan*, we left *Nise* the day before named, having only a side wind. Mr. *Balthasar Moucheron*, Commissary, or Agent from his Highness of *Holstein* about the Great Duke, the *Weywode* of *Nise*'s Secretary, the Pastor of the *Lutheran* Church there, and our Factor, *John Bernarts*, would needs accompany us some *Werstes*, to see the beginning of that long Voyage: but we had hardly got two *Werstes*, ere we were a ground near the Monastery of *Petsora*, and forc'd to cast Anchor, while the men were getting off the ship, which took them up four hours.

July 31. Having made about a *Werste*, the Ship touch'd against a Sand-bank, but was soon got off, and we had continu'd our course, if the contrary wind, together with a Tempest, had not oblig'd us to cast Anchor. This interval we spent in our Devotions, to give God thanks for his miraculous deliverance of us the year before, when we were wrack'd upon the *Baltick* Sea. Having entertain'd our friends with a Dinner and Musick, they took leave of us, and return'd that night to *Nise*.

AUG. *August* 1. The Ambassadors ordered what Guard should be kept all along the *Wolga*. Those who are able to bear Arms, both Soldiers and Servants, were divided into three Companies, under the Command of the 2. Ambassadors, and the Steward of the Embassy. The Ambassadors had each his Captain Lieutenant, Mr. *Crusius*, the Master of the Horse, and *Brugman*, the Secretary of the Embassy, who went to Guard every day alternately, set Sentinels at the fore-Castle and the Stern, and had their Court of Guard at the main Mast. The same day we made use

D.D.D.D.
EDOARDO MAUNSELL de Margam in Com: Glamorgan,
et
EDOARDO MAUNSELL de Mudlescomb in Com: Carmarthen,
Baronettis Accuratam hanc Nobilissimi totius Europæ Fluminis
WOLGÆ olim RHA dictæ
Destinationem,
D.D.D. I.D.
The Course of the Great River
WOLGA
by A: Olearius
Iohn Chantry Sculp.
CERE
MISSES
SORATOF
Casan
Wasiligorod
Nisenaugorod
Soratof
Samara
Lib. IV. Pag. 112

uſe of our Oars, the wind being againſt us; but we had hardly made 500 Paces, ere the ſhip ſtruck again upon the Sand. Moſt of our Gentlemen went aſhore, and had good fowling; for the High-Country between *Niſe* and *Caſſan* being well furniſh'd with Wood and Paſtures, was alſo well ſupply'd with fowl. 1636.

The 2. The wind being ſomewhat lay'd, we weigh'd Anchor, for the proſecution of our Voyage: but ere we had gotten a quarter of a League, we met again with Sand-banks near the Iſle of *Tletinski*, and ſoon after others, near the Iſle of *Subſinski*, where we ſaw a great Boat which had not long before been caſt away thereabouts. Theſe unfortunate accidents, our being nine hours getting off this laſt Bank, together with the ignorance of our Pilot, who acknowledg'd he had not made that Voyage in eight years before, much abated their courage, who, conſidering that in four days they had made but two Leagues, and that there were 550. to make, ere they came to the *Caſpian* Sea, began to doubt they ſhould never go through that Voyage.

But the 3*d*. We advanc'd a little better, and paſs'd by the Villages of *Stolbiza* and *Stoba*, which lye three leagues from *Niſe*. We ſaw afterwards, on the right hand, in a bottom between two Mountains, the Village of *Welikofrat*, that of *Tſimonski*, upon a Hill, and the Iſle of *Diploi* at twenty *Werſtes*, or four leagues from *Niſe*. Near this Village we met with a great Veſſel that had 200 men in it. It came from *Aſtrachan*, and was loaden with ſalt fiſh. They cannot be without ſuch a great number of Mariners, by reaſon that, inſtead of Laveering or Rowing, when the wind is againſt them, they caſt Anchor a quarter of a League before them, and all thoſe men pull the Cable to which it is faſten'd, and ſo they advance by little and little, with much expence of time and pains, making but two Leagues a day at moſt, by reaſon of the greatneſs of thoſe Boats, which are of 800. 900. or 1000. Tuns burthen. In the afternoon we left ſeveral Villages on the right hand, as *Beſwodna*, *Kaſnitza*, where I found the elevation to be 56 d. 21 m. *Rubotka*, *Tzetſchina*, *Targimts*, and *Jurkin*, where we paſs'd between two Iſlands at 21 foot water. This laſt Village is ten Leagues from *Niſe*. At night, the wind being more fair for us, we made uſe of our Sayls. The next day, the wind ſtill good, we paſs'd by ſeveral little Villages, leaving on the right hand the Towns of *Maſa* and *Cremonſki*, near which we lay at Anchor, the fourth all night, becauſe, the River being ſhallow thereabouts, we avoided running upon the Sand-banks in the dark.

The 5th. Betimes in the morning, we got before a little Village, called *Pannino*, whence the Peaſants brought us Pullets and other Proviſions to ſell, very cheap. Then we paſs'd between two Iſles, one called *Spaſſabelka*, and at night we came in ſight of the City of *Baſiligorod*, where we ſtay'd that night, by reaſon of the Sands. There we receiv'd by a Meſſenger, who had been ſent expreſs from *Moſcou*, Letters from *Germany*, dated in *May*. The City of *Baſiligorod* is not Wall'd, and its Houſes, even the publick edifices being but of Wood, we may ſay, it is properly but a Village. It is ſituated at the foot of a Mountain, upon the right ſhore of the River *Wolga*, at 55 degrees and 51 m. elevation, at the falling in of the little River *Sura*, which was heretofore a common Frontier between the *Tartars* of *Caſan* and the *Muſcovites*. The Great Duke *Baſili* built it, to prevent the incurſions of *Tartars*, and fortify'd it; but now that the *Muſcovites* have extended their Territories much farther, they think it unneceſſary to keep any Garriſon there. Baſiligorod.

The 6th. We had much ado to paſs the Sands, which we met with every foot, ſo that it was afternoon ere we came up to the City, which we ſaluted with a volley of our great Guns. That honour we did all the Cities upon the ſame River.

The *Tartars* we ſpoke of are called *Ceremiſſes*, and their Country reaches beyond *Caſan*, on both ſides of the River *Wolga*. They have no Houſes, but only wretched Huts, and live upon Honey, and the wild-fowl they take in the Woods, and Milk, which their Paſtures furniſh them with. 'Tis a Nation abſolutely barbarous, treacherous, and cruel, much given to ſorcery and robbery. Thoſe who live on the right ſide of the *Wolga* are called *Nagorni*, or Mountaineers, from the word *na*, which, in the *Muſcovian* Language, ſignifies, upon, and *Gor*, a Mountain: and thoſe on the left *Lugoivi* or *Lugowizene*, that is to ſay, Meadows, becauſe of the abundance of Hay which thoſe parts afford, inſomuch that the *Nagorni* are ſupply'd thence. *Guagnin* ſays, they are partly *Mahumetans*, partly *Heathens*; but this I am certain of, that about *Caſan* they are all *Heathens*; not knowing what either Circumciſion or Baptiſm means. All the Ceremony they have when they are to give a Child a name, conſiſts in appointing ſome day ſix moneths after, on which they give it the name of that perſon whom they firſt meet. Ceremiſſes.

Moſt of them believe there is a God, who is immortal, author of all the good that happens to men, and that he ought to be adored. But this is all they know of him; For they do not believe the immortality of the Soul, nor conſequently the Reſurrection of the dead: but that men and beaſts have the ſame beginning, and come to the ſame end. I met with one of the *Ceremiſſes* at a houſe where I lodg'd at *Caſan*. He was aged about 45 years, and wanted not ingenuity, but underſtanding that I was diſcourſing with my Hoſt about ſome points of Religion, and that I ſpoke of the Reſurrection of the Dead, he laugh'd at the perſwaſion,

1636. and ſaid to me, Thoſe who are dead are really dead, and will never return again, no more than my Horſes and Cows, which are long ſince rotten. I asked him whether he knew who Created this World, and made Heaven and Earth? his anſwer was, *Tzortſneit*, The Devil may haply know. They do not believe there is any Hell, yet are perſwaded there are Devils, and evil Spirits, which afflict and torment people in this life; and therefore they endeavour to appeaſe them, and to gain their favour by Sacrifices.

Forty Leagues from *Caſan* there is a place called *Nemda*, amidſt the Fenns, where theſe *Tartars* go Pilgrimages and do their Devotions; and they believe that thoſe who go thither empty-handed, and carry no Preſent to the Devil, ſhall languiſh and pine away of ſome long and incurable diſeaſe. A particular point of their faith, is, that the Devil hath his principal reſidence in the Torrent of *Schockschem*, ten *Werſtes* from *Nunda*; and whereas that little rivulet, which is but four foot deep, is never frozen (occaſion'd by the violence of its courſe between two Mountains) they think it is not without ſome myſtery, and they have ſo great a veneration for it, as to be perſwaded, they cannot come near it, without danger of their lives, though the *Muſcovites* croſs it dayly without any.

In their Sacrifices to God, they kill a Horſe, an Ox, or a Sheep, roaſting the fleſh, and take a cut thereof in a Diſh, and holding in the other hand another Diſh full of Hydromel, or ſome other liquor, they caſt both into a fire, which they make before the skin of the Creature that is ſacrificed, which skin they hang upon a Pole laid a-croſs between two Trees. They intreat that skin to preſent their Prayers to God, or ſometimes they make their addreſs immediately to God, and pray him to augment the number of their Cattel, or grant them ſome other conveniencies of this life, which are the only object of all their Devotions. They adore alſo the Sun and Moon, as Authors of all the Noble Productions of the Earth; nay they are ſo fondly ſuperſtitious, as to have a veneration for what ever preſents it ſelf to them in the night in their Dreams, and to adore it the next day, as a Horſe, a Cow, Fire, Water, *&c.* I told the *Tartar* I ſpoke of before, that it was madneſs, to worſhip thoſe Creatures, whoſe lives are at our diſpoſal; He reply'd, that it was better to adore things Animate, than the Gods of Wood and Colours which the *Muſcovites* have hanging on their Walls. They have neither Churches, nor Prieſts, nor Books, and the Language of the *Ceremiſſes* is peculiar to them, having in a manner nothing common with that of the other *Tartars*, nor yet with the *Turkiſh*; though thoſe who are ſubject to the *Czaar*, and ſo oblig'd to converſe with the *Muſcovites*, make uſe alſo of their Language.

They perform all Religious Ceremonies and Sacrifices near ſome Torrent, where they meet together, eſpecially when upon the death of any of their friends, who hath left any Wealth behind him, they make good Cheer with the beſt Horſe he had, which they put to death with the Maſter.

Polygamy is ſo ordinary among them, that there are few but have four or five Wives, whereof they take two or three into the ſame houſe, and make no great difficulty to marry two or three Siſters at the ſame time. Their Women and young Maids are all clad in a coarſe white Cloath, wherein they ſo wrap up themſelves, that there is nothing to be ſeen but their Faces. Thoſe that are betroathed have a particular dreſs for their Heads, which hath a point like a Horn, which ſeems to come out of the Head, about half an ell in length: At the end of that Horn, there is a Taſſel of ſilk, of diverſe colours, at which hangs a little Bell. The Men wear a long Coat or Garment of coarſe Linnen Cloath, under which they wear Breeches. They all ſhave their Heads, only thoſe young Men that are not married, leave on the Head a long treſs of Hair, which ſome tye up into a knot upon the Head, others ſuffer to hang down the Back: which particularity we had the opportunity to take better notice of at our return at *Caſan*. When they ſaw us upon the River in a Dreſs ſo different from theirs, they were affrighted, ſo as that ſome fled, others had the confidence to ſtay on the Rivers ſide, but not one would venture to come into the Ship. Being come at night to the River of *Welluka*, near the Monaſtery of *Junka*, one of theſe *Tartars* had the courage to bring us a Sturgeon to ſell, for which, at firſt, he asked a Crown, but afterwards let it go for xv *d.*

Auguſt 7. we came before the City of *Kuſmademiansky*, 40. *werſtes* from *Baſiligorod*, ſeated at the foot of a mountain on the right hand. We ſaw, in thoſe parts, whole Foreſts of Elms, the Bark whereof they ſell all over the Country to make Sledges of. The Trees are many times of ſuch compaſs, that the body of them being cut cylinder-wiſe, they make great Fats, Barrels, and Coffins thereof, all of one piece, which they ſell at the adjacent Towns.

We caſt Anchor three *werſtes* thence near the Iſland of *Krius*, where we did our Devotions, and Celebrated the Lords Supper. The Peaſants thereabouts, brought aboard the Ship ſeveral proviſions to ſell. About a league thence a tempeſt overtook us, and forc'd us to caſt Anchor and to ſtay there all night.

The 8. the wind fair, we got, about noon, near the Iſland of *Turich*; but in the afternoon, the ſame wind forc'd our Ship, being under all the Sail ſhe could make, upon a Sand-bank, near the Iſland of *Maſlof*, with ſuch violence, that it was thought the Maſts would have broken;

and

and this prov'd such a check to us, that it cost us four hours toil and trouble to get off. We perceiv'd on the right hand a great number of *Tartars*, some a-foot, some on horse-back, coming from Hay-making. We came at night before the City of *Sabakzar*, 40. *werstes* from *Kusmademianski*, and upon the same side of the River. The buildings of this City are of Wood, as are those of all the rest, but the situation of this is, beyond comparison, more pleasant than that of any other City of *Tartary*. The Inhabitants perceiving our Ship at some distance, knew not at first what to think of her; whence it came that the *Weywode* sent some Musketiers in a Boat, as far as the Island of *Makrits*, three *werstes* from the City, to discover what we were. The Boat thinking it not safe to venture too near us, took a compass, at a great distance about our Ship, and so returned to the City. But they no sooner understood our quality by our Pass-port, and withall the occasion of our Voyage, but there came above 300. persons to the River side to see us pass by. 1636.

The City of Sabakzar.

The 9. we pass'd by the Island of *Cosin*, leaving it on the left hand, 12. *werstes* from *Sabakzar*. Afterwards on the same hand a Village, named *Sundir*, and thence we came to a little City called *Kockschaga*, on the left side of the *Wolga*, 25. *werstes* from *Sabakzar*. The River is so shallow thereabouts, that there was hardly water enough for our Ship, which put us to much trouble, both that day and the next.

The 11. the current having forc'd the Ship upon the shore, where we were constrain'd to stay for several hours, M. *Mandelslo* and my self went a shore, to divert our selves and see what Fruits we could find in the Woods. Which had like to have occasion'd us a great misfortune, for the wind turning fair, at our return to the River side, all were gone, the Ship it self not in sight, though we made all the hast we could to overtake it. At last we saw a Boat coming towards us, which we thought at first might belong to the *Cosaques*; but soon after we perceiv'd they were some of our own, sent to bring us aboard. The contrary wind had stay'd the Ship at a turning of the River, and the tempest still increasing, we were forc'd to cast anchor, and to lie there all night.

The 12. we spent in getting beyond the turning by the help of an Anchor which we order'd to be cast at some distance before us, but with this misfortune, that having fasten'd in a Tree that was in the bottom, the Cable broke ere it could be had up again. The River is very full of those Trees, which it brings down with it when it overflows; and these accidents happen so frequently, that the bottom of the River is so lay'd with Anchors, that the *Muscovites* say, there are as many as would purchase a Kingdom.

The 13. before noon, we saw, as we pass'd, two *Cabaques*, or Taverns, and a Village named *Wesoska*, on the right hand, and came afterwards before the City of *Suiatski*. It is seated on the ascent of a hill, on the left hand, having a Castle and some Churches built of stone: but all the other buildings, as also the Towers and Rampiers of the City, are of wood. We cast Anchor there, by reason of a Sand-bank which we were to pass by. The people in the mean time came in multitudes to the River side to see us, and by reason that a little sandy Hill hindred their having a full sight of us, many came in Boats to the Ship side, others swam over to the Hill. Having pass'd by certain white Mountains, whereof some were of Chalk, others of Sand, we came at night before the City of *Casan*, 20. *werstes* from *Suiatski*. We there found the Caravan of *Persia* and *Circassia*, and with it a *Coptzi* or *Persian* Merchant, who had been sent Ambassador to *Moscou*. There was in this place also a *Tartarian* Prince, of *Terki*, whose name was *Mussal*, who had succeeded his Brother in the Principality, and had then been doing homage to the *Czaar*, at *Moscou*, which he had left some dayes before us.

The City of Suiatski.

The City of Casan.

A Tartar Prince.

The City of *Casan* is seated in a plain, 7. *werstes* from the *Wolga*, upon the River *Casanka*, which gives it the name, as it does to the whole Province. I found the elevation there to be 55. degrees, 38. minutes. It is of a considerable bigness, but all its Houses, as also the Towers and Rampiers, are of wood. Only the Castle and its Fortifications are of stone, being well mounted with Canon, and having a strong Garrison in it. The River is instead of a Ditch to it, and makes it a very considerable fortress. The Castle hath its *VVeywode*, and the City, its Governour, who commands and administers Justice to the Inhabitants, who are *Muscovites* and *Tartars*: But in the Castle they are all *Muscovites*, and the *Tartars* are prohibited entring into it upon pain of death.

The Province of *Casan* lies on the left side of the River of *VVolga*, reaching Northwards as far as *Siberia*, and Eastward, as far as the *Tartars* of *Nagaja*. It was heretofore subject to the *Cham* of *Tartary*, and so populous, that it could send 60000. men into the Field. The conquest of it cost the *Muscovite* much blood, and the story of its reduction is so remarkable, that I think fit here to make a short digression to give an accompt thereof.

The Province of Casan.

Basili Juanouits, Father to the Tyrant *Juan Basilouits*, having obtain'd a famous Victory over these *Tartars*, made Chief over them one named *Scheale*, a *Tartar* by birth, but one so ill shap'd as to his Person, that his Subjects, who soon conceiv'd an aversion for him, joyning with the *Tartars* of *Chrim*, who are *Mahumetans*, as they also are, made an insurrection, surpriz'd him, and ejected him. This success gave the *Chrim-Tartars*, who had got a considerable

Reduc'd by the Muscovites.

1636. Army together, the courage to enter *Muscovy*, under the conduct of two Brethren, *Mendligeri*, and *Sapgeri*, who forc'd the *Muscovite*, with certain Troops which he had made a shift to get together, and were encamped upon the River *Occa*, to retreat to *Novogorod*.

The Tartars Masters of the City of Moscou.

The consequence of this was the besieging, taking and plundring of the City of *Moscou*; nay they reduc'd the Castle to that extremity, that the *Muscovites* were forc'd to sue for a Peace. The *Tartars* were willing to hearken to an accommodation, and having got very considerable Presents from those who kept the Castle, who maintain'd it with more courage than success, they made a Peace, whereof this was one Article, That the Great Duke and all his Subjects, should ever after be Tributaries to them. *Basili* was loath to submit to such dishonourable Terms, but forc'd to comply with necessity, he accepted them, and confirmed the agreement by his Letters Patents.

The Great Duke Tributary to the Tartar.

Mendligeri, to make it appear he was Sovereign Lord of *Moscou*, caused a Statue of his to be erected in the heart of the City, and would needs oblige the Great Duke, to express his subjection, to smite the ground with his head, before that Statue, as often as he paid Tribute to the *Tartars*. After this Victory the Brethren parted; *Sapgeri* establish'd the Seat of his Government at *Casan* and *Mendligeri*, as being the Elder-Brother, his, at the City of *Chrim*. But the later desirous to add to his former conquest that of the City of *Resan*, resolv'd to lay siege to the Castle thereof, and to that end, he sent word to the *Weywode*, *John Kowar*, who commanded it, that it was madness in him to think to maintain the place, and that he should make no difficulty to deliver it up, since the Great Duke was become his Subject. The *Weywode* sent him answer, that it was a thing so extraordinary, that he could not believe it, unless he sent him such assurances thereof, as should put him out of all doubt. *Mendligeri* imagining there could not any thing be more convictive in that case than the Letters Patents, sent them to him by certain Officers, just as he had receiv'd them from the Great Duke. But the *Weywode*, not a little glad to have the Original of those Letters in his hands, sends *Mendligeri* word, that he would keep them as safely as he would do the place he was in, which he resolv'd to maintain to the last drop of blood. There was in the Castle an *Italian* Canoneer named *John Jordan*, well known in those parts upon the accompt of his Wife, who would needs have her Husband express his affection to her by beating her with a Bull's pizzle. This man did the *Weywode* very great services, and kill'd so many *Tartars*, that *Mendligeri* perceiving one day, that a Canon-bullet had taken off a piece of his Garment, was frighted, and proffered to raise the Siege, upon condition they would return the Great Duke's Letters. But the *Weywode* would hearken to no such thing, and having oblig'd *Mendligeri* to retreat, he sent the Letters to his Prince's Court, where they were received with the general joy of all the people, who immediately thereupon pull'd down, and broke to pieces the Statue of *Mendligeri*. Nay the Great Duke himself took such courage from that Action, that having rais'd an Army of 25000 men, he proclaim'd open War against *Sapgeri*, Prince of *Casan*, sending him word, that he, by surprising and assaulting him without declaring any War, had proceeded like a Murtherer and a Robber; but that himself, as Soveraign Lord and Conservator of all the *Russes*, proceeded therein as a person of Honour should do, and sent him word, that his Army was upon the march, in order to the besieging of *Casan*. This Siege caus'd the loss of much blood on both sides, but prov'd unfortunate to the *Muscovites*, who were at last forc'd to raise it. Thus ended the War between the Great Duke *Basili Juanouits* and the *Tartars*.

The fidelity of the Weywode of Resan.

Casan besieged by John Basilouits.

His Son, *John Basilouits*, to shew the World how much he resented the affront, which the *Muscovites* had receiv'd before *Casan*, began his Reign with the Siege of that place. Having batter'd it for the space of two moneths together, fearing that *Mendligeri* would come in with his *Crim-Tartars* to the relief of his Brother, and exasperated at the refusal which the besieged had made, to accept of very honourable conditions, he commanded all the Walls to be undermined, and a general assault to be given. The Mines wrought their effect, and took off great numbers of the *Tartars*, the Assault was given, and the place carry'd by storm, on the 9 of *July* 1552. The *Tartars* perceiving the enemies were gotten into the place, took this resolution after they had made a vigorous resistance in two several places within the City, where they fortify'd themselves, and seeing their chiefest Commanders kill'd or wounded, they went out at one of the Gates, made their way through the *Muscovites*, and got on the other side of the River *Casanska*. Ever since, the City and Province of *Casan* hath continued under the *Muscovite*, who repair'd the breaches, renew'd the Fortifications, and reduc'd the Castle to the condition it is now in, having four Bastions, of stone, many Towers, and a good Ditch.

And takes it by storm.

He who had the command of this place, when we pass'd that way, was Brother to the *Weywode* of *Nise* The Ambassadors sent him, as a Present, by their Chamberlain, M. *Uchterits*, a very Noble Ruby. M. *Mandelslo* and I, conceiving our Ship would have lain there at Anchor all that day and the next, went ashore, as well to take the situation of the City, as to buy certain provisions. We could meet with nothing but Fruits, among others, particularly Melons, full as big as our Pompions, and Salt-fish, but such as stunk so that we were forc'd to stop our Noses, to shun the infection. As we came out of the City, we met with divers

Melons of extraordinary bigness.

Tartars,

Tartars, who told us that our Ship was gone; which intelligence oblig'd us to take a VVagon, and afterwards, to make use of the *Pristaf's* Boat to bring us aboard, which, in the evening we found at Anchor, two leagues below *Casan*, where they intended to lye all that night. 1636.

The course of the River *Wolga* from *Nisenovogorod* to *Casan*, is East-ward, and South-East-ward; but from *Casan* to *Astrachan*, and the *Caspian* Sea, it goes from North to South. The Country is very good, and fertile, but in a manner desolate, by reason of the *Cosaques*, and hath but few Villages. *The Course of Wolga.*

Aug. 15. We continu'd our course, with the current of the water, which being very strong in that place by reason of the narrowness of the River, brought us that day as far as the Village of *Klitsischa*, 26. *werstes* from *Casan*, lying amidst several Sand-banks, which we had much ado to pass through. Some part of that day, as also of the next, we spent in recovering our Anchors, whereof the Cables were broken; we at last made a shift to get up the great one, and left the little one behind, as being loath to lose any more time. Thence, we pass'd by a Tavern called *Kabak Tenkofski*, 30. *werstes* from *Casan*, where we met with great Sand-banks; and about half a League beyond it, another Bank, near a Tavern called *Keshofska*, which we had much difficulty to pass.

The 17. We pass'd over a great Bank, which had given the name to the Tavern we had pass'd by the day before. Thence we came to a place, where the shore on one side was very high, and some part of it fallen into the River about a moneth before, and by its fall had overwhelm'd a Boat full of people, who were going that way to gather Cherries, whereof there is abundance in those parts. The new Pilot, whom we had taken up at *Casan*, told us, that coming from *Astrachan*, he had met several of those Carkasses floating down the River, towards the *Caspian* Sea. Hereabouts, near the shore, on the right hand, we met with great quantities of Ice, which we put into our drinks, to make them drink the cooler. *Ice in August.*

In the evening we came to a place where the great River of *Kama* falls into the *Wolga*. It comes from North-East, out of the Province of *Permie*, and falls into the *Wolga*, on our left hand, 60. *werstes* from *Casan*. The water of it is blackish, and it is much about the same breadth as that of *Weser* in *Germany*. At the mouth of it there are two Islands, whereof the greater is called *Sokol*; and upon the Continent, over against it, a handsom Village called *Pagantzina*, and three *werstes* thence, another, named *Corotai*, whence we got seven *werstes* further, as far as a Village named *Kirieska*, where we stay'd all night. *The River Kama.*

The 18. The wind was so fair for us, that we made all the Sail we could, and got, by noon, to the place where the River *Zerdick* falls into the *Wolga*, which is also on the left hand. It is indeed but a branch of the River *Kama*, making a kind of an Island, and having another mouth thirty *werstes* from the former. We discover'd at the same time on our right hand, upon a little ascent, the City of *Tetus*, distant from *Casan* 120. *werstes*, having its buildings, as well publick as private, disorderly scatter'd up and down. From this place to the *Caspian* Sea, there is no Village at all. *The City of Tetus.*

In the afternoon, near an Island called *Proleikarsa*, we met with the *Weywode* of *Terki*. This City is seated upon the *Caspian* Sea near *Astrachan*, and the *Weywode*, upon the expiration of his three years Government, was then returning to *Moscou*, to make way for his Successor. He was very well attended, having a Convoy of eight Boats with Musketiers in them. At first, we knew not who they were, so that we kept them at a distance, by threatning to fire at them if they came nearer. They told us there were three thousand *Cosaques*, who expected us at the passage, some upon the River, some on the *Caspian* Sea; that they had seen not far thence, upon the River-side, 70. horse, which the *Tartars* had drawn off to make a discovery of us, and that they would be sure to set upon us; thinking with these stories to frighten us. We gave them one great shot, and kept on our course, having the wind so fair, as that it carried us 70. *werstes* that day. In the mean time, we left on our left hand the River *Utka*, which rises near the City of *Bulgara*, 25. *werstes* from *Tetus*. We thought fit, the night following, to make tryal what our people could do, in case we should be set upon, so that the Ambassadors conceived it would not be amiss to have a false Alarum given, ordering the Sentinels to cry out, and to discharge, and thereupon the Drums to beat, and the Musket and great Guns to be shot off. Our men did their parts very well, and kept their stations, expressing much resolution. We did the like in our return from *Persia*. *The River of Utka.*

The 19. VVe came to the Island of *Staritzo*, which is 15. *werstes* long. There I found the Elevation to be 54. d. 31. m. Behind that Island, on the right hand, we found a great number of round stones, much after the form of Orenges or Citrons, which, being broken in the midst, represented a Star of divers colours, whereof some had the resemblance of polish'd Gold or Silver, others where brown or yellow. VVe took up a good quantity of them, to serve us for bullets for our Murthering-Pieces. Thence we came to a very pleasant place, where might have been seen heretofore a City of *Tartary*, called *Uneroskora*. There, had been buried one of their Saints, for which Monument those that live thereabouts have still a great Devotion. From this

place

1636. place to the City of *Tetus* are accompted *65 werſtes*. We ſaw on the River-ſide, under certain Trees, two men on horſ-back, who immediately got out of the way, which occaſion'd us to ſend one to ſtand Sentinel in the Scuttle of the main Maſt; but they appear'd no more.

The 20. There came ſeveral Fiſher-men of *Tetus* aboard us, and brought us 55 large breams, which they had taken thereabouts, and ſold them us for fifty pence. They have a particular way of fiſhing. They faſten to the end of a long cord, a pretty big ſtone, which falls to the bottom, and at the other end of the ſaid cord ſeveral great pieces of Wood which ſwim upon the water. All along this cord are faſten'd many little cords, each whereof hath a hook baited with a certain kind of fiſh which is not of the leaſt, but ſuch as the others greedily feed upon. The fiſh they take by this invention is ten or twelve foot long, the meat of it white, firm, and very delicate. In our return from *Perſia*, there was one brought to the Boat where I was with the Ambaſſador *Cruſius*, which was ſo big, though there was nothing elſe eaten, by reaſon every one liked it ſo well, yet was all the company ſatisfied, and there was as much left as fill'd a barrel, wherein it was pickled up.

When the *Muſcovites* travel about their own occaſions, they make uſe of another invention. They faſten a hook to the end of a Cord, and tye the Cord about a piece of board of about the breadth of a man's hand, plain'd very ſmooth, and tinn'd over; and drag it after the Boat, ſo as that the current of the water cauſing it ever and anon to turn up towards the Sun, makes it ſhine like the ſcales of a fiſh: by which means drawing the greater ſort of fiſh after it, they take more than they can ſpend while they are on the water. So that the *Muſcovites*, making no other proviſion, for their journeys, but of bread twice bak'd or dried in the Oven, find it no hard matter to ſubſiſt any where; not to mention, that their continual abſtinences, and their Faſts having accuſtom'd them to be content with little, and to care little for fleſh, they make a ſhift to live upon any thing they can meet withall; nay, in caſe of neceſſity, upon the liquor which Nature furniſhes them with.

At this place we let go the Boat which had carried our Proviſions from *Niſe*, which being empty we had no further uſe for: but we thought fit to ſet it a fire, leſt it might have fallen into the hands of the *Coſaques*, who would have made uſe of it againſt us. About noon, we paſs'd by the Iſland of *Botenska*, which is three *werſtes* in length, and is only divided by a ſmall Chanel, from a kind of Cape, or Promontory, called *Polibno*. The contrary wind forc'd us to Anchor behind the Iſland, near the River *Beitma*, which, as they ſay, is alſo a branch of the great River *Kama*.

The 21. We left, on the right hand, two very pleaſant places, which are reported to have been heretofore great Cities, deſtroy'd by *Tamberlane*, whereof one was called *Simberska-gora*.

The 22. With ſome little difficulty, we paſs'd over three Sand Banks, whereof one is above, the other, below the place whence may be ſeen the Mountain *Arbeuchim*, which was on our right hand. It derives its name from a City, whereof the ruines are yet to be ſeen.

There may be ſeen from the River a great ſtone about 20 foot in length, and as many in breadth, lying between two little Hills, having engraven on it the words following, *Budeſch time dobro tobœ budet*; that is to ſay, *If thou raiſe me, thou ſhalt be well rewarded.* We were told, that not long before, a great *Muſcovian* Boat being forc'd by contrary winds to make ſome ſtay there, fifty Paſſengers went aſhore, to raiſe the ſtone; but when they had with much ado turned it, they only found engraven on the other ſide theſe words, *Tſto iſches netſebo poloſchen*; that is to ſay, *In vain doſt thou look for what thou hadſt not put there.* On the right hand, we had the view of a ſpacious and very delightful Champain Country, the ground very rich, with a high graſs on it; but it was not inhabited, and there could be ſeen only the ruins of Cities and Villages, which had been heretofore deſtroy'd by *Tamberlane*.

The 23. The contrary wind forc'd us to Anchor near the River *Adrobe*, where I found the Elevation to be 53 degr. 48 minutes. In the afternoon, we thought to advance a little by laveering, but we hardly got half a league further.

The 24. The contrary wind, ſtill continuing at the ſame height, forc'd us twice againſt the ſhore, and very much hindred the proſecution of our Voyage. For ſome dayes following we had the ſame incovenience, by reaſon of the Sand-banks, and the inconſtancy of the wind, which riſe about nine in the morning; and about five at night there was not the leaſt breath ſtirring, by that means adding to the affliction which otherwiſe lay heavy enough on us. For, beſides that the indiſpoſition of moſt of our people made that undelightful voyage the more tedious to them, continual watching, and the inſupportable trouble we were every foot put to, reduc'd them to a very ſad condition. Thoſe who had been in action all night, though it was not their profeſſion to bear Arms, were, in the day time, forc'd to row. Smoak'd and Salt-meats afforded little nouriſhment, and the diſcontents ariſing orherwiſe upon the frowardneſs of one of the Ambaſſadors, in a manner took away the little courage we had left to encounter with the great inconveniences of that long voyage.

The

The 25. We saw on the right hand, a Mountain out of which the *Muscovites* get Salt, which they prepare in certain Huts, built for that purpose at the foot of the Mountain, then expose it to the Sun, and send it along the *Wolga* for *Moscou*. Opposite to this Mountain is the Island of *Kostowata*. The River hereabouts is very broad, by reason of the lowness of the shores on both sides. Not far hence there is another Mountain, at the foot whereof is the River *Ussa*, which though it there falls into the *Wolga*, yet is united again to it, sixty *werstes* below *Samara*. There are on both sides of the River pleasant Pastures; but not far thence there being thick VVoods with a high Mountain adjoyning, whence Robbers discover at a great distance what Passengers there are coming, it is very dangerous travelling that way. The *Cosaques* make their advantages thereof, and not a year before our passage that way, they took a great Vessel loaden, belonging to one of the richest Merchants of *Nise*. Near this River we had sixty foot water, as also near the Mountain *Diwisagora*, which word signifies, the Maids Mountain, and the *Muscovites* say it derives its name from certain Maids that had sometime been kept there by a Shee-Dwarf. VVe left it on the right hand. It is very high and steepy towards the River, whence it may be seen divided into several Hills, pleasant to the eye by reason of the diversity of the colours, some being red, some blew, some yellow, *&c.* and representing, at a great distance, the ruins of some great and magnificent structure. Upon every Hill or Bank is a row of Pine-Trees, so regularly planted, that a man might doubt whether it were not Artificial, were it not that the Mountain is inaccessible of all sides. At the foot of this Mountain there rises another, which reaches along the River, for eight Leagues together. The Valley between those two Mountains, is called *Jabla-new-quas*, that is to say, Apple-drink, from the great number of Apple-Trees there, which bear Apples fit only for Cider. 1636. *The River Ussa.*

The same day we receiv'd Letters from *Moscou* by an expres Messenger, who brought us also Letters from *Nise*, by which we understood, that among our Mariners, there were four *Cosaques*, who came into our retinue, purposely to betray us into the hands of their Camerades. This notice, though we were carefull enough to look after our people before, added to our care, and made us more vigilant.

In the evening, after Sun-set, we perceiv'd two great fires at the entrance of a VVood on the right hand, which putting us into a fear they might be the *Cosaques* who lay in wait for us, there were five or six Musketiers sent to discover what they where: but ours having shot off three Muskets, the other answer'd them with the like number, and discover'd themselves to be *Strelits*, who had been ordered to Guard a *Persian* Caravan, and were then returning to their Garrisons. The Ambassador *Brugman*, impatient to hear what accompt our men would bring, and thinking they stay'd very long, call'd after them as loud as he could, but the contrary wind hindred them from hearing him; and in that suspence he would have had some of the great Guns discharg'd at those fires; but the Ambassador *Crusius* oppos'd it, and told him, that their quality obliging them to stand onely upon the defensive part, he would not by any means consent thereto.

In the night, between the 26. and 27. our Sentinels perceiv'd in a little Boat, two men, who, thinking to go along by our ship-side, were stay'd, and forc'd to come aboard us. They said they were fisher-men, and that the *Muscovites*, whom they called their brethren, suffered them to go along with their Boats by night as well as by day: but, in regard we were told, the *Cosaques* took this course, and were wont to come near Vessels, to cut their Cables, we examin'd them apart, and finding their answers different, one saying there were 500. *Cosaques* waiting for us, in an Isle near *Soratof*, the other denying it, they were kept all night, and the next morning we sent them by our *Pristaf* to the *Weywode* of *Samara*.

The 27. We saw, on the left hand, in a spacious plain, not far from the River side, a Hill of Sand like a Down. The *Muscovites* call it *Sariol Kurgan*, and affirm, that a certain *Tartarian* Emperour, named *Momaon*, who had a design to enter *Muscovy*, together with seven Kings of the same Nation, dy'd in that place, and that his Soldiers, instead of burying him, fill'd their Head-pieces and Bucklers with Sand, and so cover'd the body that it became a Mountain.

About a League from the said Hill, and on the same side, begins the Mountain of *Soccobei*, which reaches along the River-side, as far as *Samara*, which is distant from that place 15. *werstes*. It is very high, in a manner all Rock, cover'd with Trees, unless it be on the top, where it is all bare. The *Muscovites* take much notice of this place, because it is very dangerous passing thereabouts. We came near it about noon, but the contrary wind oblig'd us to cast Anchor. While we stay'd there we saw coming from the shore two great red Snakes, which got by the Cables into the ship. As soon as the *Muscovites* perceiv'd them, they intreated us not to kill them, but to give them somewhat to eat, as being a sort of innocent beasts, sent by St. *Nicholas*, to bring us a fair wind, and to comfort us in our affliction. *The superstition of the Muscovites.*

The 28. We weigh'd betimes in the morning, and came before day near the City of *Samara*, which is 350. *werstes* from *Casan*. It lies on the left hand, two *werstes* from the River side. It is, as to form, almost square, all its buildings of VVood, unless it be some Churches, and two *The City of Samara.*

or

1636. or three Monasteries. The River of *Samar*, whence it hath the name, by a little Bank, which is called *Sin-Samar*, falls into the *Wolga*, three *werstes* below the City, but is not absolutely united thereto till after 30 *werstes* lower.

We intended to make some stay near the City, in expectation to hear, by our *Pristaf*, what our Prisoners had depos'd; but the wind came so fair for us, that we thought better not to let slip the opportunity we then had to make the greatest days journey of any since the beginning of our Voyage. Accordingly, we got at night, to the Mountain of the *Cosaques*, which is 115 *werstes* from *Samara*, and so the prognostication of the *Muscovian* Mariners, by the Snakes, proved true. From the City of *Samara*, to the place where the river *Samar* falls into the *Wolga*, there is all along one continued mountain. Near the same place, but on the other side of the River, the River *Ascula* falls into it, so that the falling in of all these waters together, does so swell the *Wolga*, that in this place it is near two leagues broad. Afterwards, on the right hand may be seen the mountain called *Pestcherski*, which is in a manner all one Rock, having very little upon it, and reaching near 40 *werstes* along the river side.

The Mountain of the Cosaques.

About 100 *werstes* from *Samara*, in the midst of the river, is the Island of *Batrach*, and ten *werstes* lower that of *Lopatin*, which is five *werstes* in length, and lies opposite to the river *Lisran*, which there falls into the *Wolga*, on the right hand. Afterwards, we pass'd by many little Isles, and came very late at night to the mountain of the *Cosaques*. It is all bare and without wood. The *Cosaques* who live upon the River *Don*, and had their retreating places in this mountain, whence they at a great distance discovered the Boats that were coming down, and there appointed parties to carry on their Robberies, have given it the name. But ever since the *Weywode* of *Samara* surpriz'd there a great party of *Cosaques*, whereof there were five or six hundred kill'd upon the place, they have forborn assembling there in so great numbers, and appear only in small parties. All these mountains do sometimes reach a great way into the Country, and sometimes they do but in a manner border the river, to which they serve instead of a bank. We lay at Anchor all night, at the place where this mountain begins, and the next day, 29. we pass'd it, and, in our way, the river *Pantzina*, which falls into the *Wolga*, on the right hand, and having sail'd that day 45 *werstes*, we cast Anchor at night near the Isle of *Sagerinsko*, where we staid all night. Some Fisher-men, who came aboard, gave us intelligence that they had seen thereabouts 40 *Cosaques*, who had made their appearance on the river side. Here we told our people, that our Beer beginning to grow low, they must content themselves for the future with water, into which they might put a little Vinegar, and so make *Oxicrat* of it.

Aug. 30. we came betimes in the morning to the mouth of the river *Zagra*, which falls into the *Wolga* on the right hand, near the Isle of *Zagerinsko*, to which it gives the name. Forty *werstes* thence, we pass'd by the Isle of *Sosnou*, where news was brought us, that we should meet with the 500 *Cosaques*, of whom one of the Fisher-men of *Samara* had given us an alarm; whereupon all took Arms, and the Guns were made ready, but we saw not any body.

Towards noon, we came over against the mountain of *Tichy*, which comes out so far on the right hand, that at a great distance, it seems to dam up the river, which nevertheless is so shallow thereabouts, that some affirmed, the *Cosaques* forded it. Not far off there is a Bank of Sand, called *Owetzabrot*, and several little Isles, full of copses and bushes, which the *Cosaques* know how to make their advantages of, in the carrying on their enterprises. There we met with two Fishermen, who told us, that some eight days before, the *Cosaques* had taken a great Boat from them, and had told them that within a small time, they expected to come into those parts a great *German* ship. In the evening, we called to two other Fisher-men, who coming aboard, we asked them what they knew concerning the *Cosaques*. The more aged was at first cautious and would say nothing, but perceiving, the other, who was much younger, had not used the same reserv'dness, he confirm'd what his Camerade had said, and assur'd us, that he had seen 40 *Cosaques* retreating into the Wood, which we discover'd from our Ship, and that they had six Boats, which they had brought ashore, to be made use of against us. They both intreated us, to make our best advantage, of that discovery, which would cost them their lives, if the *Cosaques* came to know as much, and to carry them away as Prisoners, and set them ashore some *werstes* thence. Which we accordingly did, but we doubled our Guards, and kept them under a Guard all that night, in regard we had no reason to be more confident of them, than of the *Cosaques* themselves. The next morning at the Break of day, we dismiss'd them. That day we sailed 60 *werstes*.

The last of *August*, we had so good a wind that we got 120. *werstes* between Sun and Sun. The Isle of *Ossino*, ten *werstes* distant from *Saratof*, was the first thing we saw that day. The Sand-bank which near that place reaches a great way into the River, put us to some difficulty to pass it. The Ship struck several times against it, yet at last pass'd it without any stop. Twenty *werstes* thence there is another Isle called *Schismamago*, and then that of *Koltof*, which is 50 *werstes* from *Soratof*, where we found sometimes 16. sometimes 20. sometimes 30. some-

times

times 40. foot water. Between these two Isles we met with two great Boats, having each of them 400. Mariners aboard it, one belong'd to the Patriarch, and was loaden with Provisions; the other, which was loaden with *Cavayar*, which is a past of the Spawn or Eggs of Sturgeon salted, as we have said elsewhere, belong'd to the Great Duke. They gave us several Volleys of small shot, and we answer'd their civility with a great Gun. Near the Isle of *Koltof*, we met with four other Boats, coming from *Astrachan*, loaden with Salt and Salt-fish, upon the accompt of *Gregori Mikitof*, one of the richest Merchants of *Moscou*. The Boat-men told us that they had seen, near *Astrachan*, in several Boats, about 200. *Cosaques*, who had suffer'd them to pass, without saying any thing to them. Not far from this Isle may be seen on the right hand, the mountain of *Smiowa*, which is above 40. *werstes* in length. The word *Smiowa* signifies a Serpent, and they have given the Mountain that name, because it sometimes winds it self a great way into the Country, sometimes, it only borders the River. The *Muscovites* would have it so called from a Serpent, or Dragon, which having done abundance of mischief thereabouts, was kill'd by some great Heroe, and cut into three pieces, which were immediately metamorphosed into so many stones, and are shewn to this day, to such as pass that way. From this Mountain, all along the plain may be seen many Isles, which they call *Sarok ostrowe*, that is to say, the Forty Isles. 1636.

Sept. 1. betimes in the morning, we met with three great Boats, between 5. and 600. tun a piece, which yet took up but 12. foot of water. They tow'd after them a great many little Boats, in order to the unloading of the great ones, where the River is not deep enough. The biggest of them carried Provisions for the Monastery of *Troitza*, whereof we have spoken elsewhere. The Salute was the same with what we had made to those we had met before. About nine in the morning, we pass'd in sight of the City of *Soratof*. It is seated at 52. deg. 12. min. elevation, in a great plain four *werstes* from the River, and upon a branch which the *Wolga* makes on that side. All the Inhabitants are *Muscovian* Musketiers, under the command of a *Weywode*, sent thither by the Great Duke, for the preservation of the Country, against the *Tartars*, called *Kalmuches*, who are possess'd of a vast Country, reaching from those parts as far as the *Caspian* Sea, and to the River *Jaika*. These *Tartars* make frequent incursions as far as the River *Wolga*, and are not so inconsiderable, but that they many times proclaim open War against the Great Duke. From *Samara* to *Soratof*, are 350. *werstes*. SEPTEMBER. *The City of Soratof.*

The second, having a fair wind, we pass'd in sight of the Isles of *Kriusna* and *Sapunofka*, which are at a small distance one from the other, and came to the Mountain of *Achmats Kigori*, which ends at an Isle of the same name, 50. *werstes* from *Saratof*. This Mountain affords a very pleasant Prospect, in as much as the top of it is clad with a perfectly-excellent verdure, the ascent checquer'd with a soil or mold of several different colours, and the skirt of it is a very great bank, so even, that it seems to have been done by hand. Twenty *werstes* from the Isle of *Achmatsko* we saw that of *Solotoi*, and afterwards the Mountain of *Sallottogori*, or the Golden Mountain. The *Muscovites* told us, that name was given it, for this reason, that heretofore the *Tartars* had thereabouts surpriz'd a *Muscovian* Fleet, so richly loaden, that they divided Gold and Silver by the Bushel. We were no sooner past by this Mountain, but we came in sight of another, called *Millobe*, that is to say, Chalk. It reaches along the River 40. *werstes*, having the top as even as if it had been done by a Level, and makes an insensible descent down to the River, at the foot whereof are many Trees planted checquer-wise. After this, we came to another Mountain on which we bestow'd the name of the Mountain of Pillars, for as much as the rains having wash'd away the earth in several places, they look'd at a distance, like so many Pillars, out of order, of several colours, Blew, Red, Yellow, and Green. Here we met with another great Boat, the Pilot whereof sent us word, that he had seen near *Astrachan* about 70. *Cosaques*, who had suffered them to pass without saying ought to them; but withall, that some four dayes before ten of those Rogues had trapann'd him out of 500. Crowns, not by setting on the Boat, where they should have met with resistance, since they could have made their party good against a much greater number of Enemies; but they had taken that Boat and the Anchor, which the *Muscovites* make use of when they go against the stream of the River (as we have express'd elsewhere) and kept both till the fore-said sum was sent them. In the evening, assoon as we had cast Anchor, we saw coming towards us ten *Cosaques*, who went into a Boat, and cross'd to the other side of the River. The Ambassador *Brugman* immediately commanded eight Musketiers, taken, some out of our retinue, some from among the Soldiery, to follow the *Cosaques*, to find out what their design was, and to endeavour to bring them aboard. But the *Cosaques* had time enough to get ashore, and retreat into the wood, whither they also carried their Boat; so that it was far night ere our people return'd. Our Steward was much troubled thereat, and represented to *Brugman*, how dangerous it was, to command our people at such unseasonable hours, and that in a place where they could not be reliev'd; but the other was so much incens'd at these remonstrances, that he gave the Steward very unworthy language.

Sept. 3. we saw on the left hand the River of *Rustana*, and opposite thereto on the right hand,

1636. the mountain of *Urakufs Karul*, which is 150 *werſtes* from *Saratof*. They ſay that a *Tartarian* Prince, named *Urak*, who giving Battel to the *Coſaques* in that place, was there kill'd and buried, gave it the name. Thence we came to the mountain *Kamaſchinka*, and to the river of the ſame name. It riſes out of the torrent of *Iloba*, which falls into the *Don*, which falls into the *Euxine* Sea, and divides *Aſia* and *Europe*. The *Coſaques* croſs this river in little Boats, and make their incurſions as far as upon the *Wolga*; ſo that this is the moſt dangerous place of any. We ſaw along the River-ſide, upon the right hand ſeveral wooden Croſſes, ſet there to ſignifie the Sepulchres of a great number of *Muſcovites*, who had been kill'd there by the *Coſaques*.

Having paſs'd this place, we perceived the *Caravan* of *Perſia* and *Tartary*; it conſiſted of ſixteen great Boats, and ſix little ones. As ſoon as they ſaw us, the Mariners gave over rowing, and went only as the ſtream carried them, to the end we might overtake them; which oblig'd us to make all the Sail we could, and to do what elſe lay in our power, till we got up to them. We ſoon expreſs'd our joy, by the noiſe of our Trumpets, and ſaluted the Caravan with four great Pieces; they anſwer'd with all their ſmall ſhot, which oblig'd us to give them another Volley.

The principal perſons of this Caravan, who could not have all met till they came to *Samara*, were, a *Tartarian* Prince, named *Maſſal*, the *Cuptzi*, or the King of *Perſian*'s Merchant, whom we ſpake of before, a *Muſcovian Poſlanick*, named *Alexei Savinowits Romantzikou*, ſent by the Great Duke to the King of *Perſia*, an Ambaſſador from the *Crim-Tartars*, a Merchant, or Factor from the Chancellor of *Perſia*, and two Merchants of the Province of *Kilan* in *Perſia*.

Immediately after theſe firſt general expreſſions of joy, we ſaw coming towards us a *Muſcovian* Officer, attended by a conſiderable number of Musketeers, who came to give us a Volley, and inquire after our health, from the Prince of *Tartary*. As they came up to our Ship, the *Strelits* diſcharg'd their Muskets, and then only the Officer came aboard, and made his complement. As ſoon as he left us the Ambaſſadors ſent to the ſaid Prince, the Sieur *Uchterits*, who was accompany'd by *Thomas de Melleville*, and our *Muſcovian* Interpreter; and commanded the Secretary of the Embaſſy, who took along with him the *Perſian* Interpreter, to go at the ſame time and complement the *Cuptzi*, who had in the interim ſent one of his retinue to do the like to the Ambaſſadors.

The Secretary coming to the Lar-board-ſide of the *Cuptzi*'s Veſſel, would have got up into it there, but his ſervants, acquainting him that the Maſters Wife having her lodgings on that ſide, it would not be ſo fit for him, ſo that he was forc'd to order the Boat to go about the Ship, and to get in the other ſide. As we got in there ſtood ſeveral Servants, very handſome perſons, who took us by the arms to help us up, and conducted us to the *Kuptzi*'s Chamber. We found him ſitting in a Couch, which was raiſed two foot high, and cover'd with a piece of the beſt kind of *Perſian* Tapeſtry. He had under him a coarſe piece of *Turkey* Tapeſtry, ſetting croſs-leg'd, according to the cuſtome of his Countrey, reſting his back on a Crimſon Satin cuſhion.

The King of Perſia's Cuptzi.

He received us with much civility, putting his hands to his breaſt, and making a low inclination of the head, which are the ordinary Ceremonies, wherewith they receive thoſe Perſons, whom they would do the greateſt honour. He intreated us to ſit down by him, which out of complyance we did, but not without much trouble to us, as being not accuſtomed to continue any long time in that poſture. He very handſomely receiv'd our complement, and anſwer'd it with ſo much of obligation and kindneſs, that we could not but be much taken with his civility. He told us among other things, that he was extremely deſirous to ſee his own Country, and his own Houſe, but the ſatisfaction it would be to him to ſee either of them, would not be comparable to that which he had conceiv'd at the firſt ſight of our Ship. He added, that as ſoon as we were come into *Perſia*, we ſhould find the roughneſs and barbariſm of the Nation, among whom we then were, chang'd into an obliging civility, to pleaſant converſation, and into a manner of life abſolutely inviting, and that attended with a freedom, which ſhould be common to us with all the Inhabitants of the Country. That, he hoped, at his arrival at the Court, it would not be hard for him, with the aſſiſtance of his Friends there, to obtain the charge of *Mehemander*, or Conductor, for our Embaſſy, ſince he had the happineſs of our acquaintance by the way: That then he would oblige us upon all occaſions, and in the mean time intreated us to diſpoſe of his perſon, and whatever was in the Ship, as we pleaſed. He treated us with a Collation, which was ſerv'd in, in Plate Vermilion-gilt, and conſiſted only in Fruits, Grapes, and Piſtachoes, dry'd and pickled. The only drink we had, was an excellent kind of *Muſcovian* Aquavitæ, wherein he firſt drunk the health of the two Ambaſſadors together, and afterwards that of each of them by himſelf, which happened at the ſame time that his own was drunk in our ſhip, which we knew to be ſo by the joint Volley of both the great Guns, and the ſmall ſhot. Taking our leave of him, he told us as a great Secret, that he had ſome news to tell the Ambaſſadors; which was, that he had it from a very good hand, that the King of *Poland*

land had sent an Ambassador to *Schach Sefi*, that he had taken his way by *Constantinople* and *Bagdet*; that he was then upon his return to *Astrachan*, and that he had order, in his way, to see the Great Duke; but that the *Weywode* would not permit him to pass, till he had first heard from the Court. That this was all he knew of it, and that the Ambassadors might guess at the rest as also what may have been the occasion of his Voyage and Negotiation. 1636.

The other eminent Persons of the Caravan sent also to complement us, and to make proffer of their services, intreating us to keep them company, and assuring us of their assistance if need were. After a general Volley of all the Caravan, we parted, and kept on our course. At night we had a great Tempest, with two extraordinary Thunder-claps, and some flashes of Lightning; but the weather soon became fair again, and we had a great calm.

Sept. 4. being Sunday, just as our Minister was beginning his Sermon, came aboard us several *Tartars*, whom *Mussal* the *Tartarian* Prince of *Circassia* sent to tell us, that, his disposition would not suffer him to give the Ambassadors a personal visit, but as soon as his health would permit him to take the air, it should be the first thing he did. The equipage of those who came along with the Person employ'd in this Message may very well deserve a little remark from us. As to his Person, he was somewhat of the tallest, his complexion of an Olive-colour, his hair long, greasie, and black as Jet, and his beard of the same colour and fashion. He had upon his upper Garment, some black-Sheep-skin, the woolly side out, a Callot, or close Cap, on his head, and his countenance such as a Painter might well take for an original, if he were to represent the Devil. His retinue were in no better order, having about them only Coats, or Garments of some very coarse Cloath, brown or black. We entertain'd them with certain Gobelets of Aquavitæ, and sent them sufficiently drunk to their Ship.

About noon we came to the River of *Bolloclea*, in the mid-way between *Kamuschinka*, and *Zariza*, 90 *werstes* distant from either of them. Having sail'd sixteen *werstes* further, we came to a very high hill of sand, called *Strehlne*, near which we stay'd all night.

Sept. 5. we had hardly weigh'd Anchor, but the current forc'd us upon a sand-bank, where we found but five foot and a half water. While we were busied about getting off the Ship, the Caravan got before us, and made towards *Zariza*, with a design to take in there some other Muskettiers for its convoy to *Astrachan*. About noon, we got to a place whence we might have gone in less than a days time as far as the River *Don*, called by *Ptolomey* and other Antient Geographers *Tanais*, which advances in that place as far as within seven leagues of the *Wolga*, taking its course towards the East. A little lower, near *Achtobska Utska*, the *Wolga* divides it self into two branches, whereof one, which takes into the Country on the left hand, goes a course contrary to that of the great River, taking towards East-North-East; but about one *werste* thence, it re-assumes its former course, and returns towards the South-East, so to fall into the *Caspian* Sea. In this place I found the Elevation to be 48 degrees, 51 minutes. *The first Branch of Wolga.*

Five *werstes* from the River, and seven from *Zariza*, may yet be seen the ruins of a City, which they say was built by *Tamberlane*. It was called *Zaarefgorod*, that is to say, the Royal City; its Palace and Walls were of Brick, which they still carry thence to build Walls, Churches and Monasteries at *Astrachan*; even at the time of our passage that way; they were loading several great Boats with Brick, bound for the place aforesaid.

In this place, we saw a Fisher-man, who coming close by our Ship-side, took a *Bieluga*, or white-fish, which was above eight foot long, and above four foot broad. It was somewhat like a Sturgeon, but much whiter, and had a wider mouth. They kill it much after the same manner as Oxen are kill'd among us, by first stunning it with a knock with a mallet. They sold it us for fifty pence.

Sept. 6. We overtook the *Caravan*, at *Zariza*, where most of the Passengers were landed, and lodg'd in Tents, upon the River-side, expecting the Convoy, which was to be sent from the adjacent Towns: but the wind being still fair for us, we kept on our course. The City of *Zariza* is distant from *Soratof* 350 *werstes*, and lies on the right side of the River, at the bottom of a Hill, fortify'd with five Bastions, and as many wooden Towers. It hath no other Inhabitants than about 400 *Strelits* or Muskettiers, who serve against the incursions of the *Tartars* and *Cosaques*, and are oblig'd to Convoy the Boats which go up, and come down the River. There I found the elevation to be 49 d. and 42. m. *The City of Zariza.*

From the City of *Zariza* to *Astrachan*, and the *Caspian* Sea, there is only wast grounds and heaths, and so barren a soyl, that being not able to bring forth any kind of Corn, all that Country, even the City of *Astrachan* it self, is forc'd to send for Wheat to *Casan*, whence there comes such abundance, that it is cheaper at *Astrachan* than it is at *Moscou*.

Below *Zariza* lies the Isle of *Zerpinske*. It is twelve *werstes* in length, and the Souldiers of the Garrison of *Zariza*, send their Cattel thither to graze. The *Cosaques* of those parts, having observ'd that the Wives and Daughters of those Soldiers crossed over to the Island without any Guard, went thither one day after them, surpriz'd, ravish'd, and sent them back to their

1366. husbands, without doing them any other miſchief. Behind this Iſle, there falls into the *Wolga* a little River, which riſes out of the *Don*, but it hath hardly water enough for little Boats, which I conceive may be the reaſon, why Geographers repreſent it not in their Maps; there being only *Iſaac Maſſa*, who hath put it into his, and calls it *Kamous*. The heats were there abouts ſo great in the moneth of *September*, as that of the Dog-dayes is not more inſupportable in *Germany*; yet the *Muſcovites* affirm'd, they were but ordinary.

Sept. 7. The weather chang'd, and a Tempeſt following, we could not advance much. Having ſayl'd ten *werſtes*, we ſaw, on the right hand, a Gibet erected upon a high reddiſh Hill. It was the firſt we had ſeen in thoſe parts, and we were told it was ſet up by the *Weywode* of the next City, for the execution of the *Coſaques*, he ſhould take within his Government, and that he gave them no other quarter, but that their Camerades ſuffered not the bodies to hang there above five or ſix dayes.

The ſame day an humour took the Ambaſſador *Brugman*, to cauſe all the Servants belonging to the Embaſſy to come before him, to whom he ſaid, that he had reaſon to believe, that there were many among them, who expreſs'd little kindneſs and reſpect towards him, and, if occaſion ſerv'd, would do him all the ill Offices lay in their power, and conſequently that his deſire was, that the Muſicians, the Guards, and the Lacqueyes, ſhould take their Oaths to be faithful to him. Anſwer was made him, that his diſtruſt was ill-grounded; that they ſaw not any reaſon why they ſhould be oblig'd to a thing ſo extraordinary, and that they were ſo far from having any ill deſign againſt him, that, on the contrary, they were all ready to lay down their lives to do him any ſervice; but that they intreated him, for his part, to ſpare them as much as might be, and to treat them more mildly than he had done: which he promiſed to do, but it was one of thoſe promiſes that are either kept or broken.

The ſame day we met with a great Boat, the Maſter whereof ſent ſome Mariners aboard us, to deſire us to pity their ſad condition, and to relieve them with a little bread, in the extremity they were in, having not eaten ought for the ſpace of four dayes. They told us it was three weeks ſince they came from *Aſtrachan*, and that they had been robb'd in their way by thirty *Coſaques*, who had taken away all their Proviſions. We gave them a ſack full of pieces of bread, for which they gave us thanks, with their ordinary Ceremonies, bowing their heads down to the ground.

Forty *Werſtes* from *Zariza*, lies the Iſle of *Naſſonofska*, and oppoſite thereto, on the right hand, a great flat Mountain of the ſame name. Between the Iſle and the Mountain there is a kind of a Grott, where the *Coſaques* had, ſome years before, kill'd a great number of *Muſcovites*, who had lay'n there in ambuſh, to ſurpriſe the others. In the evening, a certain Fiſherman brought us a kind of fiſh which we had never ſeen before. The *Muſcovites* called it *Tziberika*, and it was above five foot long, with a long and broad ſnout like the Bill of a wild Drake, and the body full of black and white ſpots, like the Dogs of *Poland*, but much more regular, unleſs it were about the belly, where it was all white. It had an excellent good taſte, and was at leaſt as pleaſant as that of Salmon. He ſold us alſo another kind of fiſh much reſembling a Sturgeon, but much leſs, and incomparably more delicate, whereof there are abundance in the *Wolga*.

The 8. The *Caravan*, which we had left at *Zariza*, came up to us near a Cape, called *Popowitska Jurga*, upon this accompt that the ſon of a *Muſcovian* Pope or Prieſt, who had ſometime headed the *Coſaques* and *Bandits*, was wont to make his retreat, and appoint his rendezvous at that place. They count from *Zariza* to that place 70. *werſtes*, and thence to the Mountain of *Kamnagar*, which lay on our right hand, 40. *werſtes*. The River thereabouts is full of Iſles and Sand-banks, by which the *Caravan* was no leſs incommodated than we were, though their Veſſels were much leſs than ours. Twenty *werſtes* lower there is a very high Iſland, four *werſtes* in length, called *Weſowi*, near a River of the ſame name, which falls into the *Wolga* on the right hand. Thirty *werſtes* lower, the wind forc'd us into a corner, where the River of *Wolodinerski Utſga* falls into the *Wolga*. But in regard we were loath to let ſlip the opportunity of making a great dayes journey, which the fairneſs of that wind put us in hope we might do, we with much difficulty made a ſhift to get out, and afterwards paſs'd by the Country of *Stupin*, thirty *werſtes* from the City of *Tzornogar*, which was the firſt we were to come at the next day. Ten *werſtes* lower, the *Wolga* puts out a ſecond branch on the left hand, called *Achtobeniſna Utſga*, which joyns its waters to thoſe of *Achtobska*, whereof we ſpoke before. Thence we ſayl'd five *werſtes* further, where the whole fleet caſt Anchor, near the Iſle of *Oſſina*, which is ſeven *werſtes* from *Tzornogar*. So that, that day we got 135. *werſtes*, or 27. *German* Leagues, that is, at the leaſt as far as it is from *Paris* to *Saumur*.

The ſecond branch of the Wolga.

From this Countrey quite down to *Aſtrachan*, on both ſides of the River, there grows abundance of Liquorice, having a ſtalk as big as ones arm, and about ſome four foot high. The ſeed of it is much like a vitch, and lies in cods upon the top of the ſtalk. The Champain part of *Media* is cover'd therewith, eſpecially towards the River *Araxes*; but the juyce of it is much ſweeter, and the root much bigger than that which grows in *Europe*.

Sept.

Sept. 9. There roſe a wind, which ſoon grew into a Tempeſt, and brought us about noon before the little City of *Tzornogar*, where we ſtay'd. It was but ſome nine years before, that the Great Duke had given order for the building of this City, which lies 200. *werſtes* from *Zariza*, ſome half a League lower than it is now: but the great floods having waſh'd away the earth along the ſhore, in ſuch great quantities, that the courſe of the River ſeem'd to be thereby diverted, and that it would be ill coming aſhore there, they tranſlated the City to the place where it is now. It is ſeated upon a high ſhore, on the right ſide of the River, and is fortify'd with eight wooden Towers, and a Rampier with thick planks, having no other Inhabitants than three or four hundred Souldiers, who are kept there to ſecure the Countrey againſt the incurſions of the *Coſaques* and *Kalmuckas Tartars*. There is at each corner of the City, which is ſquare, a particular place for the Sentinels to ſtand, erected upon four great poles, whence they have a full proſpect into a ſpacious plain as far as they can ſee, without the leaſt interpoſition of any wood, or other eminency. 1636. *The City of* Tzornogar.

What oblig'd the Great Duke to order the building of this City, was, the miſchiefs done thereabouts by the *Coſaques*, but particularly, the defeat of a *Caravan*, of 1500. *Muſcovites*: who were there ſurpriz'd ſome ten years before. It had a very ſtrong Convoy, but the River being extremely ſwift in that place, and the Convoy being gone before, the *Coſaques*, who had ſuffered the Soldiers to paſs by, came out of their Ambuſhes, ſet upon the *Caravan*, kill'd ſeven or eight hundred men, and took away all before the Convoy could come up, the violence of the current not ſuffering it to get up the River time enough to relieve them. Between that place and the *Aſtrachan*, there are no Trees to be ſeen on the River-ſide.

The 10. We left *Tzornogar*, but the wind turning againſt us, we could hardly get ten *werſtes* that day. About noon, ſome fiſher-men brought us a noble Carp, which weigh'd at leaſt thirty pounds, with eight other fiſh, of thoſe they call *Sandates*, the faireſt we had ſeen in all our Voyage. We would have paid for them, but they refus'd our money, and told us, that they fiſh'd there for certain Merchants of *Moſcou*, who having farm'd the fiſhing of that place from the Great Duke, would be ſure to have them ſeverely puniſh'd, if ever it ſhould come to their knowledge, that they had ſold any fiſh. We ſoon found their deſign was to be paid in Aquavitæ, accordingly a quart was ordered to be given them, wherewith they ſeemed to be very well ſatisfy'd.

Sept. 11. The wind and weather fair, we got 120. *werſtes*, but without any accident worth noting, ſave that about noon, we paſs'd by the Mountain of *Polowon*, ſo called, becauſe halfway between *Aſtrachan* and *Zariza*, 250. *werſtes*, diſtant from each of them. We paſs'd over the night near the Iſle of *Kyſſar*, where the Ambaſſador *Brugman*, who was upon the Guard, hearing that the Sentinel had diſcovered a great Boat, which the current of the River brought ſomewhat near our Veſſel, and that upon calling to them, no body anſwer'd, commanded fifteen Muskets to be ſhot off, and at the ſame time, a great Gun to be fired. All took the Alarm; but hardly was every man got to his ſtation, ere they might perceive coming to the ſhip-ſide a ſmall boat, guided by only one man, who gave us this accompt of himſelf, that his boat was loaden with Salt, and that his ſeven Camerades, being acquainted with ſome of the *Caravan*, had been ſo treated by them with Aquavitæ, that being all dead aſleep, he had been forc'd to let the boat go with the ſtream. Our Pilot knew the man, as being an Inhabitant of *Niſe*, whereupon we gave him ſome Gobelets of Aquavitæ, and ſent him back to his boat. The next day, he came to acknowledge our kindneſs to him, by a preſent of certain Sturgeons.

The night following, the wind continuing fair, we thought fit to improve the opportunity, and ſo ſet ſayl by three in the morning. *Sept.* 12. We ſoon came, upon the left hand, to a third branch of the *Wolga*, called *Buch woſtowa*, which falls into the two precedent. Thence we came to the Iſle of *Coppono*, from which the name *Coponogar* is deriv'd to the County, which is oppoſite thereto, on the right ſide of the River. From this place, there are 150. *werſtes* to *Aſtrachan*. Twenty *werſtes* lower, the *Wolga* makes a fourth branch, on the left hand, called *Danilofska Utſga*, which mingles not with any of the other three, but diſembogues it ſelf by a particular Chanel into the *Caſpian* Sea. Fifteen *werſtes* thence lies, in the midſt of the River, the Iſle of *Katarinski*, which is little, but very pleaſant, by reaſon of the Wood, and other plants that grow on it. Not far from it, we ſaw upon a Sand-bank the Carkaſs of a Boat, which had been caſt away there and was half rotten. Being ſeen at ſome diſtance, a man might take it for a Fort, built there by the *Coſaques*, nay there were thoſe who imagined they had ſeen ſome of them, which occaſion'd a command to be given that ſome ſhot ſhould be made into the Wood; but it was done with ſo much Precipitation, that one of the Muskets, breaking in the hands of our Cook, the ſplinters took off the Thumb of his left hand, and hurt him in the forehead and breaſt. We ſtay'd the next night, near the Iſle of *Piruski*, 80. *werſtes* from *Aſtrachan*, after we had ſail'd a hundred that day. *The third branch of the* Wolga. *The fourth branch of the* Wolga.

Sept. 13. while we were, after morning prayer, reading ſome Chapters out of the Bible, and among others the XIII of *Numbers*, where *Moſes* ſpeaks of the fertility of the Land of *Canaan*, and the excellency of its Fruits, eſpecially of the Grapes, brought thence by the Spies, there

1636. there came two Boats from *Astrachan*, which brought us some Fruits to sell. We were so surpriz'd thereat, that, for my part, I am in doubt whether that of the Holy Land could be better; so delicious were the Melons and Peaches, and the Kernels of the Grapes were as big as Nuts.

A fifth Branch of the Wolga. This day betimes in the morning, we came in sight of another Branch of the *Wolga*, called *Mituska*, which at some distance from the River, is divided into two other Branches; whereof the one is united to the *Danilofski Utsga*, which we spoke of before, and the other falls again into the main river, at some *werstes* thence. We were told, that was the most dangerous place of all the river, by reason those Robbers had their rendevouz and retreating places thereabouts. For indeed, we saw, between two Isles, a great number of *Cosaques*, at whom the Ambassador *Brugman* caus'd a great Gun to be fired. Five *werstes* lower, and 70 from *Astrachan*, we came to the last sand-bank, which is called *Kabangameel*. Five *werstes* thence, to the Promontory of *Kabangengar*; and five lower, to the Isle of *Itziburki*, where we stay'd that night, 50 *werstes* from *Astrachan*.

We saw in those parts, as also afterwards near *Astrachan*, and upon the *Caspian* Sea, a kind of wild Geese, or rather Cormorants, which the *Muscovites* call *Babbes*, which in a manner cover'd the river side; but of them more at large, when we come to the description of the City, and of the Country of *Nagaia*.

The 14. We were stay'd by a contrary wind, and a tempest coming from the South-East; so that we could hardly advance two *werstes*, ere we were forc'd to cast Anchor, and to continue there till the next day. We lay at 80 foot water. The *Tartarian* Prince sent us a Present of Beer, Hydromel and Aquavitæ, with notice, that if we liked it, we might have more.

Sept. 15. the wind changing, we set sail by four in the morning, taking our course Southward, and betimes in the morning, came before the Isle of *Busan*, 25 *werstes* from *Astrachan*; and afterwards to a sixth Branch of the River *Wolga*, called *Baltzick*, within 15 *werstes* of the City. The plain, which reaches from that place to *Astrachan*, gave us the sight of the City by 8 in the morning. Three *werstes* lower, and 12 from the City, there is a seventh Branch of the *Wolga*, called *Kniluffe*, which makes the Island of *Dilgoi*, within which *Astrachan* is seated, and having compass'd the Isle, it falls into the *Caspian* Sea, by many several chanels, or *ostiaes*. We came to *Astrachan* about noon, and whereas the City lies on the other side of the River, which, in that place, divides *Europe* and *Asia*, we may say, that, as we departed out of that part of the World, which we may in some manner call our Country, we made our first step into the other. We made some stay before the City, in the midst of the River, and saluted it with a Volley both of all our great Guns, and small shot, whereat the Inhabitants, who were come in great numbers to the river-side, were the more surpriz'd, by reason they were not accustomed to hear Thunders of that kind.

A sixth Branch of the Wolga.

The seventh Branch of the Wolga.

The Ambassadors come to Astrachan.

A description of the City of Astrachan. It will not be amiss in this place, by a short digression, to give an account of the situation of *Astrachan*, of the qualities of the Country, and the life of the Inhabitants. The Antient Geographers, as *Ptolomy*, *Strabo*, and others, who follow them, had no knowledge of these *Tartars*, no more than their neighbours, and have not made any mention of them, but only under a general name of *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, though they should indeed have been distinguish'd into so many different Nations, suitable to the diversity there is in their Names, their Language, and manner of Life; in all which they have nothing common one with the other. *Mathias de Michou*, a Physician, and Canon of *Cracovia*, who liv'd at the beginning of the last age, says that those, who confound the *Tartars* with those Nations, which the Antients called *Getæ*, *Scythæ*, and *Sarmatæ*, are much mistaken, in as much as the *Tartars* have not been known, but since the thirteenth Age. For in *May* 1211. there appear'd a Comet, which, having its tail towards the West, and menacing the *Don* and *Russia*, presag'd the invasion which the *Tartars* made into those parts the year following. They were certain *Indian* Lords, who having kill'd their King, *David*, got away, first, towards the *Euxine* Sea, near the *Palus Meotides*, where lived the antient *Getæ*, whence they afterwards advanc'd towards the *Don*, and thence to the river *Wolga*, where they live to this day. The same Author distinguishes them into four species; to wit, the *Zavolhenses*, (whom he also calls *Czahadai*) *Precopenses*, *Cosanenses*, and *Nohacenses*, and says, they are the *Tartars*, who live along the river *Wolga*, (which he calls *Volha*) those of *Precop*, those of *Casan*, and those of *Nagaia*, who are those of whom we are to treat of at present. *Alexander Guagnin*, of *Verona*, divides them into eight Colonies, and gives them other names; but it is our design to entertain the Reader only with what we have seen, and to discover that part of *Tartaria* through which we travel'd. We say then, that they call *Nagaia*, that part of *Tartary*, which lies between the rivers of *Wolga*, and *Jaika*, as far as the *Caspian* Sea, whereof *Astrachan* is the principal City. It is reported that a *Tartar*-King, named *Astra-chan* built it, and gave it his own name: So that the Baron of *Herberstein* is very much mistaken, when he says, in his Relation of *Muscovy*, that it is some days journey distant from the River, whereas it is seated on the river-side, and in the Isle of *Dolgoi*, made there by two branches of the said River.

A description of Nagaia.

After several very exact observations, I found the Elevation of the Pole there, to be 26 degrees,

grees, 22. minutes, and the Climat ſo hot, that in the Months of *September* and *October*, the heats were ſtill as great as they are in *Germany* in the height of Summer, eſpecially when the wind blew from-wards the *Wolga*, Eaſt, or North-Eaſt. 'Tis true, the South-wind was there ſomewhat colder, and brought with it the inconveniences, nay indeed the ſcent, of the neighbouring Sea, wherewith it infected the whole Air. At our return that way, our ſtay there happened to be in *June*, *July* and *Auguſt*, and yet the heats were not abſolutely inſupportable, in regard they were moderated by the coolneſs, which the South-wind continually brought along with it. But what is to be moſt admir'd, is, that, in this hot Climat, the Winter, which laſts but two months, is ſo exceeding cold, that the River is frozen up, and bears Sledges. Which is contrary to what other Authors ſay of it, yet the Reader may take it for moſt certain. 1636.

The Iſle of Dolgoi.

The Iſland of *Dolgoi* is ſandy and barren, inſomuch, that ſome Gardens, and Lands cultivated by the Inhabitants of *Aſtrachan*, excepted, it produces nothing at all, no more than does the Continent, on the right hand; but on the left, towards the river *Jaika*, there are very good paſtures. On this ſide the *Wolga*, Weſt-ward, lies a long Heath of above 70. *German* leagues, reaching as far as the *Euxin* Sea, and towards the South, another, of above 80. leagues, along the *Caſpian* Sea: as we found at our return from *Perſia*, when it was our chance to meaſure it, by eleven very tedious dayes journeys. Yet are not theſe Deſerts ſo barren, but they produce more Salt, than the marſhes in *France* and *Spain* do. The Inhabitants of thoſe parts call them *Mozakofski*, *Kainkowa*, and *Gwoſtofski*, which are ten, fifteen, and thirty *werſtes* from *Aſtrachan*, and have ſalt veins, which the Sun bakes and cauſes to ſwim upon the face of the water about a finger thick, much like Rock-Chriſtal, and in ſuch abundance, that, paying an Impoſt of a half-penny upon every *Poude*, that is, forty pound weight, a man may have as much as he pleaſes. It ſmells like that of *France*, and the *Muſcovites* drive a great Trade with it, bringing it to the ſide of the *Wolga*, where they put it up in great heaps, till they have the convenience of tranſporting it elſewhere. *Petreius*, in his *Hiſtory of Muſcovy*, ſayes, that within two leagues of *Aſtrachan*, there are two mountains, which he calls *Buſin*, which afford ſuch abundance of Rock-ſalt, that, if thirty thouſand men were perpetually at work about it, they would not be able to exhauſt the pits. But I could learn nothing of thoſe imaginary Mountains. Certain indeed it is, that the ſalt-veins we ſpeak of, are inexhauſtible, and that as ſoon as you have taken off one cruſt or face of it, there comes up another. The ſame *Petreius* is alſo much miſtaken, when he ſayes, that *Media*, *Perſia* and *Armenia*, are ſupply'd with Salt from theſe Mountains, whereas theſe Countries have Salt marſhes of their own, as alſo *Muſcovy* hath, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this Relation. *Salt-pits.*

From *Aſtrachan* to the *Caſpian* Sea, are twelve leagues, and thereabouts, the river does ſo abound with fiſh, that we bought twelve large Carps for two pence, and two hundred young Sturgeons, which are very delicate there, for half a Crown. It produces alſo Lobſters, or Sea-crevices, which multiply in a manner to infinity, by reaſon the *Muſcovites* and *Tartars* eat not of them. The Iſles which are in the river afford habitations for all manner of Fowl, eſpecially an infinite number of wild Geeſe and Ducks, which the *Tartars* take with Falcons and Hawks, and are very expert in the ordering of thoſe Birds for that kind of ſport. They are alſo excellently well skill'd in the hunting of the wild Bore; but in regard their Religion permits them not to eat of it, they ſell them for a ſmall matter to the *Muſcovites*.

The Fruits of Nagaia.

As to the Fruits of theſe parts, it is certain, that, both in goodneſs and beauty, they yield not to thoſe of *Perſia*, eſpecially Apples, Quinces, Nuts, Peaches, and Melons, but above all, that kind of Melons, or rather Citruls, which the *Muſcovites* call *Arpus*, the *Turks* and *Tartars*, *Karpus*, becauſe they are extremely cooling, and the *Perſians*, *Hinduanes*, becauſe they had the firſt ſeeds of them from the *Indies*. This Fruit is excellently good, and very pleaſant to the taſt, as alſo to the eye, having the rind of a lively-green colour, the meat of a pale Carnation, and the ſeed black. The *Tartars*, who brought them to the City in Carts, ſold them two or three a penny.

It is not many years ſince that they have had Grapes among them, the Inhabitants of *Aſtrachan* being oblig'd for theſe to the Merchants of *Perſia*, who brought the firſt ſets thither, which an old Monk of a Convent that is in the Suburbs planted in his Garden. The Great Duke hearing that it had taken with good ſucceſs, and having taſted the Grape, ſent order to the Monk, in the year 1613. to improve his ſtock, which he did, and that with ſuch increaſe, that at the time of our being there, there was no houſe almoſt, but had its Arbours and Walks ſet about with Vines, to the ſo great advantage of the Planters, that the Maſter of the houſe where I lodg'd told me, the Vines he had about his houſe had yielded him a hundred Crowns the year before. Theſe Grapes, with ſome other Fruits, were either ſent to the Great Duke, or ſold to the neighbouring *Weywodes*: but ſome years ſince, they have planted a Vine there, which hath yielded in one year above 60. Pipes of excellent Wine.

The Monk I ſpoke of was living at our being there, and was a hundred and five years of age. He was a *German*, born in *Auſtria*, and had been carried away priſoner very young by ſome *Turkiſh* Soldiers, who had ſold him into *Muſcovy*, where he had chang'd his Religion, and became

1636. became a Monk. He was at that time Superior of the Monaſtery, and ſtill remembred ſome *German* words, but very few. He was a very good natur'd Man, and ſhew'd how much he was taken with our converſation, by the frequent viſits he made us: but as ſoon as he had taken off two or three Diſhes of Aquavitæ, he was ſubject to the ordinary weakneſſes of thoſe of his age, threw away his ſtaff, and fell a dancing, though not with over much confidence.

Its Inhabitants. Heretofore, all *Nagaia* was inhabited by *Tartars*, who had their particular King, and held a very fair correſpondency with their Neighbours of *Caſan* and *Crim*, with whom they alſo ran the ſame fortune after their defeat. For the Great Duke, *John Baſilouits*, having reduc'd under his Juriſdiction the *Tartars* of *Caſan*, in the year 1552. two years after, ſet upon thoſe of *Nigaia*, and took the City of *Aſtrachan* by aſſault, *Aug.* 1. 1554. He forc'd thence all the *Tartars*, and, having peopled the City with *Muſcovites*, he compaſſed it with a ſtone wall, and added ſome other Fortifications: but it was the Great Duke *Michael Fœderouits*, that made it larger than it was, by adding thereto that part, which is called *Strelitzagorod*, ſo called from the *Muſcovian* Muskettiers, who are quartered therein. The City is eight thouſand Geometrical feet about; and that ſide towards the River, which, in that place, is two thouſand, two hundred and ſixteen foot broad, affords a pleaſant Proſpect, by reaſon of the great number of Turrets and Steeples of ſtone, which look very delightfully at a diſtance, but within, it is not anſwerable thereto, the Houſes being all of Wood, and not well built. Some told us, that there were in the City above 500 great Pieces of braſs, and among others, many Mortar-pieces. The Garriſon conſiſted of nine *Pricaſſes*, or Regiments, in each of which were 500 Musketiers, under the command of two *Weywodes*, one *Diak*, and ſeveral Captains, and other Officers, who have an eye upon the *Tartars*, whom they have reaſon to be diſtruſtful of.

This City being ſeated upon the Frontiers of two of the moſt conſiderable parts of the world, it may well be, that not only the *Tartars* of *Chrim*, *Precop*, *Bugar*, and *Nagaia*, and the *Muſcovites*, but alſo the *Perſians* and *Armenians* (who are Chriſtians) nay the *Indians* trade thither; and theſe laſt have a particular market-place there for themſelves. All which improves the Commerce of the City, ſo that the Cuſtoms, which there are very low, amount to above 25000 Crowns a year.

The Inhabitants of the Country, who are the *Tartars* of *Crim* and *Nagaia*, are not permitted to live within the City, but are thruſt into a place without the City, which is hedg'd and palizadoed, or forc'd to live in Huts, which they ſet up and down, in the open Fields, becauſe they are not ſuffer'd to build Cities, nor to fortify their Towns nor Villages with walls. Their Huts are made either with Bull-ruſhes or Canes, being about twelve foot diameter, round, and towards the top, like the Coops wherein Chickens are kept in *Europe*. In the midſt of that place, which ſerves them for a Roof, there is a hole, through which goes out a ſtick, having at the end a piece of coarſe Cloath, which they turn to the Wind, to facilitate the going out of the Smoak, and which they draw in, when the Turf, or Cow-dung, which they burn, is reduc'd to a live-Coal or Aſhes. When the weather is very cold, they put over the Hut a covering of coarſe Cloath, whereby they ſo keep in the heat, that they paſs over whole days without ſtirring out, with their Wives and Children, not feeling any inconvenience. They have no fixt habitation in the Summer-time, but ſtay in thoſe places where they find the beſt Paſture for their Cattel. When that begins to fail, they put their Huts into Carts, and their Wives, Children, and Goods upon Camels, Oxen, and Horſes, and ſo they ramble up and down the Country, whence it comes that the *Muſcovites* call them *Poloutski*, Vagabonds.

At the beginning of Winter they all come near and about *Aſtrachan*, and lodge themſelves in ſeveral crews or troops, which lye not at ſo great a diſtance but that they can relieve one another againſt the *Malmukes Tartars*, otherwiſe called the *Tartars* of *Buchar*, their common and irreconcilable enemies, who make their incurſions up and down the Country, from *Aſtrachan* and the *Caſpian* Sea, as far as *Soratof*. The *Tartars* who live near the river *Jaika* are their tormentors on the other ſide, diſturbing their quiet by continual Alarms, when the river is frozen. Whence it comes, that the *Muſcovites*, to prevent their being ruin'd by the incurſions of thoſe people, furniſh them with Arms, out of the Great Duke's Magazine, whether they are oblig'd to return them, as ſoon as the River and the ways are thaw'd: for they are not permitted to have any, either defenſive or offenſive Arms in the Summer.

'Tis true, they do not pay the Great Duke any Taxes or impoſitions, but are oblig'd to ſerve him againſt his Enemies, which they do the more gladly, and without any compulſion, out of the hope of booty, as do alſo thoſe of *Dagueſtan*, whom we ſhall ſpeak of hereafter.

Theſe *Tartars* have Princes of their own, as alſo Commanders in time of War, and particular Judges of their own Nation: but leſt they ſhould do any thing contrary to their allegiance to the Great Duke, there are always ſome of their *Myrſes*, or Princes, kept as Hoſtages in the Caſtle of *Aſtrachan*.

The

The *Tartars* of *Nagaia* and *Chrim*, are for the most part of little stature, and fat, having large faces and little eyes, and being of an Olive-colour. The men have ordinarily as many wrinkles in their faces as old Women, little beard, and the head all shaven. 1636.

All they have about them is a *Casaque*, or Garment of a coarse grey Cloath, upon which those of *Nagaia* wear for the most part a loose Mantle of black Sheep-kin, with a Cap of the same stuff, the Wool-side outward. The Women, who are not unhandsom, are commonly clad in white linnen Cloath, and have about their heads a Coif of the same stuff, folded, and round, like those pots which some make use of in the Wars, having in the middle a hole, fit to put a plume of feathers in. Upon this Coif, and on both sides, there hang a great many *Copecs*, or *Muscovian* Pence.

They many times vow their first-born, or some one of their other Children, to God, or some *Imam*, or Saint. And that these *Nazarites* may be distinguish'd from others, if it be a Girl, she wears a Ring with a Ruby, a Turqueze stone, or Coral in the Nostril; If a Boy, he wears it in his right ear. The *Persians* have the same custom; but of that more at large hereafter. Children go stark naked, and are all big-belly'd.

The *Tartars* live upon what their Cattel, their hunting and fishing supplies them with. Their Cattel are large and fair, as that of *Poland*. Their sheep, as also those of *Persia*, have great tayls, which are all fat, weighing 20. or 30. pounds, the ears hanging down as our Spaniels, flat-nosed. Their Horses are little and mishapen, but strong and hardy. They have some Camels, but they have most of them two bunches on their backs, which they call *Buggur*, those which have but one, and by them called *Towe*, are very scarce among them.

Their ordinary food is fish dry'd in the Sun, which serves them instead of bread. They have also certain Cakes made of Meal, Rice, and Millet, fry'd in Oyl or Honey. They eat Camels and Horse-flesh, and drink water and milk. Mares milk they much esteem; with this they treated our Ambassadors, when we gave them a Visit, taking it out of a nasty Leather-bag, to present it to us. *Their food.*

They are for the most part *Mahumetans*, of the *Turkish* Sect, hating that of the *Persians*. Some have made profession of the *Muscovian* Religion, and have been baptiz'd. They receiv'd us civilly, at least as far as that Nation is capable of civility. One of their Princes would have given the Ambassadors the divertisement of Hawking, but the *Weywode* would not permit it. *Their Religion.*

The time we stay'd at *Astrachan* was spent in providing all things necessary for the prosecution of our Voyage. The *Persians* of the *Caravanne*, and the *Tartarian* Prince sent often some of their people to complement us; they also made us Presents, and came in person to Visit us. For, we had hardly cast Anchor before *Astrachan*, and made known our arrival by the discharging of the great Guns, but the *Cuptzi*, and the other *Persian* Merchants, who were there but a little before us, sent us a noble Present of all sorts of fruit, *Arpus's*, Melons, Apples, Apricocks, Peaches, and Grapes, with this excuse, that being, as we were, strangers in the Countrey, they could make us no better Presents, but when we were come to *Persia*, they would be absolutely at our disposal. The Ambassadors having answer'd this civility, sent them, as also to the *Tartarian* Prince, some of all sorts of distill'd waters, and sweet meats.

The next day after our arrival, we were Visited by many *Persian* Merchants, who were desirous to see our ship. Not one among them but brought some Present of fruit according to the custom of their Countrey, which permits them not to come empty-handed before persons of quality. They treated us with much kindness and familiarity, which the more delightfully surpriz'd us, in that we had but then parted from a Nation famous for its incivility and barbarism. And whereas thence forward we were to converse and negotiate with *Persians*, we thought it not amiss to allow them the liberty to do what they pleas'd in our ship, and were extremely pleas'd to see them get all so heartily and so kindly drunk, that some, as they parted, fell into the water; nay one of their Merchants, an aged man, falling fast asleep upon the Deck, stay'd there all night. This good man was so kind in his Wine, that taking a glass of *French*-wine from one of the Ambassadors who had drunk to him, and perceiving they made him this complement, that, after the excellent Wines of his own Countrey, he could not taste those of ours, he made answer, that, though it were poyson, yet coming from the Ambassadors hand, he would take it off. *A custom of Persia to make Presents to persons of quality.*

The 17. The *Persian Cuptzi* sent us a Present of two sacks of Rice, the grain whereof was very white and very big, and a Vessel of preserv'd Garlick, which was very pleasant to the taste. How the *Persians* preserve it shall be said hereafter. Many of the *Cuptzi*'s Domesticks came also to see us, and brought along with them some Mariners, who were astonish'd at the bigness of our ship, and said all, that it would not be fit for the *Caspian* Sea, whereof the high, and in a manner contiguous Waves, would overwhelm it, and there was a necessity of taking down the Masts. They all affirm'd, that the *Culsum* (so they call the *Caspian* Sea) had never born so great a ship; which yet they only said in comparison of their own, which are only little Barks, *The Cuptzi's Present.*

1366. made like our bathing-tubs in *Europe*, ſo to take up but two or three foot water, having neither Hatches nor Pump, inſomuch that they are forc'd to caſt out the Water with ſhovels. They have but one great ſayl, no more than the *Muſcovites*, and know not what it is to ſayl with a ſide-wind; ſo that when a Tempeſt overtakes them, they are forc'd either to go with the wind or caſt Anchor: but commonly they go within Piſtol-ſhot of the ſhore.

The *Perſians* having left us, the Ambaſſadors ſent to the Chief *Weywode*, whoſe name was *Fœdor Vaſilouits*, a Preſent, which was a large drinking Cup Vermilion-gilt, intreating his advice for the continuation of their Voyage, and to know whether we ſhould proſecute it by Sea or by Land. The *Weywode* deſir'd a days time or two to conſider of it, and to take the advice of perſons skill'd in Sea-affairs: but we ſtay'd not for his anſwer, and reſolv'd, for ſeveral reaſons, to continue our Voyage by Sea.

Sept. 19. The *Tartar*-Prince having ſent us word that he would give us a Viſit aboard our Ship, we ſent our ſhallop to Land, to bring him aboard. He brought with him another *Tartar*-Prince, and a retinue of about 40 perſons, beſides thoſe who belong'd to *Alexei Sauonouits*, the Great Duke's *Poſlanick*. He was habited after the *Muſcovian* faſhion, his Veſtment embroider'd with Gold and Pearls, and his perſon and deportment was ſuitable to the greatneſs of his birth: for he had a very good countenance, a very clear complexion, and black hair, being about 28 years of age, of an excellent good humour, and eloquent. He was receiv'd into the ſhip with the noiſe of our Trumpets, and the fiering of three great Pieces, and conducted to the Ambaſſadors Chamber, through the Guards and Soldiers in their Arms.

After ſome two hours diſcourſe, during which he was entertain'd with Muſick, he deſir'd to ſee the ſhip. He was ſhew'd it all, and at laſt brought into the Hall, where he found a Collation ready, but he would not ſit down, and took leave of the Ambaſſadors, to return to the City. At his departure, he had the ſame honour done him as at his entrance.

The Cuptzi viſits the Ambaſſadors.

Sept. 20. The Ambaſſadors ſent to the Lord *Naurus*, the King of *Perſia*'s *Cuptzi*, to entreat him to honour them with a Viſit in their ſhip, which he promis'd to do. The next day he came, accompany'd by another rich Merchant, named *Noureddin Mahomet*, and the *Priſtaf*, which the *Weywode* had ſent to conduct him. His reception was like that of the *Tartar*-Prince. After the Collation, at which paſs'd ſeveral good diſcourſes, our Muſick playing all the time, they entreated us to give theirs leave to come in, which conſiſted of Hawboyes and Timbrels. Their Timbrels were made of earth, and were not much unlike our Butter-pots, making a very ſtrange noiſe, though their playing on them was very regular and well carried on. The Collation had put them into ſo good an humour, that in their return we could hear their Muſick, nay a good while after they were got into the City.

The Weywodes Preſents.

The 22. The *Weywode* ſent his Preſents to the Ambaſſadors, which conſiſted in twenty Flitches of Bacon, twelve large Fiſhes that had been hung up in the ſmoak, a Barrel of Cavayar, a Tun of Beer, and another of Hydromel. About noon, there came aboard us two of the *Poliſh* Ambaſſadors Servants, whom the *Cuptzi* had ſpoken of, to complement the Ambaſſadors in their Maſter's name, and on the behalf of the Ambaſſador, ſent from the King of *Perſia* to the King of *Poland*, bringing along with them a bottle of *Scherab*, or *Perſian* Wine. The *Poliſh* Ambaſſador was a *Jacobin* Frier, named *John de Lucca*; and the *Perſian*, an *Armenian* Archbiſhop, named *Auguſtinus Baſecius*. The perſons ſent to us were two *Capuchins*, one an *Italian*, the other a *French*-man. They told us they had been five moneths at *Aſtrachan*, and complain'd much of the ill treatment they had receiv'd there, in that they were detain'd as Priſoners, and not permitted to go any farther.

The ſame day, the Ambaſſadors acquainted the *Weywode* with their deſire to Viſit the *Tartar*-Prince, entreating him, to that end, to accommodate them with horſes for themſelves, and ſome of their retinue; which he very civilly did, ſending the next day, by his Gentleman of the horſe, to the River-ſide, the number of horſes we deſired.

The Ambaſſadors viſit the Tartar-Prince

Being come to a Lodging prepar'd for us without the City, and having acquainted the *Tartar*-Prince with our arrival, we walk'd towards his Lodging, where he expected us. The Prince having notice of it, met them in the Court, where he receiv'd the Ambaſſadors very civilly, and conducted them to a Chamber richly hung. There were with them the *Poſlanick*, *Alexei*, and a *Tartar* Ambaſſador of *Chrim*. The Collation was Magnificent, and of the nobleſt fruits in the Countrey, in great plenty. Our drink was Wine, Beer, Hydromel, and Aquavitæ, of all enough: the Trumpets, which the *Weywode* had lent him, ſounding in the mean time, and other Muſick playing. When he drunk the Great Duke's and his Highneſs our Maſter's health, he ſtood, and preſented the Cup with his own hand, to all the retinue, even to the Pages. *Alexei* in the mean time told us Miracles of the birth and noble endowments of *Muſſal*, endeavouring to perſwade us, that he was not to be ranked among the other *Myrſes*, or Princes of *Tartary*, but that he was to be conſider'd as a very great Prince, and Nephew to *Knez Juan Boriſſouits Circaski*, being his brother's ſon, one of the greateſt Lords of the great Duke's Court. He told us, that, when he did homage, the *Czaar* had done him very particular favours, and made him conſiderable Preſents: that he had a Brother at Court, a great Favorite:

that

that his Sister was to marry the King of *Persia*, and that he might serve us in both Kingdoms. 1636.

This Entertainment took us up several hours, after which the Ambassadors would have gone to see the Habitations of the *Tartars*, without the City; but the *Muscovites* very barbarously shut the Gates against them, which oblig'd us to return to the ship. *The incivility of the Muscovites.*

The 24. The *Poslanick*, *Alexei*, gave the Ambassadors a Visit, upon his own accompt. He was kindly receiv'd, and after he had been Magnificently treated at Dinner, we sent him back to his Lodging, attended by twelve persons of our retinue, who had each of them a Sable skin. This *Muscovite*, who might be about 50. years of age, was an ingenious man, and had a great inclination to Learning, contrary to the ordinary humour of those of his Nation. He had learnt some few Latine words, and was a Lover of the Mathematicks, whence it came that he Courted our Conversation, in order to the advancement of his studies. He was so sedulous, that in the space of five moneths, that we were in company together, both in *Persia* and by the way, he made such a Progress therein, that he could express himself well enough to be understood in *Latine*. 'Tis true, 'twas not with the Congruity requisite, but what he had was very extraordinary in a *Muscovite*. He learnt also the use of the Astrolabe, as well to take the height of the Sun, and find out the time of the day, as to make use of it in Geometry. He had one made by our Clock maker; and as soon as he came to any City or Village, he went out into the Street, to take the Elevation of the Pole; which the *Muscovites*, not accustom'd to see their Countreymen employ'd in those exercises, thought very strange.

The 25. The *Cuptzi* sent to invite the Ambassadors to a feast the next day, and desir'd them to send him the name and titles of his Highness, our Master, as also the names and qualities of the Ambassadors, that he might send them by an express to the *Chan*, or Governour of *Schamachie* in *Media*, that when we came to the Frontiers of *Persia*, we might find all things ready for the prosecution of our Voyage. *The Cuptzi's Feasts.*

The 26. He sent seven Horses to the River-side for the Ambassadors and their retinue, but they made use only of two, and, causing the rest to be led, they ordered the Gentlemen and Officers to walk afoot, according to the custom in *Germany*. He had prepar'd the Feast in a great house, which, to that end, he had borrow'd of the *Weywode*, and over against it, he had hir'd another Lodging, where he had erected a Theater cover'd with *Persian* Tapistry, for the Timbrels and Hawboyes, who continu'd their Musick from our arrival to our departure.

The house where the Feast was kept, was all cover'd with *Turkish* and *Persian* Tapistry. The *Cuptzi* met the Ambassadors in the Court, receiv'd them with great civility, and conducted them through two Chambers hung all about, into a third, which was hung with Gold and Silver Brocadoe.

In all the Chambers, there were Tables and Seats cover'd with the best *Persian* Tapistry, which the *Cuptzi* had done purposely for our convenience, knowing we were not yet accustomed to the mode of *Persia*, where they sit upon the ground to eat. The Tables were loaden with all sorts of Fruits and Preserves, as Grapes, Apples, Melons, Peaches, Apricocks, Almonds, Raisins of the Sun, whereof some were little and without stones, Kernels of Nuts, Pistachoes, and several *Indian* fruits, preserv'd in Sugar and Honey, and over them were large pieces of Satin or Taffata.

We were hardly set, ere came in the two Ambassadors of *Persia* and *Poland*, who had upon their ordinary Habits, the Vestiments which the King of *Persia* had presented them with, and the *Jacobin* Frier had a Golden Cross upon his breast as well as the *Armenian* Bishop. They took their places next the Ambassadors, and being well skill'd in the *Latine*, *Spanish*, *Italian*, and *French* Languages, their discourses were accordingly without any trouble, and full of diversion.

'Tis the custome of *Persia* to begin their Feasts with Fruits and Preserves. We spent two hours in eating only those, and drinking Beer, Hydromel and Aquavitæ. Then was brought up the meat in great Silver Dishes. They were full of Rice of divers colours, and, upon that, several sorts of Meat boil'd and roasted, as Beef, Mutton, tame Fowl, wild Ducks, Fish and other things, all very well ordered, and very delicate.

The *Persians* use no knives at Table, but the Cooks send up the meat ready cut into little bits; so that it was no trouble to us to accustome our selves to their manner of eating. Rice serves them instead of bread. They take a mouthfull of it, with the two fore-fingers, and the thumb, and so put it into their mouths. Every Table had a Carver, whom they call *Suffretzi*, who takes the meat brought up in the great Dishes, to put it into lesser ones, which he fills with three or four sorts of meat, so as that every Dish may serve two, or, at most, three persons. There was but little drunk till towards the end of the repast, and then the Cups went about roundly, and the Dinner was concluded with a Vessel of Porcelane, full of a hot blackish kind of drink, which they call *Kahawa*, whereof we shall have occasion to say more hereafter.

The *Persians* express'd their civility towards us so highly, both in word and deed, at this Feast, that we could not have desir'd more in our own Country. Having taken leave both of

1636. our Entertainer, the Ambassadors of *Persia* and *Poland*, and the rest of the Company, which was done with much honour and civility on all sides, we drew off with the noise of the Timbrels and Hawboyes, which sounded a retreat, after a very pleasant manner. Two of the most considerable of the Company brought us to the City Gate, where they renew'd their civilities, and acknowledg'd the honour the Ambassadors had done them, and re-assur'd us of their friendship and services. As the Ambassadors went into the Shallop, some of the Ship Guns were fired, which had also been done when they went out of it to go to the Feast.

The 27. the Ambassadors, with some few persons about them, took a walk, and having gone about the City, they went a league farther to see the habitations of the *Tartars*. We found by the way, that, in those parts, Oxen and Horses tread out the Corn, whereas in other places it is thrash'd; whereby we explain'd that Law, which forbids muzzling the Oxe that treadeth out the Corn. No Hut but had its Hawk or Faulcon; in our return we met with one of their Princes coming from his sport, having his Hawk on his fist, and a Sheep-skin on his back, as all the rest had. He exprest his trouble that he had not been at home to entertain the Ambassadors.

The Tartars much given to Hawking.

The same day went thence the *Postanick* *Alexei Sawinouits*, continuing his Voyage to *Persia* by the *Caspian* Sea.

The 28. The Ambassadors were treated with the same magnificence and ceremonies by the other *Persian* Merchant, namely, *Noureddin Mahumed*, save that the Stage, or Theater, for the *Muscovians*, was erected in the Court, opposite to the Table, but more richly adorn'd than that of the *Cuptzi*. He had also invited the Religious Men before spoken of, certain *Indians*, and two *Muscovites*, who came from the *Weywode*, and understood the Language. The Ambassador *Brugman* being engag'd in discourse with them, broke out into very injurious expressions against the *Turks*, who, though enemies to the *Persians*, yet were not then in any hostility against the *Muscovites*: whereupon the former fearing it might reflect on them, as being the Masters of the Entertainment, entreated the Ambassador not to engage into any further discourse concerning publike Affairs, but to be merry, and to assure himself, that the expressions they then made us of their affection, were but slight earnests of the friendship we were to expect from them after our arrival into *Persia*.

The Treatment of another Persian Merchant.

Brugmans *imprudence.*

The 29. we were visited by the *Myrsa*, or *Tartar*-Prince, whom we had met two days before returning from his sport. He made us a present of some wild Geese, which he had taken, and invited us to go along with him a-Hawking the next day, which we had accepted, but the *Weywode* would not permit it, as we said before.

Another Tartar-Prince visits the Ambassadors.

Septemb. the last, the *Weywode* sent us a Present of some of the Country Preserves; to wit, Ginger-bread, and the juyce of Goosberies reduc'd to a Past, whereof some was dispos'd into the form of great Cheeses, some flat, and some in Rolls. It was, in taste, somewhat sharp and picquant, and not unpleasant. The *Muscovites* put of this kind of paste into most of their sawces.

The Weywodes Present.

OCTOB. *October* the first, the Secretary of the Embassy, with two other Officers of the retinue, were ordered to go to the *Weywode* about some business. He receiv'd me with much civility, made me set down by him, and gave me a very favourable audience. But before he answer'd the Propositions we had made to him, he made great complaint of the unhandsome treatment, which *Rodivon*, our *Pristaf*, whom the Great Duke had order'd to conduct us as far as *Astrachan*, had received from the Ambassador *Brugman*. He had given him very uncivil language, and had call'd him *Bledinsin*, *Sabak*, &c. never considering that he was employ'd by the Great Duke. He told us further, that, to his knowledge, the *Pristaf* was a person of honour, and prudent in the management of his charge: but that it was a great indiscretion in the Ambassador to treat him after that rate, though *Rodivon* had not done his duty, and that he should rather have made his complaints of him to his *Czaarick* Majesty, or at least to those who represent the Prince's Person at *Astrachan*, of whom he might have expected satisfaction: That he could not believe the Duke of *Holstein* would take it well, no more than the Great Duke, that any publick Officer of his Country should be treated in that manner: That he was oblig'd by the concernment of his charge to make those remonstrances to us, but, that there was not, on the other side, any reason the whole retinue should suffer for his mis-carriage, and that that should not hinder him from giving us a speedy dispatch; as indeed he immediately did.

Provisions for the continuation of the Voyage.

The dayes following were spent in carrying aboard the Provisions which we had bought, for the prosecution of our Voyage. Our own people had bak'd Bread and Bisket, and had brew'd a certain quantity of Beer. We had bought of the *Tartars* twenty fat Oxen, at between eight and fourteen Crowns a piece, as also several Barrels of Salt-fish, intending to go to Sea with the first opportunity. And in regard we knew not what kind of sayling it was on the *Caspian* Sea, and that it was represented to us as very dangerous, by reason of the shallowness of the *Wolga* thereabouts, for several leagues together, besides our *Muscovian* Pilot, we hired certain *Tartars* of the Country, who promis'd to go before us in a Boat, and to bring our ship into the main Sea.

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Accordingly, *Oct.* 10. we left *Astrachan*, about noon, having very fair weather, taking our course towards South, and South-west. But we had not got a league, ere a contrary wind rising forc'd us to the shore, and kept us there all that day, and the next. We there receiv'd the visit of a certain *Myrsa*, or *Tartar*-Prince, a very handsome graceful person, and one of the most considerable in those parts, who presented us with a Mutton, and a Barrel of Milk. 1636. *The Ambassadors leave Astrachan.*

We observ'd that near *Astrachan*, and for the most part all along the River *Wolga*, the Earth produc'd Simples in great abundance, and of incredible bigness. The Herb, which the Latins call *Esula*, grew there as high as a Man, and the Root of *Angelica* was as big as a Man's arm. *Simples of extraordinary bigness.*

The Tempest being over, the 12. we set forward, but could get but a league that day. We got not much more the 13. and were forc'd to cast Anchor near a little round Mountain, on our left hand, 15. *werstes* from *Astrachan*.

The *Muscovites* call this mountain *Tomanoi-gor*. We gave it the name of the *Snakie Mountain*, by reason of the abundance of Serpents we met with there. It was full of Caper-trees, and had abundance of the Herb called *Semper-vivum*, of several kinds, as Sea-house-leek, Prick-madame, *&c.* The Plain, which is at the foot of this Hill, affords one of the most delightful Prospects of the World, and that for several leagues together. At night, we saw in a Boat the *Strelits* who had convoy'd the *Postanick*, as far as *Terki*. They told us there was no danger in our way, and that they had come it in 24. hours. *Snakes.*

The 14. the wind North-north-east, we continu'd our Voyage, and came in the afternoon over against a Chapel called *Zuantzuk*, 30. *werstes* from *Astrachan*. Hereabouts is the best fishing in the Country; The *Tartars* call it *Utschu*, and it belongs to the Convent of *Troitza*, or of the Trinity, at *Astrachan*. The River *Wolga* is, in this place, divided into several Chanels, making so many Isles, which are covered all over with Bushes, Canes, and Ozier, as is also the Coast of the *Caspian* Sea, as far as the River *Koisu*. There is, among the rest, one Isle named *Perul*, 15. *werstes* from *Utschu*, in which we saw a house built of wood, of a considerable height: having on the roof of it a long pole with a Sheep's skull at the top of it, and we were told it was the Sepulchre of a *Tartarian* Saint, near which the Inhabitants, as also some among the *Persians*, when they either take a Voyage, or are safely return'd home, sacrifice a Sheep, part whereof serves for the Sacrifice, the rest for a Feast after the Sacrifice. Having ended their Prayers and Devotions, the Sheep's head is put on the top of the pole, where it is left, till it be either reliev'd by another, or fall off of it self. The *Muscovites* call this place *Tataski Molobitza*, that is to say, The Sacrifice of the *Tartars*. Behind this Isle, on the left hand, there were, upon a high, but very smooth ascent, a great number of Hutts.

At night we came to another Fishing-place, 15. *werstes* from the Sea, where the River is shut in with a Palizadoe, and kept by a hundred *Muscovian* Musketiers, who keep a guard there against the *Cosaque* Pirates. In this place we saw a great number of Dog-fishes, or Sea-hounds, as also of that kind of Fowl which *Pliny* calls *Onocratalus*, whose Beaks are long, round, and flat at the extremity, as a Spoon beaten out. Putting its Beak into the water, it makes a noise not much unlike that of an Ass, whence it hath the name: but particularly we took notice of a kind of Geese, or rather Cormorants, whereof we made mention before. The *Muscovites* call them *Babbes*, the *Persians*, *Kuthum*, and the *Moores* of *Guiny*, *Bombu*. As to their feet, leggs, neck, and colour, they are like other Geese, but they are bigger in body than Swans. Their Bills are above a foot and a half long, and two fingers broad, and forked at the end. Under their Bills, they have a great bag of shrivell'd skin, which they can dilate so, as that it is able to contain near three Gallons of liquor, and they make use of it as a reservatory for the fish they take, till such time as they can swallow them down. For their throats are so wide, that people are not only oblig'd to shut them, when they make use of these Birds in fishing, as they often do, but also, if we believe *Franciscus Sanctius*, it was discover'd, that one of these Birds, which was taken upon its having overcharg'd the said bag, had swallow'd down a *Moor*-child upon the Coasts of *Africk*. The *Persians* are very expert in dressing the skins of them, and making Tabours thereof, or covering therewith some other Musical Instruments. The Ambassador *Crusius* kill'd one of them upon the *Caspian* Sea side, which was above two ells and a half between the extremities of the Wings, and above seven foot from the head to the feet. *Franciscus Fernandez*, in his *History of the living-Creatures and Plants of Mexico*, sayes, that, in those parts, there are some that have teeth within their Bills; but we are not to go out of *Africa* into *America*.

We saw hereabouts another kind of Bird, much after the form of wild Ducks, save that they are somewhat bigger, and black as Crows, and have longer necks, and the end of their bills forked. The *Muscovites* call them *Baclan*, and they are seen only in the night time; their quills are harder and bigger than those of Crows, and very fit for designers.

The 15. we came to the mouth of the River *Wolga*, and the entrance into the *Caspian* Sea, which is 12. leagues from *Astrachan*, and full of small Islands, covered with Reeds & Canes till a man comes six leagues within the Sea. Some attribute to the *Wolga* as many mouths as there

are

1636. are Iſlands thereabouts; but they are miſtaken, for thoſe Iſlands are to be accompted rather made by the Sea, than the River.

The bottome is all muddy, having but between four, or four foot and a half water, which put us to inexpreſſible trouble, and took up our time ſo, as that we hardly got four leagues in ſeven dayes. Our worſt dayes were the 18. and 19. of *October*. The 18. we were got on a Bank, at five foot water, and having ſpent as many hours in getting off, we found indeed ſix foot water, but ſoon diſcover'd that it was only a pit, which of all ſides, had Banks, at four and four foot and a half water.

Having, with no leſs trouble, got again to the Bank where we had five foot water, the wind being turn'd to the North-weſt, the water fell ſo ſenſibly, that we had but three foot, the Ship being as it were faſten'd in the mud. We unloaded part of our Proviſions into the *Tartarian* Boat that went before us, and ſet all our people on work, to get off; but though they took incredible pains, ſo as that they had not the leaſure either to eat or drink, yet could they do no good, ſo that all could be done was patiently to expect the return of the water, which we could not hope for but with the change of the wind. This was no ſmall affliction to thoſe, who conſider'd that we were there at the mercy of the *Coſaques*, who might eaſily have taken us priſoners, and forc'd us to ranſome our ſelves. With all theſe misfortunes there happen'd to be ſuch a thick miſt, that we could not ſee from one end of the Ship to the other, and occaſion'd a great overſight in us, by firing a great Gun, according to the order of the Ambaſſador *Brugman*, at a *Muſcovian* Boat that paſs'd ſomewhat near our Ship: Thoſe who were in the Boat return'd us their curſes, and told us, that they might as freely paſs that way, as we, who were Strangers, and went by the Great Duke's permiſſion, whom we were oblig'd to acknowledge for Soveraign of that Sea, and their Prince; that ſince we were ſo much given to ſhooting, we might keep our powder to be us'd againſt the *Coſaques*, who not far thence expected us. This reproach caus'd two other Boats to fare the better, and our ſelves alſo, for, inſtead of injurious ſpeeches, they ſent us ſome of the fruits of *Circaſſia*, to wit, an excellent kind of Pears, Nuts, and Medlars.

Oct. 21. at night, we firſt perceiv'd that the water was riſen to five foot, which begat in us a hope, that we might put off to Sea. The Tempeſt, which roſe the 22. with a South-ſouth-eaſt-wind, brought it up to nine foot; but it was ſo violent, that not daring to make uſe of our Sails, we were forc'd to continue ſtill at Anchor, and expect fairer weather, which came not till five dayes after.

The 23. in the morning, the ſky being clear, I obſerv'd the Sun at its riſing, and found, that, in reſpect of the Compaſs, it roſe 22. degrees more towards the South than it ſhould, by which means we diſcover'd, that, in that place, the needle declin'd 22. degrees from the North, towards the Weſt.

The 27. the Tempeſt being over, we return'd all our things into the Ship, and diſmiſs'd our Boat, and, having hoiſed Sail, got into the Sea; but we hardly made a league, ere we were again in the mud, and oblig'd to ſend for the Boat. But perceiving we had water enough, the 28. and ſeeing thirteen Sail behind us coming out of the *Wolga*, whom we conceiv'd to be the *Caravan*, we order'd the Boat to be ſent back. It was the *Tartar*-Prince, two Merchants of *Perſia*, and five hundred *Muſcovian* Musketiers, with their Colonel, who were going to relieve the Garriſon of *Terki*: but what put us moſt to a loſs, was, that, finding the *Muſcovian* Pilot, whom we had taken up at *Aſtrachan*, abſolutely ignorant in the buſineſs of Navigation; and the Maps, by which we intended to direct our courſe, abſolutely falſe, we knew not what reſolution to take.

We reſolv'd at laſt to addreſs our ſelves to the Officer that commanded the 500. Musketiers, and to ſend to him in the evening, while all the ſhips lay at Anchor, to entreat his aſſiſtance and advice in that conjuncture, and to deſire him to give us an able man that might be our Pilot on the *Caſpian* Sea. He came aboard us, and having drunk ſufficiently, he made us the greateſt proteſtations of friendſhip in the World, and told us, that the trouble it was to him to ſee us in thoſe difficulties had bereft him of his ſleep; that his joy to find us in good health was ſo much the more extraordinary, and that he would not fail to ſend the *Weywode* notice of it by an expreſs Meſſenger; that all under his Command were at our ſervice, and that as ſoon as he were got aboard, he would ſend us a Pilot we might confide in. But the merry Companion was no ſooner got to his own ſhip, but he ſet ſayl, and left us in the lurch. I think, what troubled him was, that we had not made him ſome preſent according to the cuſtom of the Countrey; but he regarded ſo little the ſlur he had put upon the Ambaſſadors, that he had the impudence to come and viſit them in their ſhip, in the company of ſeveral other *Tartarian* Lords, after our arrival at *Terki*, and made no other anſwer to the reproaches he receiv'd upon that occaſion, than, *ja wi nouat*, a great buſineſs indeed to be talk'd of.

A Muſcovian Slurr.

The civility of a Perſian Pilot.

Finding our ſelves thus abus'd, we ſent to the Maſter of the *Perſian* ſhip, to entreat his aſſiſtance He, though Maſter of the ſhip, and owner of all the goods in it, came aboard us, to proffer us his ſervice as a Pilot, with more kindneſs and civility than we could have expected from a *Chriſtian*,

Christian, and, having recommended his own ship to his servants, stay'd with us. He was a very understanding man, and was not only acquainted with the Navigation of those parts, but also with the Compass, much beyond what the *Persians* ordinarily are vers'd in, who do not willingly venture very far into the Sea, but for the most part keep in sight of Land. So that finding the wind serv'd, he caus'd the Anchor to be weigh'd, about eleven at night, taking his course towards the South, with an East wind. We observ'd it was the same day that we left *Travemunde* the year before, and accordingly we had the same success in this second Voyage. We had all that night but ten foot water; but towards day, we had eighteen. The Countrey on our right hand, which is called *Suchator*, had four Hills, which made a great Promontory, reaching a great way into the Sea; and from that Cape to *Astrachan* are counted 100 *wersts*, and to *Terki* 200. but on both sides they are very short ones. 1636. *An ominous day.*

The 29. The weather fair, we kept on our course, in the morning Southward, and with a South-East wind, and in the afternoon, South-west-ward, having about twenty foot water, and finding the bottom gravelly, and full of little shells. We could discover no Land that day, and the night following, we cast Anchor. Here the Needle declin'd twenty degrees, from North to West.

Octob. 30. We set sayl at the break of day, and soon after Sun-rising, we discover'd the Countrey of *Circassia*, which lies all along the Sea-Coast from the South-West, to North-East, compassing it about, much after the form of a Crescent, and making a spacious Bay.

It was our design, to get beyond the point of the Gulf, but the wind coming to South-East, had almost forc'd us into it, which oblig'd us to cast Anchor about noon, at the entrance of the Gulf, at three fathom and a half water, finding at the bottom a kind of fat earth, about six Leagues from *Terki*. We discover'd in the Bay, about 20. or twenty five Boats, and upon the first sight thereof, it run into our imagination, that they were the *Cosaques*; but we were soon undeceiv'd, and found them to be *Tartarian* Fisher-men, belonging to *Terki*, and were then coming to bring us fish to sell. For those we bought of them, we gave them fifteen pence a piece, but they were very great ones, and we found in their bellies a great number of Crabs and Lobsters, among which there were some alive.

The remainder of the day we spent in giving Almighty God solemn thanks, for all his mercifull deliverances of us, particularly that which happen'd on the very same day the year before, when we were in so great danger, amidst the Rocks and Shelves of *Oland*. Our *Persian* Pilot went that day to his own ship, which was at some distance behind us, to give his men Order what they should do, leaving us somewhat of an opinion, that he would shew us such another trirk as the *Muscovite* had done before: but he afterwards made it appear, that those of his Nation are not only made up of Complements, for he return'd very betimes the next morning, having sent his Boat before us, to serve us for a Guide.

The last day of *October*, we had, in the morning, a thick Mist, with a great Calm. The Sun having dispell'd the one about noon, and the wind being come to the North, we endeavour'd to get out of the Gulf, and with much ado, by laveering, got the point, near which we stayd at Anchor till after midnight, and came very betimes in the morning, on the first of *November*, before the City of *Terki*. We cast Anchor about a quarter of a League from the City, because we could not come any nearer, by reason of the shallowness of the water. The night before, the *Cosaques* had a design to set upon us, but happily miss'd us in the dark, and met with the little Fleet which brought the *Tartar*-Prince; but the noise of the *Strelits* or *Muscovian* Muskettiers having discover'd to them that they were mistaken, and imagining they should find a vigorous resistance, they drew back, but made it appear they were the *Germans* that they look'd for. NOVEM.

Intelligence coming, in the morning, to the City, of this attempt of the *Cosaques*, rais'd a very hot Alarm there, in regard it was known that *Mussal* their Prince was coming, and that he might be in some danger. The Inhabitants were confirm'd in that opinion, when they heard the going off of our great Guns, a noise they are not accustomed to in those parts; insomuch that they began to get together, and look on us as Enemies; but they were put out of all fear by the arrival of their Prince, who having given us a Volley as he pass'd by, and invited us to honour him with a Visit at his Mother's, satisfy'd the Inhabitants, that there was no danger either to him or them.

The City of *Terki* lies somewhat above half a League from the Sea, upon the little River *Timenski*, which issues out of the great River *Bustro*, and facilitates the correspondence there is between the Sea and the City, to which there is is no other way to come by reason of the Fens, which encompass it on all sides, for a quarter of a League about. It is seated in a spacious plain, which is of such extent, that the extremities thereof cannot be discover'd by the eye; whence may be corrected the errour of the Map, drawn by *Nicholas Janson Piscator*, alias *Viscber*, though in all other things the best and most exact of any I could ever meet with, who places the City of *Terki* upon a Mountain, but, by a mistake, confounding the City of *Tarku* in the Pro- *Terki described.*

vince

1636. vince of *Dagestban*, with that of *Terki* in *Circassia*. The Elevation of the Pole, is, here, at 43. degrees, 23 minutes. It is distant from *Astrachan* sixty Leagues by Sea, and seventy by Land, and is the last place under the Jurisdiction of the Great Duke of *Muscovy*. It is in length 2000. foot; and in breadth 800. all built of Wood, even the Towers and Rampiers, yet very well furnish'd with great Guns, among which there were then two battering Pieces, plac'd upon Carriages, before the Governours house.

The Garrison of Terki. The Great Duke hath lately caus'd it to be fortify'd after the modern way of Fortification, with Rampiers and Bastions of earth, by a *Dutch* Engineer named *Cornelius Nicholas*, who went Masters-mate along with us into *Persia*. The ordinary Garrison consists of two thousand men, 1500. whereof are under the Command of a *Weywode*, or Colonel, and divided into three *Pricasses* or Regiments, each of 500. men. The Prince is assign'd the other 500. for his Guard, and they are maintain'd upon the Great Duke's charge, but oblig'd to joyn with the others in case of necessity. The *Tartars* of *Circassia* have their habitations on this side the River. We shall speak of their Religion and manner of life hereafter, as having had more leasure at our return, to make a more particular observation thereof.

The Cuptzi's Present to the Ambassadors. The next day after our arrival, the *Cuptzi* and the other *Persian* Merchants sent a Present to the Ambassadors, which consisted of excellent Fruits, in great abundance, as also to ask them, whether they were resolv'd to prosecute their Voyage by Sea, or would travel by Land, with this by way of Invitation, that if they would go by Land, there was an opportunity to do it with all imaginable convenience, in as much as, within three dayes, there was expected at *Terki* a *Muscovian* Ambassador, who was upon his return from *Persia*, and would bring with him to the Frontiers, two hundred Camels, and a great number of Mules, which might carry our baggage. To this, it was added, that, by this convenience, we might pass safely through the Countrey of the *Tartars* of *Dagestban*, and avoid falling into the hands of their *Schemkal*, or Captain, who was one of the greatest Robbers in the World; and that we might be the further assur'd there was no danger, they proffer'd us their company in our Travels. This proposal was so well receiv'd by the Ambassadors, that they immediately sent to the *Weywode* to desire his permission to take their advantage of this opportunity, and dispatch'd *Rustan*, our *Persian* Interpreter, to the Frontiers of *Dagestban*, six Leagues from *Terki*, to take order for the prosecution of our Voyage by Land; but being come thither, he found the Camels, and all the other beasts fit for carriage, were return'd into *Persia*.

The *Weywode* had at first absolutely deny'd us the Liberty of passage; but as soon as he heard there was no convenience of taking that way, he sent an Officer to tell us, that, though he had receiv'd no expres order from the Great Duke to permit any such thing, yet he would not stick to grant us passage, and assist us in order thereto what lay in his power.

A mutiny in the ship. The night following, the Mariners, belonging to our ship, fell into a mutiny, against *Michael Cordes*, our Captain, and the noise was so great, that many of them were put into Irons. The next day, an enquiry was made into the disorder that had been committed in the night, and *Anthony Manson*, a Sayl-maker, being found the most guilty of any, he was condemn'd to remain a Prisoner at *Terki*, till our return out of *Persia*. The *Weywode* sent for him, by two of his Officers, at the entreaty of the Ambassadors. One of those Officers had a Coat of Mail under his Casaque, and a tin Gantelet; the other, who by his quality was a *Knez*, had a Garment of Crimson Velvet.

Nov. 4. Our Musick play'd in the morning betimes, it being the birth day of the Ambassador *Brugman*; which ended, the great Guns were discharg'd. The same morning, the *Tartar* Prince's Mother sent one to complement the Ambassadors, and to give them thanks for their respects and civilities towards her son in his Voyage, entreating them to honour her with a Visit at her house, and to come and receive her Benediction. In the afternoon, we were Visited, aboard, by a *Persian* Lord, who had a retinue of many servants. He was an Eunuch, and the King of *Persia* had sent him expres, to bring along with him the *Tartar* Prince's sister, to whom he was to be married. He made extraordinary proffers of friendship to the Ambassadors, and was so well pleas'd with our drink, that he grew perfectly drunk, in so much that he knew not which way to get out of the ship. They that came along with him were so edify'd by his example, that one of them was so loaden, that we were forc'd to let him down by a rope into the Shallop.

An Eunuch belonging to the King of Persia visits the Ambassador.

Their Presents to the Weywode. The 5. The Ambassador sent M. *Mandelslo*, the Pastor and Secretary of the Embassy, accompany'd by our *Tartarian* and *Persian* Interpreters, to the *Weywode*, to Present him a large Vermilion-guilt-cup, and the two Chancellors or Secretaries each of them with a Ruby. They were also ordered to go and wait upon the *Tartar*-Prince's Mother, and to complement her upon the safe return of her Son. We were very kindly receiv'd in all places, and treated with Collations of Fruit, Beer, Hydromel, Aquavitæ, and Wine. The *Weywode* entertain'd us with the same magnificence as that of *Nisenovogorod*, and falling into discourse of the nature and manner of life of the *Persians*, he told us, that they would, no doubt, be extremely liberal of their good words and fair promises, but that it requires a strong

faith

faith to believe one half of them, in as much as their performance would not be consonant thereto. 1636.

Their meſſage to the Tartar-Prince.

Prince *Muſſal* receiv'd us in Perſon, with very intimate demonſtrations of affection, at the entrance of the Court, and conducted us into a high and ſpacious Hall, whereof the Walls were of earth, and ſo built, that a man might ſee on all ſides, at an equal diſtance, a certain number of Neeches vaulted, in which there were either rich beds, with coverlets of ſilk or cotton; or there were layd up in them ſeveral pieces of *Perſian* Tapeſtry, and coverlets; wrought or embroider'd with gold and ſilk, of divers ſeveral colours, with great cheſts covered with the ſame.

All along the wall, juſt under the ſeeling, there hung two rows of diſhes, of wood and earth, of diverſe colours; and the pillars, which underpropp'd the ſtructure, were hung all about with excellent Cymitars, Quivers, and Arrows. The Princeſs ſat in a chair, having about her a black looſe Gown lin'd with Sables, and made after the faſhion of a morning-coat.

The reception of the Envoys from the Ambaſſadors by the Tartar-Princeſs.

The Princeſs's name was *Bika*, and ſhe was of a very noble ſtature, and had a good countenance, and might be about 45 years of age. She wore, at her neck behind, an Ox-bladder, blown to the utmoſt, which was wound about towards her hair, with a rich Scarf embroider'd with Gold and Silk, and had about her neck another Scarf, the two ends whereof hung down over her ſhoulders. Behind the Chair ſtood a Lady, who had alſo a Bladder at her neck, and we were told afterwards that it was the Badge of Widdowhood. On her right hand ſtood her three Sons, the two younger whereof were no better in Cloaths than the moſt inconſiderable perſons in the Country. Behind them, ſtood certain Servants, on whoſe fore-heads and faces (which they had torn with their nails) might ſtill be ſeen the marks of their mourning for the death of the elder brother, who had been executed at *Moſcou*. On the left hand ſtood, all in a file, ſeveral *Tartars*, who were all very aged Perſons, and repreſented the Council and Officers of the Court. The Princeſs, having anſwer'd our Complement, ordered Seats to be brought; and a little Table furniſh'd with Fruits for the Collation, at which our drink was Hydromel and Aquavitæ. We would have had the Princes to have ſate down with us, but they would not by any means do it, alledging, that it was not the Cuſtome of the Country, and that the reſpect they ought their Mother permitted not their ſitting down in her preſence.

The Collation.

The curioſity of the Tartar-Ladies.

The Collation being ended, and the Princeſs and others of the Company having handled and taken particular notice of our Cloaths all over, the Princeſs her ſelf preſented to each of us, a large Cup, full of a ſort of Aquavitæ extracted out of a Millet, which we found as ſtrong as Spirit of Wine. The three Princes Preſented us alſo with each of them a Cup, and intreated us not to take it ill, if they did the ſame honour to our Servants. In the mean time there was opened, behind the Princeſs, a Chamber-door, at the entrance whereof were to be ſeen ſeveral Ladies, and amongſt the reſt the Princeſs's Daughter, who was betroathed to the *Sophy* of *Perſia*.

She might be about ſixteen years of age, and was very handſome, the clearneſs of her complexion having ſo much the greater luſtre, by reaſon of the extraordinary blackneſs of her hair. Theſe Ladies ſeemed to be no leſs deſirous to ſee our Cloaths, than thoſe who were in the Hall, thruſting one another towards the door, which they immediately ſhut upon the leaſt ſign made to them by the Princeſs: but they opened it again ſoon after, to take a further view of us. They call'd one of our ſervants to them, to take the more particular notice of his Cloaths, the faſhion whereof they very much admir'd, as alſo that of his Sword, which they deſir'd him to draw, that they might ſee the blade of it. But the *Perſian* Envoy, who every day viſited the Princeſs, coming into the Room while they were ſo employ'd, the Chamber door was immediately ſhut upon them, and we took leave of the Princeſs and the Princes her Sons, and went to view the City. We there met with ſeveral Women, handſome, young, and well made, having on them a kind of ſmocks or frocks of diverſe colours, who made no difficulty ever and anon to ſtay us, till they had taken particular notice of our Cloaths.

Nov. 6. The *Cuptzi* ſent us a Letter from the Governour of *Derbent*, in anſwer to that which he had writ to him from *Aſtrachan*, the 25 of *Sept.* before. The contents of it was, to expreſs his joy at our arrival, and to order the *Cuptzi* not to come away without us, but to bring us along with him by Sea.

The 7. Our Interpreter *Ruſtan* return'd from the frontiers of *Dageſthan*, with this news, that thoſe, who had conducted the *Muſcovian* Ambaſſador to the frontiers, were return'd into *Perſia* before his coming thither; and that they thought it not enough to carry away the Camels and all the other Beaſts fit for carriage, but they had alſo taken along with them the pieces of Timber and Fagots, without which it was impoſſible to get over thoſe places where the Road was bad: upon which intelligence it was immediately reſolv'd, that we ſhould continue our Voyage by Sea.

The 8. The Princeſs ſent the Ambaſſadors a preſent of two Sheep, fifty Pullets, and ſeveral other Proviſions. The high Chancellor of *Muſcovy* ſent us a Sheep, a barrel of Beer, and a-

1636. another of Hydromel. In the afternoon, the Prince *Muſſal* came to give us a viſit, to bid us adieu. There came along with him a *Myrſa* of *Dageſthan*, a Brother of the Prince of *Tarku*'s, who made us believe, he was come expreſs to conduct the Ambaſſadors as far as the place of his Brother's reſidence. He was no better clad than the other *Tartars*, having, over his old cloaths, a Cloak, of a ſort of very coarſe Cloath, but as to his corntenance and behaviour, he expreſs'd a fierceneſs beyond any of them, not diſſembling the trouble it was to him, that we diſcover'd a greater reſpect for *Muſſal* than for him, and refuſing to ſtand at the drinking of the Great Duke's health. And when *Muſſal* intreated him to conſider the place he was in, he confidently made anſwer, that he knew not whether the Country he was then in, were the Great Duke's or his own, and began to pick a quarrel with him, reproaching him, that, with all his gay Cloaths, he was but a ſlave to the *Muſcovite*, whereas himſelf, though but in raggs, was nevertheleſs an abſolute Prince,;that acknowledg'd no other ſuperiour than God: inſomuch that at laſt, not able to govern his paſſion, he abſolutely refus'd to drink the *Czaar*'s health in any poſture, and went his wayes. Some of his ſervants ſtole from our Miniſter, a ſilver Spoon and a Knife, and cut off one of the ſleeves of my Doublet; but they were forc'd to leave it behind them, it being engag'd under ſome other Cloaths.

The Tartars *enclin'd to theft.*

Prince *Muſſal* ſtaid with the Ambaſſadors, and begg'd of them the pardon of the Mariner whom we had ſent Priſoner to *Terki*. The Ambaſſadors very freely ſatisfy'd his deſire therein, and ſo ſent late that night, the Secretary of the Embaſſy and another Gentleman, to the *Weywode*, to entreat him to return the Priſoner into our hands, and to deſire juſtice of him againſt the *Muſcovian* Pilot, who had run away from us two dayes before. A good while after night a Lacquey was ſent after us, to preſs our immediate return to the Ship, which was then ready to ſet ſayl, to make all the advantage they could of the Wind, which for ſome hours had blown very fair. We had diſpatch'd all our buſineſs, when the Lacquey came to us; but notwithſtanding all the expedition we could uſe, we found the Ship under ſayl, but it was not long, ere the Wind, turning to the direct contrary point, forc'd us to continue in the ſame place.

The Ambaſſadors leave Terki.

The Weywode's *Preſent.*

The *Weywode* in the mean time ſent us his Preſent, which conſiſted of a hundred pieces of hung Beef, four tuns of Beer, a puncheon of French Wine, a tun of Hydromel, a puncheon of Vinegar, two Sheep, four great Cakes of Ginger-bread, and ſeveral Loafs of other bread. There was beſtow'd among thoſe that brought the Preſent, about 20. Crowns, and good ſtore of Aquavitæ, inſomuch that they went their way very well ſatisfy'd.

Nov. 10. the Wind coming to South-weſt, we ſet ſayl at the break of day, intending to take the courſe of the City of *Derbent*, which is the neareſt of any of that frontier. About noon, we diſcover'd a Bark, which at firſt, took its courſe ſo as if it would have paſs'd on the right hand of us, then made as if ſhe would come up ſtreight to us, and not knowing well what reſolution to take, they ever and anon made more or leſs ſayl; whereby perceiving that thoſe who were in it, were afraid of us, the Ambaſſador *Brugman* gave order that the Ship ſhould make ſtreight towards the Bark, put the Soldiers in their ſtations, and commanded a certain number of great Guns to be fir'd at randome, the more to frighten them. The poor people immediately ſtruck ſayl, and came near us. They were *Perſians*, Fruit-Merchants, and the Bark was then loaden with Apples, Pears, Quinces, Nuts, and other Fruits. The Maſter of it, who was Brother to our Pilot, ſeeing him among a ſort of people ſuch as he had never ſeen before, and believing he was their Priſoner, began with horrid Cries and Lamentations to bewail his Brother's misfortune, as alſo his own, which he expected to fall into, though he cry'd ſeveral times to him, *Korchma duſchman lardekul, Fear not, they are friends, among whom I am with my own conſent*. But the other would hear of no perſwaſion to the contrary, imagining, that they forc'd him to ſpeak to that purpoſe, and could not recover himſelf out of the fear he was in, till his Brother had acquainted him with the occaſion which had brought him to our Ship. Then was it that he took the courage to come himſelf into our Ship, with a preſent of all ſorts of Autumn-fruits, whereof he alſo ſold good ſtore, ſo cheap, that a quarter of a hundred of very great Apples came not to a penny. He was treated with Aquavitæ, after which he return'd to his Bark very well ſatisfied.

An Iſland in the Caſpian *Sea.*

Much about this time, we came near an Iſle which the *Muſcovites* call *Tzetland*, and the *Perſians*, *Tzenzeni*, eight Leagues from *Terki*, on the left hand. There we caſt Anchor, at three fathom and a half water, and ſtaid there four and twenty hours, according to the cuſtom of the *Peſians*. We had lying before us a Treatiſe written by *George Diſtander*, (who had Travell'd into *Peſia* in the year 1602. with an Ambaſſador ſent thither by the Emperour *Rodolph* II.) who, ſpeaking of this Iſle, ſayes, that, being the only man left alive at his return, and ſtaid in that place by the cold, he had been forc'd to kill the Horſes which the *Sophy* had beſtow'd on him, after he had conſum'd all the other Proviſions. Having at our coming thither, four or five hours of day-light remaining, the Ambaſſadors thought it not amiſs to go into the Iſland, to ſee whether what they obſerv'd there, were conſonant to what the other had written thereof: But all we could meet with worth our Obſervation was, only three great poles faſten'd together,

together, and set up at one of the points of the Island, beset all about with Roots and Boughs, 1636.
to serve for a direction to the Mariners, and two great Ditches, wherein some time before fire had been made. This, in all probability was done by the *Cosaques*, who make their frequent retreats into that Island. It lies at forty three degrees, five minutes elevation, and reaches in length from North-east to South-east, about three *German* Leagues. The soil is for the most part sandy and barren, and towards the extremities, either cover'd with shells, or fenny; and it is the only Island that is to be seen, as we goe to *Kilan*, West-ward of the ordinary course.

From this Island, there may be seen in the Continent, towards the South-west, such high Mountains, that we took them at first for Clouds. Our people called them the Mountains of *Circassia*; but the *Muscovites*, nay the Inhabitants of *Circassia* themselves, call it the Mountain *Salatto*, and it is properly that Mountain which the Antients call *Caucasus*, in the Province of *Colchis*, which is the same that at this day is called *Mengrelia*; and is so famous in Antiquity, for the fabulous expedition of *Jason* for the Golden fleece. Its height, which indeed is extraordinary, in as much as it seems to extend it self to the Stars, hath furnish'd the Poets with that fancy, that it was from this Mountain *Prometheus* stole fire from the Sun, to communicate it to men. *Quintus Curtius* affirms, that it crosses all *Asia*. Certain indeed it is, that the Mountains of *Ararat* and *Taurus* are so near, and do so as it were cloze with it, that it seems to be but one continu'd Mountain, extending it self all through *Asia*, from *Mengrelia*, as far as the *Indies*. From the *Caspian* Sea, towards the *Euxine* Sea, and *Asia* the lesser, it is near fifty Leagues in breadth. But let us see what *Quintus Curtius* says of it, in the seventh Book of his History, where he gives us this accompt of it. *They reach*, saith he, *from thence, towards Mount* Caucasus. *which divides* Asia *into two parts, and leaves the* Cilician *Sea on the one side, and on the other, the* Caspian *Sea, the River* Araxes, *and the Deserts of* Scythia. *Mount* Taurus, *which is to be ranked in the second place for its height, is joyned to* Caucasus, *and, beginning in* Cappadocia, *crosses* Cilicia, *and reathes as far as* Armenia. *It is as it were a continu'd concatenation of Mountains, out of which arise almost all the Rivers of* Asia, *some whereof fall into the* Red-sea, *and others, into the* Hyrcanian, *or that of* Pontus. *The Army pass'd the* Caucasus *in seventeen days, and came in sight of the Rock, which is ten* Stadia *in compasse, and about four in height, where* Prometheus *was chained, if we may credit the Poets.* *Mount Caucasus. Mengrelia.*

Mount *Ararat*, upon which *Noah*'s Ark rested after the deluge, and which the *Armenians* call *Messina*, the *Persians*, *Agri*, and the *Arabians Subeilahn*, is without comparison much higher than the *Caucasus*, and is indeed but a great black Rock, without any Verdure, and cover'd with Snow on the top, as well in Summer as Winter, by means whereof it is discover'd fifteen Leagues into the *Caspian* Sea. The *Armenians*, and the *Persians* themselves, are of opinion, that there are still upon the said Mountain some remainders of the Ark, but that time hath so hardned them, that they seem absolutely petrify'd. At *Schamachy* in *Media*, we were shewn a Cross of a black and hard Wood, which the Inhabitants affirmed to have been made of the Wood of the Ark: and upon that account it was look'd upon as a most precious Relick, and, as such, was wrapp'd in Crimson Taffata. The Mountain is now inaccessible, by reason of the precipices whereby it is encompass'd of all sides. *Mount Ararat.*

Imaniculi Sulthan, whom the Sophy sent Ambassador to the Duke of *Holstein*, our Master; and whose Territories lye in those parts, in the Country of *Karabah* told us many very remarkable particulars of it. These high Mountains are a great direction to those who have no Compass to sail by in the *Caspian* Sea; in as much as changing their form according to the several prospects they afford, the Pilots by that means eatily discover whereabouts they are.

The 11. we continu'd our Voyage presently after Sun-rising, taking our course along the Isle Southward. At the extremity of the Isle, there is a kind of Streight, near a Cape or Promontory which comes out of the Continent into the Sea, much about the same place, where, on the Isle side, a great Sand-bank advances it self toward the Land, and so makes but a narrow passage. Which oblig'd us to cast Anchor, that we might have the more convenience of Sounding, so to avoid the flats or shallows, which make Navigation very dangerous thereabouts. We found, at first, but two fathom water, but soon after we were at six or seven fathom; insomuch that the Wind becoming more favourable, we took our course South-South-west, directly towards *Derbent*, along the shore, and in sight of it. After mid-night, the Wind being not so much for us as before, we were forc'd to laveer it all the remainder of the Night; but we advanc'd little or nothing; insomuch that a Tempest rising thereupon, we at last resolv'd to cast Anchor, which we did, at twelve fathom water. We lay at Anchor all the 12*th.* till 9. at night, and then the Wind coming to the North, we set sail with a favourable Wind, taking our course to the South-South-east.

About 11. the same night, we found between 20 and thirty fathom water, and an hour after, no bottom, so that the wind being turn'd again to an absolute Tempest, we conceiv'd, that it *A Tempest.*

1636. would be dangerous for us to bear much ſail upon a Sea we were not acquainted with, and that in the Night time, Whereupon having furl'd them up, we let the Ship go directly before the wind, by which means we got two Leagues in leſs than an hour. We had, beſides our double Shallop, two other Boats, one whereof, which we had bought of the *Muſcovites*, was only for their convenience who ſounded the depth of the Water, and the other ſerv'd for the unloading of our Ship, which drew both of them after her. There were two Sea-men appointed for the guiding of the Shallop, which, having in it only certain ſmall Pieces, Bullets, Chains, Cables, Pitch, and other things neceſſary for Navigation, was made ſo ſhallow, that being ever and anon fill'd with water, the Sea-men, finding themſelves no longer able to guide it, came aboard the Ship, and faſten'd the Shallop to the ſtern. The other Boats were ſoon over-whelm'd with water and loſt. The Shallop held out a while, but at length follow'd the others, and this prov'd the beginning of our wrack upon the *Caſpian* Sea. Our Ship, which was built only of Firr, and had been much endammag'd by the Sand-banks of the *Wolga*, bow'd under the high and violent waves of that Sea, as it it had been a Snake, and open'd in ſo many places, that we were forc'd to be alwayes at the Pump, and continually employ'd in emptying the water that came in of all ſides. Our *Perſian* Pilot had not the leaſt ſhare of the common fear and diſtraction we were all in, and no doubt wiſh'd himſelf in his own Ship, or nearer Land; in regard that had we been caſt away there, we had all inevitably periſh'd.

Nov. 13. at the break of day, we perceiv'd, that we had ſtill kept in ſight of Land, and we particularly diſcovered the Mountain of *Derbent*, which, as we conceived, could not be above ten Leagues diſtant from us. The Tempeſt abating a little of its Violence, we hois'd the mizen Sail, and afterwards the main Sail, with a reſolution to run the Ship ſtrait a-ground. But having, the Night before, taken our courſe too high, and the wind continuing ſtill from the North-weſt, we were forc'd to comply with it, and, to our no ſmall regret, paſs beyond the City of *Derbent*, along the *Perſian* Coaſt, which, in that place, reaches from North to South, but ſo as that we could not find any Road or Haven, where we might ſave our ſelves; for as much as there being only Rocks at the bottom for the ſpace of ſix Leagues from the Land into the Sea, it is impoſſible to make the Anchor take any hold. At laſt, about four, in the afternoon, we caſt Anchor, at four fathom water, before the Village of *Niaſebeth*, which our Authors call *Niſavay*, the bottom muddy; but we thought not our ſelves more ſafe at Anchor, than when we were toſs'd up and down in the main Sea. The waves were ſo violent by reaſon of the extraordinary roughneſs of the Sea, that it was not long ere they broke the hindges of the Rudder, which oblig'd us to take it quite off, and to faſten it with a Cable behind the Ship, leſt beating againſt the Caſtle it ſhould have broke it all to pieces; the Water coming ſtill into the Ship ſo faſt, that we were forc'd to ſpend the remainder of that day, and all the night following, in emptying it.

The Tempeſt abated a little of its violence the next morning, being the the 14. of *November*, and invited us to think of ſome courſe for the diſembarking of our ſelves, but we had neither Boat nor Shallop to help us to Land, and though we had caus'd ſeveral Volleyes of great and ſmall ſhot to be diſcharg'd, to oblige the Inhabitants of the Countrey to come in to our relief, yet could we not perceive any body; but we had hardly made a ſhift to clap a certain number of deal Boards together like a flat-bottom'd Boat, ere we ſaw coming towards us two Boats, which the *Kaucha*, or Judge of the Village, had ſent to our relief in that extremity.

They brought us a preſent, of two baggs of Apples, with a very obliging Complement, proteſting that they were no leſs glad at our arrival, than we might be at theirs. Which done, they exhorted the Ambaſſadors to get out of the Ship as ſoon as they could poſſibly, taking along with them what they accompted of greateſt Value, and not to be over-confident of the calm, which, no doubt, would not laſt many hours. The Ambaſſadors took their advice, and having put into the Boats what they thought moſt conſiderable, they ordered ſome part of their retinue to go in alſo, and certain Soldiers with their Officers; leaving in the ſhip the Sieur *Vchterits*, their Steward, and the Secretary of the Embaſſy, with an intent to ſend for them as ſoon as they were landed themſelves.

The Ambaſſadors diſembark with part of their retinue.

The *Kaucha* was on Horſe-back at the Sea-ſide, and perceiving that the Boats could not come near enough, by reaſon of the ſhallowneſs of the water, he alighted, and ſent the Ambaſſadors his Horſe for their more convenient Landing. And thus it was that the Ambaſſadors firſt ſet foot in *Perſia*. But as ſoon as they were got a-ſhore, the Tempeſt grew more violent than it had been before, inſomuch that it was impoſſible for them to ſend back the Boats: which put us that were left aboard to the utmoſt hazard of Shipwrack and Life. The Ship, being now in a manner quite unloaden, was toſs'd up and down like a Ball by the Waves, the Sea raiſing her, one while, up to the Clouds, another ſwallowing her up in its abyſſes. There was conſtantly above a foot water upon the Deck, ſo that we were not able to ſtay upon it; and at laſt the Ship opening above, juſt in the middle, we began to fear the abſolute diſſolution of her. We obſerv'd alſo by the Trees that were upon the Sea-ſide, that the Anchor was looſe, and that the

the wind had carry'd us above a quarter of a League from the place where he had disembarked the Ambassadors, whereupon we cast two others, both which were lost about 11. the same night, as also our Rudder. The biggest Anchor held still, but the Vessel drew so much water, that the Pump being of no further use, we were forc'd to empty her with Kettles. About midnight the wind came to the East, and broke off our main and mizen Masts, and over-turn'd them into the Sea, the Ship shaking in that interim with so much violence, that the edges of her were ever and anon even with the water. The Sea-men intreated the Secretary, to give them leave to cut the Ropes that still held her, to see if that would deliver us out of the extremity we were in; which he made no difficulty to grant them. We had not eaten ought in three dayes, and watching, with continual labour, had brought us so low, that having lost all courage, together with the hope of ever saving our Lives, all our thoughts were taken up with the disposal of our selves for Death. Our Carpenter was the only person who had the courage to go under Decks, and to take so large a dose of Aquavitæ, that being come up on the Deck, he fell down dead at our feet. Nor indeed could we have imagin'd him to be otherwise, if the Exhaltations of the Aquavitæ, that ascended from his stomach, had not discover'd the nature of his indisposition. The Sea-men remitted nothing of their labour all this time, and exhorted the rest to be of good courage, putting us in hope, that, within some few hours, either the weather would change, or the Ambassadors would not fail to relieve us, as indeed they were both of them earnest to do all lay in their power for our preservation. Nay the Ambassador *Brugman* would, with his Sword drawn, have forc'd some of our people to come in the two Boats to look after us, but he could by no means prevail with them, to hazard themselves. 1636.

A strange resolution in the utmost hazard.

Perceiving the day slipp'd away without any hope of relief, and fearing the Tempest might grow more violent the night following, I took the Master's-mate aside, and was desirous to know of him, whether, the Tempest continuing in the height it was then at, it would not be our best course to run the Ship a-ground to save the men. His answer was, that he believ'd the Ship could not make any great resistance, and that it were not amiss I took the advice of the other Officers, and propose it to the Captain and the Master, who both confess'd, that the ship was in so ill a plight, that they were confident the Ambassador *Brugman* himself would have commanded her to be run a-ground, had he been among them: and yet they were withall of opinion, that, continuing their labour for some hours longer, it was not impossible but the Vessel might be saved. But they discover'd by their discourse their main fear to be, that, when there were no ship, they would be look'd on as useless persons, and that there might be some dispute about their wages for the rest of the Voyage. Hence it came that they were unwilling the ship should be run a-ground. But the Sieur *Uchterits* and the Secretary, overcome with the importunities of the rest of the company to have that course taken, in so great an extremity, the Captain and Masters-mate at last gave their consent, provided a promise were made them in Writing, that the Ambassadors should not call them to an accompt for their so doing: which was accordingly done, and the Secretary drew up an Act to that purpose, which was signed by all. But the Captain and Master beginning to make new difficulties, after they had gotten a discharge, as aforesaid, all our people would have mutini'd, and cry'd out, that if they delay'd the running of the ship a-ground any longer, they should answer before the Tribunal of God, to give an accompt for what should happen thereupon. The Captain would have excus'd himself, alleging, that though the ship were run a-ground, as was desired, yet were it impossible for him to save all our people: but answer was made him, that they were resolv'd to run the hazard of it, and he was so earnestly press'd thereto, that he consented, after he had obliged the Sieur *Uchterits* and the Secretary of the Embassy to give the first stroak upon the Cable: which when they had done, the Sea-men soon made an end, and having struck the only sayl we had left us, we made strait to land, and run the ship a-ground, about thirty pearches distant from the place where the Ambassadors and all our friends expected us, with no less trouble for us, than we had for our selves. Nay some of them, to make a greater expression of their affection, came a good way into the water, and carry'd us ashore.

The Ship runs a-ground.

It prov'd no great trouble to us to justifie the resolution we had taken of running the Ship a-ground, in regard that, as to that particular, the Ambassador *Brugman* himself prevented us, and told us he had been long before resolv'd to send the Captain orders to do it, but that he could not meet with any person that would undertake the execution thereof.

As concerning the *Caspian* Sea, it hath not in all places the same name, but it is changed, either according to the diversity of the Inhabitants that live about it, or the Provinces that border upon it. It was called antiently the Sea of *Chosar*, from the Name of the eldest Son of *Thogarma*, who was the Son of *Gomer*, and Grand-child of *Japhet*, third Son to *Noah*. *Nubius*'s *Geography* calls it the Sea of *Travisthan*. The *Moors* call this Sea, as they do also the Gulf of *Arabia*, *Bohar Corsuin*; and the *Persians* call it *Kulsum*, which name they also give the *Red Sea*. The *Greek* and *Latine* Authors call it the *Hyrcanian* Sea, as also *Mare Caspium* and *Caspianum*. The *Persians* call it by another name, the Sea of *Baku*, from the City of *Bakuje*, in the Province of *Schirwan*; and the *Muscovites* name it *Gualenskoi-more*. But a man must be very cau-

A description of the Caspian Sea.

tious

1366. tious how he credits what is affirmed by *Dionysius Afer*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and those who follow them, as *Strabo*, *Martianus Capella*, St. *Basil the Great*, *Macrobius*, and others, that it is only a *Sinus*, or Gulf of the great Sea of the *Indies*, or of the *Tartarian* Sea, or that it hath some communication which the *Euxine* Sea, and *Paulus Meotides* by the River *Tanais*; in as much as it is most certain, that it hath not any communication at all with the other Seas; but it is of all sides so encompass'd with Land, that it may be more justly called the *Mediterranean*, than that which is known only by that name. *Herodotus* and *Aristotle* are much more worthy credit, when they affirm, that the *Caspian Sea* is a particular *Sea* by it self, having no communication with any other: and this is no more than what the Inhabitants of *Kilan*, who live upon that *Sea* on the East-side, have so strongly confirmed us in, that we lay it down as a thing no longer to be disputed.

Is a sea by it self.

But what on the other side is much to be wondred at, is, that though so great a number of Rivers incessantly pay the tribute of their waters into it, yet can it not be said what becomes thereof. We at first could hardly be induc'd to believe what was told us concerning all those Rivers; but when, at our return out of *Persia*, between *Resecht* and *Schamachy*, which was twenty days journey, we took notice, that we had cross'd above fourscore great and small Rivers, we made no difficulty then to acquiesce in the Relations we had before received thereof. The most considerable of those we saw, are, the *Wolga*, *Araxis*, or *Aras*, which is joyned to the *Cyrus*, which is now called *Kur*, the *Kisilosein*, the *Bustrow*, the *Aksai*, and the *Koisu*. Towards the North are the Rivers of *Jaika* and *Jems*; and towards the South and East, the *Nios*, the *Oxus*, and the *Orxentes*, which *Q. Curtius* calls, *Tanais*.

And notwithstanding this vast Contribution of waters, this Sea is not perceiv'd to be any way increas'd thereby, nor can it be said, by what passages all these Rivers are conveyed thence. Some are of opinion, that they are, by subterranean Chanels return'd into the Ocean. The *Persians* told us, that near *Ferebath*, between the Provinces of *Tauristan*, and *Mesendan*, there is a Gulf, where all those waters are lost, as in a bottomless place, and convey'd away under the neighbouring Mountains. But in regard a man must consequently to this assertion, imagine that Gulf to be as big as the whole Sea, to swallow down the waters of so many Rivers, I cannot be easily perswaded to side with the maintainers of that opinion. On the contrary, I think it may be probably held, that there may be alleged, for the *Caspian* Sea, the same reasons as are urged for Ocean's not overflowing the Earth, though an infinite number of Rivers fall into it: To wit, that, besides the Mists, which are very frequent there, and consequently consume a great part thereof, the rest is return'd by secret Chanels, to the sources of the Fountains and Rivers, according to the wise-mans saying, that *all the Rivers come out of the Sea, and return thither again*, whether it be that the weight of the Sea-water, which is not all within its Centre, forces that which is lowest into the clefts of the earth, as far as the sources, and that this is done with such violence, that at its breaking out of the earth, it spouts higher than the Sea it self; or that there are in the earth certain veins, which, drawing the water to them, distribute it to the Fountains and Rivers. The first ratiocination is *Julius Scaliger*'s, in his 46. *Exercitation*, where he says, that he does not believe, the Argument which is deduc'd from the difference of the qualities of waters can destroy the force of his, in regard we find by experience, that the water, passing through the earth, is cleansed from its filth, and leaves its Salt at the bottom, from which it is divided, much after the same manner as if it were distill'd through an Alembick. Which is evidently seen by this, that the greater distance there is between the Sea and the Fountains, the sweeter their waters are. It is also acknowledg'd, that there is no Mountain higher than the Sea, which making but one part of the roundness of the Terrestrial Globe, the swellings and eminencies, which are upon the earth are not higher than the Sea. Which I affirm to be so much the more certain, upon this accompt, that, being, in my return from *Persia*, between *Schamachie* and *Derbent*, at the Village of *Soray*, I had the curiosity to go up into one of the adjacent Mountains, where I took the Horizon with my Astrolabe, and having put my *Dioptra* into it, I turn'd myself towards the Sea, which was two Leagues distant thence, and could easily discern it.

The Authors who have written of the *Caspian* Sea, affirm, that, it is, in length fifteen dayes journey, and in breadth, eight; which may fall out somewhat right, if it be in a great calm, and that those who are to pass it, make use only of their Arms and Oars, and have no advantage of wind. Whereupon I propose it as a particular observation, that, contrary to the common opinion of all Geographers, as well antient as modern, the length of the *Caspian* Sea reaches not from East to West, as it is set down in all Maps, even in those that have been publish'd since the former impression of this Relation, where I condemn'd that errour, but that it is to be taken from South to North, and that, on the contrary, it is its breadth which reaches from West to East. And this I know, not only by the most exact observation I made thereof, but also by a curious inquiry of the situation of all the Maritime Provinces, according to the Catalogue or Register, of Longitudes and Latitudes, which I had from the *Persians*, as also consonantly to the Astronomical fragments of the Learned M. *John Graves*. For it is certain, that the true length

The length & breadth of the Caspian Sea.

of

of the *Caspian* Sea, is from the mouth of the River *Wolga*, below *Astrachan*, to *Ferabath*, in the Province of *Mesenderan*, reaching eight degrees of the *Æquator*, which make 120 *German* Leagues; and that its breadth, from the Province of *Chuaresm*, named by others *Karragan*, to the Mountains of *Circassia*, or to *Schirwan*, is six degrees, which make but 90 *German* leagues. According to this accompt thereof are to be corrected all the Geographical Maps, though the opinion we introduce be new, and directly contrary to that which hath been receiv'd for so many ages. 1636.

Nor are we to give any more credit to what *Q. Curtius* affirms, when he says, that the water of the *Caspian* Sea is fresher than that of the Ocean, unless he be conceiv'd to speak only of the coast of *Hyrcania*, which is now called *Kilan*, where indeed the water is neither salt nor fresh, but brackish (as it is in several places of *Holland*) by reason of the mixture of the waters of divers Rivers, which fall into the said Sea on that side. For, in the Sea it self, the water is as salt as any other that ever I could taste of. *Polybius* and *Arrian* affirm the same thing of the *Euxine* Sea; and *Ovid* confirms it by this Distick. *The water is Salt.*

Copia tot laticum, quas auget, adulteret undas,
Nec patitur vires æquor habere suas.

It is besides our design to engage into any discussion of *Scaliger*'s position, who says in his 53 *Exercitation*, that the water of all Seas is sweet, or fresh, at the bottom, nor yet to examine the Reasons alleged by him for that opinion, as falling not under the subject of our Relation. But this we shall presume to affirm, that the *Caspian* Sea was not much known to the *Greeks*, in the time of *Alexander*, since *Arrian* says, in the seventh Book of his History, that that great Conquerour issu'd out his commands, that Timber should be fell'd in the neighbouring Mountains, for the building of a Fleet, which he intended to employ in the discovery of that Sea. It is certain also, that *Q. Curtius* speaks not of it otherwise than according to the knowledge which some had thereof, in a time when that of the *Romans* had not pass'd the *Euphrates*. no more than their Arms. For though *Pliny* says, *lib. 6. ch. 17.* of his *Natural History*, that *Seleuchus* and *Antiochus*, the Successors of *Alexander*, made a discovery of that Sea by *Patroclus*, their Admiral, yet he is withall forc'd to acknowledge, that there were many other things to be discovered; as it was also our intention, to make use, to that purpose, of our Ship and Shallop during the aboad we should make at the Court of *Persia*, if our misfortune in being cast away upon this Sea had not defeated us of our expectations. Certain it is, that this Sea does neither Ebb nor Flow, nay that indeed it is not capable of either; forasmuch as it hath no communication or correspondence with the other, which, in that particular, follows the motion of the Moon. *Neither Ebbs nor Flows.*

The *Persians*, *Tartars*, and *Muscovites* seldome venture upon this Sea but in the Summer-time, and then dare they not hazard themselves far into it; for sailing only in wretched small Barks, or Boats, they keep as near as they can to the shore, and never are out of sight of Land. It hath in a manner no safe Havens or Harbours. The best it hath, is the same we spoke of before, near *Terki*, between the Isle of *Tzenzeni* and the Continent; at which place the *Persians* are wont to cast Anchor, and stay for a night. The havens of *Baku*, *Lenkeran* and *Ferabath* are none of the worst, nor are they on the other side the safest; and the best Haven of all this Sea, is on the side of the grand *Tartary*, and near the City of *Minkischlak*, which may be found in the Itinerary of *Anthony Jenkinson*, under the name of *Manguslave*, but misnamed.

But, how ere it be Haven'd, we may confidently affirm this, that we have been long enough upon the *Caspian* Sea and its Coasts, to undeceive those who are apt to believe, what is deliver'd by *Petreius* in his History of *Muscovy*, to wit, that the water of it is as black as Ink, and that it is full of Islands, which are well stored with Inhabitants, and have in them a great number of Cities and Villages; both which we affirm to be absolutely false. For the water of it is of the same Colour, as that of all other Seas; and though we discover'd but some part of the *Caspian* Sea, yet having made particular enquiry as to this particular, all the *Persians*, *Tartars* and *Muscovites* I ever discoursed with concerning it, unanimously assur'd me, that in all that Sea there is but one Island, wherein there is, I will not say either City or Village, but so much as a House, unless it be in that of *Ensil*, near *Ferabath*, where the pastures being very good, such as keep Cattel, have made certain Huts, not so much for their setled Habitations, as to prevent the injuries of the Weather at certain times.

I also enquired of the Inhabitants of *Kilan*, whether the *Caspian* Sea bred such an infinite number of great Serpents, as *Q. Curtius* would make us believe: but they all assur'd me they had never seen any, and that it was a thing they never had heard spoken of before, no more than they had of a certain great round Fish without a Head, whereof *Ambrosius Contarinus* speaks in the relation of his Travels, which Father *Bizarrus* hath Printed together with his History of *Persia*. He sayes, that this Fish is an ell and a half Diameter, and that there is a certain Liquor drawn

1636. drawn out of it, which the *Perſians* uſe in their Lamps, and to greaſe the Camels, But the *Perſians* told me, that they ſtood not in need of any ſuch Oyl to burn, ſince that near the City of *Baku*, under the Mountain of *Barnach*, there are inexhauſtible ſources of a certain Liquor, which they call *Neſta*, and make uſe of in their Lamps. And of this there is daily ſuch great quantities taken up, that it is tranſported all over the Kingdome.

Certain indeed it is, that there may be ſeen in thoſe parts a certain kind of Fiſh, which they call *Naka*, that is, *Glutton*; which hath a very ſhort Noſe, and the Head as it were within the Belly, having a round Tail, and being ſeven or eight foot in breadth, and not much leſs in length. It faſtens it ſelf with the Tail to Fiſher-mens Boats, and, if they be not very carefull, over-turns them. The *Perſians* told us alſo, that the white Fiſhes, of which we have ſpoken heretofore, do the ſame, and that thence it comes, though the weather be ever ſo calm, the Fiſher-men never venture far into the Sea. This is the only Creature, which may in ſome meaſure make good what *Pomponius Mela* ſayes in his Geography, to wit, that the *Caſpian* Sea breeds ſo great a number of monſtrous Fiſhes, which he calls *Belluæ*, wild Beaſts, that that is one of the main Reaſons, why it is not Navigable. This fiſh delights much in the Liver and Fleſh of Beef and Mutton, whence it is that the Inhabitants of *Kilan*, eſpecially thoſe who live towards the Mountain of *Sahebelan*, as being the moſt hindred in their Fiſhing, make baits thereof, wherewith they cover ſtrong and ſharp Hooks faſten'd to Great Cords, with which they draw them to Land. Nor are we to credit what the ſame *Bizarrus* and *Contarinus* affirm, when they ſay, that there is no other fiſh in the *Caſpian* Sea; for, on the contrary, it is extremely well ſtor'd with fiſh, and there are in it abundance of *Salmons* and *Sturgeons*, as alſo a kind of *Herrings*; nay there are in it ſome fiſh, which in other places are numbred among the freſh-water-fiſh, and are had only in ponds; as for inſtance *Breams*, which they call *Chaſcham*, and *Barbels*, which they call *Schwit*: but the latter are tough and inſipid, if they exceed two foot in length. There is alſo a kind of *Trouts*, which they call *Suggaht*. Theſe are not eaten freſh, but ſalted and hung up in the ſmoke, and their way of dreſſing them, is, to lay them on the hearth, with a clean linnen Cloath about them, and then to cover them with hot aſhes, till ſuch time as they are ready: being thus ordered, they make a very pleaſant and delicious diſh. There are no Pikes nor Eels in all *Perſia*, inſomuch that thoſe *Perſians*, whom the King ſent along with us into *Germany*, when they ſaw us eat Eeles, conceived a horrour thereat, as taking them for Snakes. The King of *Perſia* farms out the fiſhing of the *Caſpian* Sea, towards the mouths of Rivers, which brings him in very conſiderable ſums of Money, many times more than the Farmers make thereof, for inſtance, the City of *Kesker*, where a Farmer named *Schemſi* paid eight thouſand Crowns for the farming of five Rivers, which that year had yielded but ſix thouſand. Their fiſhing is only from *September* to *April*, and during that time, there is a Paliſadoe or kind of Hedge made in the Sea at the mouth of the River, to hinder the fiſhing of thoſe that have no right to fiſh, within that encloſure; but all the year beſides it is indifferently permitted to all, and in the Sea it ſelf, at all times.

THE

A New Map of PERSIA by A. Olearius
Milliaria Germanica et Persica quæ farsang vocant
PONTVS EVXINVS
MARE CASPIVM Siue HYRCANVM Persis KULSUM
SINVS PERSICVS
ARABIA FELIX
MARE RVBRVM
Tropicus Cancri
Loca arenosa
Nobilissimo Amicorum Pari DD Thomæ Stanley et Edoardo Sherburne, Novam hanc voterique longe accuratiorem PERSIÆ et Confiniorum Delineationem DDD

THE

TRAVELS

OF THE

AMBASSADORS

FROM THE

DUKE of HOLSTEIN

INTO

MUSCOVY, TARTARY, and PERSIA.

The Fifth Book.

THE Countrey where we Landed, or rather where the wrack cast us ashore, is called *Muskur*, and makes part of the Province of *Schirwan*, or the Antient *Media*, under the Jurisdiction of the *Sulthan*, or Governour of *Derbent*, and comprehends, from the City of *Derbent* to the Province of *Kilan*, about two hundred Villages. But before we come to give an accompt of what we have seen in *Persia*, it is requisite in this place, that we give a general description of that Country and its Provinces, upon this consideration, that there is not any Author that hath hitherto undertaken this work, but hath confounded the Antient names of Cities and Rivers with the Modern, and speaks thereof almost in the same terms, as the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians, which treat of the antient *Persia*. The Map of this Country, which was some few years since publish'd at *Paris*, is, no doubt, the most exact of any that have yet come to light: but if any man will be at the pains, to confront the Names it gives the Cities and Provinces of *Persia*, with those which are in this Map of ours, he will easily find the difference there is between the one and the other. 1636.

As to the name of *Persia*, *Herodotus*, in the seventh Book of his History, sayes, that the Ambassador, whom *Xerxes*, King of *Persia*, sent to the *Greeks*, would have them believe, that he deriv'd his original from *Perses* the Son of *Perseus* and *Andromeda*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* affirms, that the *Persians* are originally *Scythians*; and, if we credit *Pliny*, the *Scythians* call them *Chorsari*. The Holy Scripture calls them *Elamites*, and they give themselves the name of *Schai*, thereby to be distinguish'd from the *Turks*, who, upon the same accompt, give themselves that of *Sunni*. And as the same *Turks* have an affectation to call themselves *Mussulmans*, so the *Persians* are much pleas'd, when they are called *Kisilbachs*, that is to say, *Red-heads*. But of the Etymology of that word, we shall give an accompt hereafter, when we come to treat of the habits of the *Persians*. *The name of Persia.*

It is most certain, that *Parthia* and *Persia* were heretofore two distinct Kingdomes, and that the name of *Persia* hath not been common to both, till they became both subject to the same King, and were inhabited by the same people. Upon the same Consideration it is, that we now comprehend under the name of *Persia*, not only the Kingdom of *Persia* it self, but also all the

1366. other Provinces which have been annexed thereto, either by Conqueſt or otherwiſe, and are now under the Juriſdiction of that Monarch. Hence it is, that when we ſpeak of *Perſia*, our meaning is, to comprehend, under that name, all that Country, which reaches from North to South-weſt, from the *Caſpian*-ſea, to the Gulf of *Perſia*, and from Eaſt to Weſt, from the River *Euphrates*, which the *Turks* call *Moratſu*, to the City of *Candahar*, upon the frontiers of the *Indies*. By aſſigning it the *Caſpian*-ſea for its frontier, our meaning is to comprehend therein near the one half of that ſea, along the Mountains of *Armenia*, reaching Weſt-ward as far as the River of *Ruth-Cane Kurkahn*, by the Antients called *Oxus*, which divides the *Perſians* from the *Usbeques*, who are the ſame that are called the *Tartars* of *Buchar*, and are for the moſt part Tributaries to the King of *Perſia*.

Whence is to be obſerved by the way the error of *Bottero*, who, in his *Politia Regia* ſays, that the extent of *Perſia* from North to South is eighteen degrees. Wherein he is ſo much the more miſtaken, by how much it is certain, that, from the firſt City of *Perſia* from the *Caſpian* Sea, to its utmoſt frontiers towards the *Perſian* Gulf, there are hardly twelve degrees. For, let a man but caſt his Eye, not only on the Map, which we here give of it, but alſo on that of M. *Sampſon*, and particularly on that of the Learned Mr. *John Graves*, not long ſince publiſh'd by him in *England*, and he will find, that the City of *Huſum*, which the Inhabitants of the Country call *Reſcht*, within two ſmall Leagues of the *Caſpian* Sea, lies at thirty ſeven degrees, and that the City of *Ormus*, upon the *Perſian* Gulf, is but at twenty five, which make but twelve in all. We acknowledge that it contains above twenty degrees in length, from the *Euphrates* to the *Indies*: but we are to conſider withall, that one degree of Longitude under the thirty ſeventh degree of Latitude, under which *Perſia* lies, conſiſts but of fifty minutes at the moſt.

The principal Provinces of the modern *Perſia* are thoſe of *Erak*, *Fars*, *Schirwan*, *Adirbeitzan*, *Kilan*, *Thabriſtan*, *Meſenderan*, *Iran* or *Karabag*, *Cheraſan*, *Sabluſtan*, *Sitzeſtan*, *Kirman*, *Chuſiſtan*, and *Tziſire*, or *Diarbeck*.

The Province of Erak. The name of *Erak*, or *Hierak*, is common to two ſeveral Provinces, to wit, that whereof the City of *Babylon* or *Bagdat* is the Metropolis, which is commonly called *Erakain*, and without all queſtion is the antient *Aſſyria*. But it is not of this Province that we have any account to give in this place. Our Province of *Erak*, which is alſo called *Erak-atzem*, to diſtinguiſh it from *Erakain*, lies in the midſt of all *Perſia*, next to the Province of *Fars*, and is the antient *Parthia*. The *Archontology*, Printed not many years ſince at *Frankfort*, gives it the name of of *Charaſſen*, but it confounds this Province with that of *Chuarcſm*, which lies upon the *Caſpian* Sea, on the Eaſt-ſide, and is inhabited by the *Tartars* called the *Usbeques*. The chief Cities of the Province of *Erak* beſides that of *Iſpahan*, which is the Metropolis of the whole Kingdom, are *Caſwin Solthanie*, *Senkan*, *Sawa*, *Kom*, *Kaſchan*, *Rhey*, *Schaherriſur*, *Ebheker*, *Hemedan*, *Derkaſin*, *Theheran*, and *Kulpajan*, at which laſt place, the beſt Bows in *Perſia* are made.

The Province of Fars. The Province of *Fars*, which *De Laet*, in his deſcription of the State of *Perſia*, calls *Farc*, or *Parc*, but unadviſedly, is properly the antient *Perſia*, whereof *Perſepolis* was the chief City. *Alexander* the Great cauſed it to be ſet on fire, out of a fond Compliance for a common Proſtitute, with whom he had over-drunk himſelf. It is reported, that the ruins of that City became the foundation of that of *Schiras* upon the River *Bendemir*, which *Q. Curtius* calls *Araxis*. Its principal Cities, beſides that of *Schiras*, whereof there will be an accompt given in the following Travels of Mr. *Mandelſlo* into the *Indies*, are *Kaſirus*, *Bunitzan*, *Firuſabath*, and *Aſtar*: whereto may be added the City of *Lahor*, with the little Province which derives its name from it.

The Province of Sciruan. The Province of *Sciruan* is known in the Maps under the name of *Servan*, and is no doubt that which the Antients called *Media Acropatia*, though *Jenkinſon*, in his Itinerary. affirms, that it is the antient *Hyrcania*. It is indeed the moſt Northerly part of the antient *Media*, which *Herodotus* and *Strabo* deliver to be Mountainous and Cold. Whereof we had a ſufficient experience in our Travels, after our departure from *Schamachie*, as will be ſeen in its due place. *Schamachie* is the Metropolis of the Province, wherein there are beſides, *Bakuje* ſeated at the foot of a Mountain upon the *Caſpian*-ſea, which from its name is called the ſea of *Baku*: That of *Derbent*, which is one of the Paſſages which the Antients called *Pylæ Caſpiæ*. This is that which *Alexander* the Great cauſed to be built, and called *Alexandria*, upon which accompt it is that the Inhabitants do often call it *Schacher Junan*, that is, the *City of the Greeks*: That of *Schabran*, in the Country of *Muskur*, near the place where the wrack caſt us aſhore. The City of *Eres*, or *Aras*, is deſtroyed; but there may be ſeen the remainders of what it hath been heretofore, upon the River *Arras*, which is now called *Arisbar*.

The Province of Iran. The Province of *Iran*, which the Inhabitants of the Country commonly and for the moſt part called *Karabag*, is ſeated between the two famous Rivers of *Araxes* and *Cyrus*, which are now called *Aras* and *Kur*, and comprehends ſome part of the two Provinces of *Armenia* and *Georgia*, which the *Perſians* call *Armenich* and *Gurtz*. It is one of the nobleſt and richeſt

Pro-

Provinces of all *Persia*, and in this particularly, that it produces more Silk than any other. It is sub-divided into several other lesser Provinces, to wit, those of *Kappan*, *Tzulfa*, *Scabus*, *Sisim*, *Keschtas*, *Sarschil*, *Ervan* or *Iruan*, *Kergbulag*, *Agustawa*, *Averan*, *Scorgel*, *Suschat*, *Imtze*, *Thabak-melek*, *Thumanis*, *Alget*, and *Tzuider*. The principal Cities, Forts, and Towns of it are *Berde*, *Bilagan*, *Skemkur*, *Kentze*, *Berkuschat*, *Nachtschuan*, *Ordebad*, *Bajesid*, *Maku*, *Magasburt*, *Tiflis* and *Tzilder*. This great Province might very well deserve a larger account to be given of it; but in regard it borders upon the *Turk*, and that I have been so fortunate, as to meet with a very accurate Map of this Country, together with a particular relation of what ever is most observable therein, we shall endeavour to find else-where some occasion to speak of a thing, which to treat of in this place would make too great a Digression. 1636

Adirbeitzan, which the *Europæans* are wont to name *Aderbajon*, or *Adarbigian*, is the more Southerly part of the Antient *Media*, to wit, that part which the Antients call *Media Major*. And forasmuch as it is acknowledg'd that the Province of *Kurdestan* is that which the Antients call'd *Assyria*, we may in some measure be satisfy'd with what *Nubius*'s Geography says, to wit, that it is the more Northerly part of *Assyria*, since they have their Frontiers common, and in a manner confounded. It is divided from the Province of *Schirvan*, by the Deserts of *Mokan*, and from that of *Karabag*, by the River *Aras*, and it hath, on the East, the Province of *Kilan*. *Adirbeitzan* is also sub-divided into many other little Provinces, as *Erschee*, *Meschkin*, *Kermeruth*, *Serab*, *Chalchal*, *Tharumat*, *Suldus*, *Utzan*, *&c.* Its principal Cities are *Ardebil* and *Tauris*. The former is famous for the Birth of *Schich Sefi*, Author of the Sect of the *Perses*, who liv'd and dy'd in that City, where his Tomb is yet to be seen, as also those of several other Kings of *Persia*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. The City of *Tauris* or *Tabris*, which is thought to be that of *Gabris* according to *Ptolomey*, and which *Ortelius* affirms to be the antient *Ecbatana*, heretofore the most considerable place in all the East, and the ordinary residence of the Kings of *Persia*, is seated at the foot of the Mountain *Orontes*, eight dayes journey from the *Caspian* Sea, and is one of the richest and most populous Cities of *Persia*. The rest are *Merrague*, *Salmas*, *Choi*, *Miane*, *Karniarug*, *Thesu*, *Thel*, and *Tzeuster*. *Tzors* and *Urumi* are two places excellently well fortify'd, and in the latter is to be seen the Sepulchre of *Burla*, the Wife of King *Casan*, which if it bears any proportion to the stature of that Woman, she must needs have been a Gianteſs, and of an extraordinary height, since the Tomb is above forty foot long. *The Province of* Adirbeitzan.

The Province of *Kilan* derives its name from the people that inhabit it, who are called *Kilek*. It is the antient *Hyrcania*. For its situation absolutely agrees with that which is given it by *Quintus Curtius*, and that it is encompass'd, after the manner of a Crescent, with a Mountain cover'd with Trees. It is water'd by many little Rivers. It comprehends several other Provinces, among which, some number that of *Thabristan* or *Mesanderan*, which is the same with that, whose Inhabitants, in the time of *Alexander* the Great, were called *Mardi*. The rest are *Kisilagas*, *Deschteuend*, *Maranku*, *Maschican*, *Lengerkunan*, *Astara*, *Buladi*, *Schigkeran*, *Nokeran*, *Kilikeraa*, *Houe*, *Lemur*, *Dijekeran*, *Lissar*, *Tzeulandan*, *Rihk*, *Kesker*, *Resicht*, *Lahetzan*, and *Astarabath*, containing forty six Cities, and a very great number of Villages. The principal Cities are, *Astrabath*, Metropolis of the Province of the same name; and *Firascu*, where may be had the fairest Turquoises in the Kingdome. In *Mesanderan* are *Amul*, *Funkabun*, *Nei*, *Sarou*, *Nourketzour*, and the noble and pleasant City of *Ferabath*. It was heretofore called *Tabona*, but *Schach Abas* was so pleas'd with it, that many times he pass'd over the Winter therein, and gave it the name it now hath, from the word *Ferah*, which signifies pleasant or delightful. Indeed the whole Country is such, so that they who affirm that fruits hardly ripen in it by reason of its coldness, injure it very much; unless it be that they speak of its Mountains, which indeed are not habitable: but the plains are very populous, and very fertile, and so pleasant, that the *Persians* say it is the Garden of the Kingdome, as *Touraine* is, of *France*. Whence the *Hakim*, or Poet, *Fardausi* had reason to say, *The Province of* Kilan. Mesanderan.

Tschu Mesanderan, Tschu Kulkende Sar?
Nikerem we nesert, henis che besar?

That is, What is *Mesanderan?* Is it not a place set with Roses? neither too Hot, nor too Cold, but a perpetual Spring? *Lahetzan* is famous for its Silk, which it hath better than any other place; and its principal Cities are *Lenkeru*, *Kutsesbar*, and *Amelekende*. In the Province of *Resicht*, besides the Metropolis of the same name, are the Cities of *Kisma*, *Fumen*, *Tullum*, *Scheft*, *Dilum*, and *Massula*. This last is built upon a Mountain, by reason of an Iron-mine, by which the Inhabitants, who are most Smiths, maintain themselves. There are also in those parts abundance of Wall-nut Trees, whereof are made most of the Wooden dishes that are all over *Persia*. In *Kesker* are the Cities of *Kesker*, *Scaherruth*, *Kurab*, *Enseli*, *Dulab*, *Schal*; and towards the North, *Ruesseru*, *Miunscaker*, *Senguerasara*, *Houe*, *Choschkaderene*, *Henkelan*, and *Kisilagats*. There is no entrance into the Province of *Kilan*, but by the four passages, whereof we shall speak hereafter, in the last Book of the Travels of the Ambassadors, as also of the Lahetzan. Resicht. Kesker.

1636. *Caspian* gates, the insolence of the people who live between *Mesandaran* and *Kesker*, and the History of *Karib Schach*.

The Province of Chorasan. *Chorasan*, or the antient *Bactriana*, hath on the West, *Mesanderan*, and comprehends also several other lesser Provinces, whereof the chiefest is that of *Heri*, the Metropolis whereof is *Herat*. This Province is one of the greatest, and most fertil of any in *Persia*, and that which drives on the greatest Trade of any. The City of *Mesched*, which, in the Catalogue or Register of their Cities, may be found under the name of *Thus*, is no doubt the most considerable of any. It is encompass'd with a noble Wall, set out with many sumptuous Structures, and among others with two, or if we may believe *Texeira*, three hundred Towers, distant one from the other about a Musquet shot. In this City is to be seen the Sepulchre of *Iman Risa*, one of the twelve Saints of *Persia*, of the Family of *Aly*, which, as to its Structure, Revenue, and Wealth, is equal to that of *Ardebil*, and all things are performed there with the same Ceremonies. The same Devotions are also done there as at the Tomb of *Schich Sefi*. In the Country about *Mesched*, near the City of *Nisabur*, there is a Mountain, where are found such Excellent Turquezes, that the King permits them not to be sold to any but himself. *Herath* is the second City of the Province, and there, is made the best *Persian* Tapistry. The *Indians* Trade thither, and it is a place they must necessarily pass through, who go from *Candahar* to *Ispahan*. There it was that the Horses of the Great *Mogul*'s Ambassador were stay'd, whereof we shall say more hereafter. *Thun*, *Thabeskileki*, and *Thabes-Messinan*, are very considerable Cities, as well upon the accompt of their greatness, as of the several Manufactures of Silk that are made there, and wherewith they drive a vast Trade. All the other Cities, as *Sebsevar*, *Turschis*, *Kain*, *Puschentz*, *Badkis*, *Meru*, *Meruerud*, *Tzurtzan*, *Fariab*, *Asurkan*, *Belch*, *Bamian*, *Semkan*, *Thalecan*, and *Sus*, are also very populous, and eminent for Merchandise, and in these parts is found the best Manna in the World.

The Province of Sablusthan. The Province of *Sablusthan* lies more towards the East, *Q. Curtius* calls the Inhabitants of it *Paropamisadæ*, from the neighbouring Mountain, called *Paropamisus*, which is a branch of Mount *Taurus*, and it is all Wooddy. The people living in it, is, at this day, as simple and barbarous as they were in the time of *Alexander*. It is upon this Mountain that *Goropius Becanus* would have *Noah*'s Ark rest, after the deluge, contrary to the opinion of most of the Fathers, who, for the most part, agree, that it rested upon Mount *Aratat* in *Armenia*. The Cities of this Province are *Bekfabath*, *Meimine*, *Asbe*, *Bust*, and *Sarents*.

Sitzistan. The Province of *Sitzistan*, by others called *Sigestan*, *Sagestan*, and *Sistan*, lies South-ward from the Province of *Sablustan*, and is the Habitation of the people, who were heretofore called *Drangæ*. It is encompass'd of all sides by a high Mountain; and it is the Country of the Grand *Rustam*, who is known not only in their Histories, but is also the only celebrated *Heros* of all their Romances. The principal Cities of this Province, are *Sistan*, *Chaluk*, *Ketz*, &c.

Kirman. The Province of *Kirman* is also one of the greatest of the Kingdome of *Persia*. It lies between those of *Fars* and *Sigestan*, and reaches as far as the Sea, and the Island of *Ormus*. The Country is somewhat un-even, and Mountainous, but the Valleys of it are very fertil and delightful, abounding in Fruit, and every where cover'd, and as it were strew'd with Flowers, especially Roses, whereof this Province produces such great quantity, that a considerable part of its Revenue is rais'd out of the water made of them. The Inhabitants call it *Gulap*, whence it may be well imagin'd that the Word *Julip* comes, and they drive a great Trade with it, especially at *Ispahan*. Those who Trade most in it, are the *Lurs*, who are a sort of people by themselves, distinguish'd from the other *Persians* by what they wear about their Heads, which is a kind of Coiffure, that is longer and narrower than the ordinary Turbants, and there is fasten'd to it a tuft or tassel, which hangs down over the Back. There is also in this Province a Drugg very soverain against the Worms, which is called *Daru Kirman*, as well upon accompt of the Province, as also hence, that the Word *Kirman* signifies a Worm. And concerning this, there is a story of one of their Kings, who being in the fields on Horse-back, heard himself call'd by his own name. He look'd back, as if he had heard the voice behind him, and seeing only a dead man's skull half rotten upon the ground, and doubting the voice proceeded thence, he asked, who it was. The skull answer'd, that that was all was left of what he had sometime been; that he had worn a Crown as well as himself, and had Conquer'd several great Provinces, but that desirous to add, to his other Conquests, that of *Kirman*, he had been over-come and eaten; exhorting him to reflect on what he had seen, and to make his advantage of that Philosophy. The Province is barren enough towards the North, having on that side abundance of heathy grounds; but towards the Sea-side it is very fertil. Its principal Cities are *Birsir*, *Bermasir*, *Bem*, *Chabis*, *Tzirest*, *Kamron*, and *Ormus*, *Kamron* is a Sea-port, whence it is many times called *Bender*, or *Bender Kamron*. *Ormus*, by the *Persians* called *Hormous*, is an Island, three Leagues distant from the Continent: but of these two places, the Reader will have a further accompt in the first Book of *Mandelslo*'s Travels into the *Indies*. There is comprehended also under

under the Province of *Kirman*, that of *Mekeran*, wherein are the Cities of *Firh*, *Kuz*, and *Cbalak*. 1366.

Chuſiſtan is the ſame which was heretofore called *Suſiana*, and in the time of the Hebrews *Elam*. It lies between the Province of *Fars* and the River *Dilfel*, and its Metropolis was *Suſa*, famous for the Viſion which the Prophet *Daniel* had there, concerning the determination of the *Perſian* Monarchy, and the beginning of the *Grecian*. It is now called *Deſu*. It was alſo in theſe parts that the palace of *Suſa* ſtood, upon the River *Ulai*, where King *Ahaſuerus*, King over twenty ſeven Provinces, made his great Feaſt. Its chief Cities are *Ahawas*, *Ramchormus*, *Scabur*, *Askar*, and *Arhan*. The heats in theſe parts are ſo great, eſpecially towards the South-part of the Mountain, that, in the Summer time, the Inhabitants are forc'd to forſake the Cities, and retire themſelves into the Mountain. *The Province of Chaſiſtan.*

Tziſire is found in the Catalogue of the Provinces of *Perſia*, and it is the antient *Meſopotamia*. Now it is commonly called *Diarbek*, and lies between the Rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, which the Turks call *Digel*. This Province hath been often taken and retaken by them from the *Perſians*; ſo that it is not alwayes under the *Schach*'s Juriſdiction, but then only when he is Maſter of *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, and *Moſul*, which ſome affirm to have been the antient *Ninive*. 'Tis true, *Bagdat* is not properly in the Province of *Diarbek*, but in that of *Eracain*, as are alſo the Cities of *Waſith*, *Beſre*, *Ruſa*, and *Medain*. *The Province of Tziſire, or Diarbek.*

As to the City of *Bagdat*, there is nothing ſo certain, as that it was built, out of the ruins of the antient *Babylon*, but not in the ſame place, in as much as *Babylon* ſtood upon the *Euphrates*, which ran through it, as is expreſſely affirmed by *Strabo*; whereas *Bagdat* is ſeated upon the *Tigris*, which joyns with the *Euphrates*, a League below the City. The *Perſians* are of opinion, that the Inhabitants of *Babylon* had heretofore their Summer-Houſes and Gardens at the place where now *Bagdat* ſtands, inſomuch that after the deſtruction of the City, they found it no great difficulty to remove their habitations thither. And indeed, the word *Bag*, which ſignifies a *Garden*, and *Bagdat*, a *place full of Gardens*, does in ſome meaſure confirm their opinion.

To reſume our former diſcourſe, the Country where we were caſt a-ſhore, is very pleaſant, it was all over green at the time of our arrival, and the Birds, which were not yet ſenſible of the Cold, otdinary in our parts, continued their Chirping and Singing till near the middle of *December*. The ſoil there is very good, bringing forth Rice, Wheat, and Barley, in great abundance. They make no Hay, becauſe their Cattle are out Winter and Summer; but if they make any, it is only for the convenience of Travellers. Their Vines were ſcatter'd up and down, Planted without any care or order, all along the Hedges the Vines being faſten'd to the Trees, ſo as that they ſpread up to the extremities of the Boughs, from which the ſmall branches hung down three or four Ells in length. All the Province of *Kilan* is full of them, and at our return, we ſaw very fair and very large ones, at *Aſtora*. The Country affords good ſtore of Wild-fowl, eſpecially Pheaſants, as alſo of Hares, the Hunting whereof found us good ſport during the aboad we were forc'd to make there. There is alſo in theſe parts a certain kind of Foxes, which they call *Shakal*, about the bigneſs of thoſe of *Europe*, (of which kind there are alſo abundance, and the Inhabitants call them *Tulki*) but inſtead of Furr or Hair, they are cover'd with Wool, and have white bellies, Ears all black, and leſs Tails than thoſe of our parts. We heard them in the night time running in Herds about the Village, and were not a little troubled at their Cries, which was a drawling and doleful noiſe, without any intermiſſion. *The Province of Schiruan.*

The Inhabitants make uſe of Buffles or wild Oxen, more than they do of Horſes, but inſtead of loading them upon their Backs, they make them draw Wood, or any other things of great weight. Their ordinary ſuſtenance is Feny-greek, wherewith they ſow whole Fields, as we do with Vetches and Lentills, and they cut it while it is yet green, Herb and Seed together, and ſo give it thoſe Creatures to eat. The Milk, I mean that of the Females, is ſo fat, that it makes a Cream two fingers thick, of which they make excellent Butter. They never make any Cheeſe of Cow's-milk, but only of ſheeps.

The Village of *Niaſabath* is at 41 deg. 15 min. Elevation, and hath not above 15 or 16 poor Houſes, which lye ſcatter'd up and down, all built of Clay, and abſolutely ſquare, having flat Roofs, and cover'd with Turfs, ſo as that a man might walk upon them without either danger or inconvenience. And indeed it is ordinary among the *Perſians*, to erect Tents upon them, to eat, and, in the ſummer-time, to lye on them all night, that they may the more participate of the coolneſs of the Air. Here it was that I firſt underſtood what the Goſpel ſays of the Paralytick, who was let down through the Roof of the Houſe; and the Counſel our Saviour gave thoſe who were upon the Houſe-top, not to come down into the Houſe; for this is their way of building all over the Eaſt. We were at firſt lodg'd in the Houſes, which were very handſome within, and the floors of the Chambers for the moſt part cover'd with Tapiſtry, and the Maſters of the Houſes receiv'd and treated us the firſt day very well. But the Village being but ſmall, not able to find Lodging for all our retinue, and our aboad being likely to be too long there for us to *The Houſes of Perſia.*

1636. to lye upon the charges of the Inhabitants, we got Tents pitch'd near the Lodgings of the Ambassadors, where we continu'd till the Court of *Persia* took order for our departure thence. We had no Bread; our Beer was lost with the ship, and the Village had no spring of fresh water; so that we were forc'd to look after our Mouldy scraps, and to content our selves with the troubled water of a small Torrent, which pass'd near the Village, while our ship furnish'd us with firing for the Kitchen and the Chambers.

Nov. 19. *Schachewerdi*, Governour of *Derbent* sent to complement us, upon the occasion of our arrival there, two Persons, very well clad, one whereof was Brother to the *Kaucha* of *Niasabath*. They deliver'd the Ambassadors the *Sulthan*'s Letter, which came with a Present of two Horses, as many Oxen, twelve sheep, twenty Pullets, three great Pitchers of Wine, one Pitcher of Water, two Paniers of Apples, and three sacks of Wheatflower.

But the Ambassadors coming to understand, that the *Sulthan*'s Letter made mention only of one Horse, they would not receive the other, though the *Persians* earnestly protested, that the mistake came only hence, that the *Sulthan* imagining there had been but one Ambassador, had accordingly sent but one Horse, and that they, coming afterwards to hear there were two, had bought another horse, out of an assurance that it was the *Sulthan*'s intention to have done so. But notwithstanding all their allegations and instances, the Ambassador *Brugman* would by no means accept of the horse, for no other reason, doubtless, than this, that his was not so good as his Collegue's. The *Persians* were not a little troubled thereat, and look'd on it as an affront done the *Sulthan*, who resented it so highly since, that he did us all the ill-Offices lay in his power, being also further troubled in this respect, that, contrary to the custom of *Persia* and *Muscovy*, upon the Ambassador *Brugman*'s untowardness, his People had been sent away without Presents.

Brugmans incivility.

The 22. the Ambassadors sent *Francis Meurier*, one of our Retinue, with our *Persian* Interpreter, to the *Chan* or Governour general of the Province of *Schiruan*, whose ordinary residence is at *Scamachie*, to acquaint him with our arrival, and to entreat him to supply us with all things necessary for the continuation of our journey. The Governour, who had heard of it by some other means had immediately sent a *Mehemander* to us (so they call in *Persia* those who among the *Muscovites* are called *Pristafs*, whose charge it is to conduct the Ambassadors through the Country, and to see them furnish'd with Provisions and Carriage) but our people had mist him by the way.

This *Mehemander* came to our Quarters the 29. of *November*. He was most sumptuously Cloathed, and excellently well mounted, on a very gallant horse, the Harness whereof was cover'd with Gold, and beset with Turquezes. He acquitted himself very handsomly both in his address and complement, with promises of all the civilities and services it was in his power to do us, as long as we should be under his conduct, which was as far as *Schamachie*. Having answer'd his Complement, we invited him, and those who came along with him, to taste of our fruits, and of all sorts of Aquavitæ, wherewith we were well stor'd. We also caused our great Guns to be discharg'd, and we entertain'd them with our Musick, wherewith they seem'd to be much taken. As soon as the *Mehemander* was return'd to his Lodging, he sent us a Present of five sheep, three Pitchers of Wine, and some Pomegranates.

Nov. the last, came back *Francis Meurier* with the Interpreter, bringing this accompt, that the *Chan* being not at *Scamachie*, at their coming thither, they had been oblig'd to follow him into the Country, where they had found him encamp'd under Tents, with a Retinue of about four hundred persons: That he had receiv'd them kindly, and had assur'd them, that he had already sent a *Mehemandar*, whose care it should be to see the Ambassadors supply'd with all things necessary for the continuation of their journey; that he had told them further, that he heard the Ambassadors had a Retinue of about three hundred men, but they should be all welcome, though they were twice the number: That it was a great while since we first heard of this Embassy, and that he was very desirous to see us. To which accompt the Interpreter added only this, that the Governour had particularly desir'd to be inform'd by him, of the quality and humours of the Ambassadors, as also of that of the persons whereof our Retinue consisted, and our manner of life.

The Governours resentment.

The first ill Office the *Sulthan* of *Derbent* did us, was, in denying us a sufficient number of horses and other cattel for the carriage of our selves and our Baggage. Which prov'd so considerable a rub in our way, that our *Mehemander* was forc'd to return to *Scamachie*, where he spent above a moneth in getting together such a number of cattel as might carry us and all we had: during all which time we were forc'd to continue still in the Village of *Niasabath*.

The Cuptzi comes to Niasabath

During that time was dis-embarqu'd, much about the same place, the *Cuptzi* or *Persian* Merchant, of whom we have spoken before, after he had run the same hazard upon the *Caspian* Sea as we had so narrowly escaped.

Nov. 24. came in thither a small Boat with five persons in it, who were all left of fifty, who had been cast away with the ship, which was bound for *Kilan*, the thirteenth before; so that those

thoſe poor people had been ten dayes together ſtrugling with the wind and waves ere they could get Land. 1636.

The joy we might well conceive at our being in *Perſia*, after ſo troubleſome a Voyage, wherein we had run through ſo many dangers, was much abated by the inconveniences which the untowardneſs and humourſomneſs of one of the Chiefeſt in the Company run us into: but I ſhall ſpare the Reader the diſſatisfaction of finding any thing in this relation but what is divertive. The better to overcome the affliction it put us all into, we, who were of *Miſme*, entred intred into a little ſociety among our ſelves, and taking our advantage of the fair weather we had the firſt of *December*, we went all together in a Company about a quarter of a League from the Village, where we found out a little place, whereof the Rivulet maketh almoſt a Peninſula, ſo pleaſant and inviting, that the faireſt Meadows in *Europe* afford not any thing ſo delightful in the beſt Seaſon of the year. The water came almoſt round about that little parcel of ground, and the Pomegranate-Trees, which had joyn'd their verdure with that of the Vines, invited us to reſt our ſelves under their ſhade, and to divert our ſelves with the memory of our dear Countrey: to which divertiſement our Phyſician, Dr. *Graman*, contributed very much, by the good cheer he made us of Gamons of Bacon, Neats Tongues, and two or three ſorts of Sack and Aquavitæ, whereof he had ſtill good ſtore left. This was our diverriſement for ſeveral dayes.

Decemb. 9. The Ambaſſadors were viſited by the ſame *Tartar* Prince of *Tarku*, who had given us a Viſit at *Terki*. He was accompany'd by his brother, and attended by a Retinue of about twenty perſons. After his Viſit, he went to the next Village to look for Lodging, there being none to be had in ours, and ſent us the next day, as a Preſent, an Ox, ſome Sheep, and two great Paniers of Apples. That which the Ambaſſadors ſent in return thereto, conſiſted in certain Ells of Cloath and Satin, a Veſſel of Aquavitæ, and a Roll of Tobacco. And whereas he had expreſs'd, that they would do him a great kindneſs to give him a little Gun-powder, to be reveng'd for the incurſions which *Sulthan Mahomet* had made into his Territories, the Ambaſſadors ſent him a Barrel that weigh'd 80. pounds. *The Tartar Prince of Dageſtan viſits the Ambaſſadors.*

The return of our *Mehemandar*, who came back the ſame day, made us the more joyfull, in that he aſſur'd us, that within 15. dayes, there ſhould be brought us out of *Scamachie* and *Derbent* ſuch a number of Wagons, Camels, and Horſes, as that nothing ſhould retard our journey any longer.

According to this promiſe, the 12. there came in ſome Horſes and Camels, but we heard of no more afterwards. The *Mehemandar* excuſed himſelf upon the Snow that had fallen the night before, and ſaid, that the *Perſians* were not wont to travel in the cold, and that the Camels whoſe hoofs are not ſo flat as thoſe of other Creatures, would not have been able to go by reaſon of the ſlipperineſs of the way. Whereto he added, that it had hapned, that whole *Caravans* had periſh'd, through cold, in the Mountains, for want of Wood and Lodging, which are very ſcarce upon that Road, though there be but twenty Leagues, or *Farſangs*, from *Niaſabath* to *Scamachie*. True it is indeed, that for ſome nights we had Snow, but the Sun melted it as ſoon as he appear'd over the Horizon. But how ere it happen'd, we were forc'd to ſtay there ten dayes longer; which made us imagine that what was done was out of deſign, purpoſely to defer our departure thence, till they ſhould receive the Orders which they expected from the *Sophy* concerning our ſubſiſtence; for till then we had been upon our own charge.

During our ſtay at *Niaſabath*, the Ambaſſador *Brugman* would needs cut ſome certain beams, which the *Sophy* had, with vaſt charge, brought to the Sea-ſide, to be employ'd in the building of his ſhips, and cauſe Carriages to be made thereof for our Artillery, not regarding the Remonſtrances of the *Perſians*, who told him, that if he made uſe of thoſe beams, the *Sophy* could not build his ſhips that year. The Ambaſſador went on in his intended deſign, and told thoſe of our Retinue, who would have diſſwaded him from it, that it was the humour of that Nation, not to do any thing till they are forc'd to it, and that the only way was to domineer over them. But the *Perſians* had afterwards the advantage to laugh at us, when they furniſh'd us with ſo few horſes, that being not able to draw our Artillery, we were forc'd to leave our Carriages behind, and to load our Guns upon Camels. *Brugman's indiſcretion.*

Decemb. 21. there came to us two *Mehemandars*, one from *Scamachie*, the other from *Derbent*, bringing along with them about forty Camels, thirty Waggons drawn by wild Oxen, and eighty Horſes, which being loaden with the Baggage, went before, with ſome of our ſervants. But when the Ambaſſadors themſelves were to go, and that what belong'd to their Chambers and the Kitchin was to be pack'd up, there were but ſixty Horſes left for all the reſt of the Retinue, which was 94. perſons. The *Mehemandar* ſwore *by the head of his King* (which is the greateſt Oath among the *Perſians*) that he could not poſſibly find any more, telling us, that while we were within the Government of the *Sulthan* of *Derbent*, whom, without any occaſion, we muſt needs diſoblige, we were not to hope any better treatment, but that as ſoon as we were come within the Government of *Scamachie*, we ſhould not want any thing requiſite for the proſecution of our journey, if in the mean time we could pluck up a good heart, and ſet our ſelves once in the way.

Hence

1636. Hence it came, that upon the 22. of *December* we were forc'd to depart, some on Horse-back, some behind them, and the rest, to wit, the Lacqueys, the Guards, and the Soldiers, afoot.

The Ambassadors leave Niasabath. Our way lay South-ward along the *Caspian* Sea, and we cross'd that day four small Rivers. The first place we Lodg'd at was the Village of *Mordou*, within the Government of *Scamachy*, somewhat above four Leagues from *Niasabath*. The houses there were all round, and built up of Ozier and Canes, as those of the *Tartars*. The Inhabitants call them *Ottak*. The nights were cold enough, and there was no Wood in the Village, so that we spent our time there uneasily enough, especially those, who had wetted themselves by going through the water afoot.

The word *Mordou* signifies a Fen, and the Village derives its name from the Fenny places which lye about it, wherein there are many Springs, which send forth their water with such violence, that there is no cold so great as to congeal them. Whence it comes, that there are abundance of Swans there, even in the Winter, whose down is gather'd for the *Sophy*'s Beds and Pillows. This Village is inhabited by a certain people whom they call *Padars*, who have their particular language, though with some relation to the *Turkish* and *Persian*. Their Religion is the *Mahumetane*, inclining to the *Turkish*, but accompany'd besides with infinite Superstitions. Among others they have this, that they leave their meat after it is dressed, to grow almost cold before they eat it, and if it happen that any one, ignorant of their customs, should blow or breath upon it, they cast it away as impure.

Padars. *a people.*

The Ambassador *Brugman* sent for the *Kaucha* or Bayly of *Niasabath*, and complain'd to him of the ill Offices done us by the *Sulthan* of *Derbent*, in not allowing the Carriage necessary for the prosecution of our Voyage; insomuch that he was oblig'd to see some part of his Retinue, whom he lov'd as his own eyes, go afoot, and likely to miscarry by the way, of which proceeding he should give the *Sophy* a full accompt as soon as he came to Court. The *Kaucha* made answer, that it must needs be, the *Sulthan* knew not we had so much Baggage; but said withall, that he could not imagine what pleasure we took in carrying along with us Sails, brass Guns, and Carriages, which could only put us to trouble, and retard our journey, and that if the Ambassador did put up his complaints, the *Sulthan* for his part would easily find out wayes to justifie himself. The next day, our *Mehemandar* brought us twenty horses more; so that having lessen'd our Baggage by certain Chests and useless Vessels, which were ordered to be broken, we made a shift to set all our people on Horse-back. We travell'd that day three leagues, and came at night to the Village of *Tachousi*, which lies in a bottom, and hath very handsome Houses.

They lodge in a Caravansera. The 24. we got three Leagues further, and came to the high Mountain of *Barmach*, at the foot whereof we took up our quarters, in a great Court, which was all open, and had only the four bare Walls. The *Persians* call those places *Caravanseras*, and they are as the *Ventas* in *Spain*, and serve for Inns upon the High-way, in the deserts of *Persia*. They are within a dayes Journey one of another, for the greater convenience of Travellers, who are oblig'd to bring along with them Provisions and Forrage for Horse and Man, for you find in them, at the best, but Chambers and Halls, and those not furnish'd with any thing, and have only a Roof to keep you dry.

The Waggoners and Mule-drivers of *Derbent* made a shew as if they would have return'd, and have left us there, to stay till other conveniences of Riding and Carriage were brought us from *Schamachie*: but finding, on the other side, that the Ambassadors had ordered the Drums to be beaten to bring their people together, and that command was issued out that all should march a-foot, and abandon the Baggage, to be made good at their perils who refus'd to supply them with necessary carriages, they chang'd their resolution, and staid.

The *Caravansera* was a very antient structure, all built with large Free-stones, being forty two paces square. Over the Gate, there were two Chambers, where we found certain Inscriptions and *Hebrew* Letters, and some Characters, which none in the company could either read or comprehend.

The 25. being *Christmas* day, we did our Devotions in the great Stable which was appointed for the Camels; which done, some of our retinue had the curiosity to go and take a view of the Mountain, induc'd thereto by the maraculous relations which the *Persians* had made us thereof by the way.

The Mountain of Barmach. This Mountain lies within a quarter of a League of the *Caspian* Sea, and, by reason of its extraordinary height, is seen at a very great distance. It is in a manner round, having on the very top of it a great Rock streight up, and very steepy of all sides, from which it hath the name of *Barmach*, that is, *finger*: because it looks like a finger stretch'd out above the other adjacent Mountains. We understood since, that there is a path, which will commodiously enough bring one to the top of it, but we knew it not then, so that we ran great hazard of our Lives in getting up by dreadful precipices.

It was so cold upon the Mountain, that the Grass, which was high enough there, was all cover'd with a white frost as with Sugar-candy, whereas at the foot of the Mountain, near the

Cara-

Caravanſera, the weather was fair and mild. Upon the edge of the Mountain, and at the foot of the Rock, there is a plain of about fifty perches ſquare, which hath in the midſt of it, a very fair Well, built about with ſtone, and about that Well may be ſeen the ruins of a very thick Wall, flank'd at the corners with certain Towers and Bulwarks, wherewith that ſtructure had ſometime been fortify'd, as alſo with two good deep ditches built about with Free-ſtone, which ſatisfy'd us they were the ruins of an impregnable Fortreſs. Towards the Northern part of the Mountain, we met with other ruins, which could be no other than the remainders of another Fort. They facilitated our acceſs to an aſcent, which was cut in the Rocks, and conducted us almoſt up to the Top, where we ſaw a Vault, and the remainder of a third Structure, which had ſometimes ſerv'd for a Dungeon, or place of retreat, after the loſs of the two other Forts. 1636. *Ruins of Fortreſſes.*

I imagine that this may have been one of thoſe Fortifications, which the Antients called *Portæ Caſpiæ*, or *Ferreæ*, whereof there is a deſcription in the Greek and Latin Hiſtories. The *Perſians* are of opinion, that theſe ſtructures were built by *Iſcander*, ſo they call *Alexander* the Great, and that they were demoliſh'd by *Tamberlane*. We reſted our ſelves upon the Rock, where we ſung *Te Deum*, and renew'd among our ſelves the friendſhip, which we had before mutually promis'd each other by moſt unfeigned proteſtations: and having gather'd certain Figs off the Trees, which grew out of the clefts of the Rock, we got down again with leſs trouble and danger, by the ordinary path. *The opinion of the Perſians concerning theſe Fortreſſes.*

The 26. we left *Barmach*, having very fair weather, the Sun caſting at that time a greater heat than it does with us in *May*. The Waggons, with the Baggage, took the way of the plain towards *Bakuje*, and the Ambaſſadors, with thoſe of the retinue, who were on Horſeback, took that of the Mountain. We Travell'd that day five leagues, and came at night to a Village named *Chanega*, within the Mountains. There, we met with abundance of excellent Fruits, and good ſtore of Honey; but the water thereabouts was troubled, corrupted, and ſtunk.

The next day, *Decemb.* 27. we got five Leagues further, to a Village named *Pyrmaraas*, three Leagues from *Scamachie*. This place is very famous, by reaſon of one of their Saints named *Seid-Ibrahim*, whoſe Sepulchre is to be ſeen there. The *Perſians* affirm it to be very antient, and ſo great a Veneration had for it, that *Tamberlane*, who had no religious reſpect for any thing, would not meddle with that Sepulchre, though he deſtroy'd all elſe that lay in his way. This ſtructure hath its Walls, and its two Courts, as a Caſtle. Our Ambaſſadors ſent the *Mehemandar* to the Guardian of the place, to entreat him, that they might be permitted to enter; but all they could obtain, was only to ſee the firſt Court, which was full of ſquare ſtones, which were ſet up-an-end, to diſtinguiſh the Graves of private Perſons. *The Sepulchre of a Perſian Saint.*

I had a great deſire to get a little nearer, and, if it were poſſible, to ſee the Saint's Sepulchre. Whereupon, I return'd thither in the Evening, and ſet down in my Table-Book the *Arabian* Inſcriptions, which I found Grav'd here and there upon the Walls. The *Perſians*, who imagin'd what I did was in honour of their Saint, ſuffer'd me to proceed in what I was about. I made my advantage of that liberty to ſlip in at the Gate of the ſecond Court, where I found many other Inſcriptions. I beſtow'd about half an hour in Copying them out, and perceiving they took no further notice of me, I ventur'd ſo far as to open the Door which goes into the ſtructure it ſelf, which being made faſt only with a wooden pin, it was no hard matter for me to open it, and to get in. It conſiſted of many arched apartments, which had no light, but what came in by certain little Windows, which put me into a little fright. In the firſt apartment, there was, juſt oppoſite to the door, a Tomb about two foot high, having as many ſteps to get up to it, and it was encompaſs'd with a Balcony, or rather an Iron-grate. *The Sepulchre deſcribed.*

On the left hand, there was a door which led into a great and very lightſome Gallery, the walls whereof were whitened, and the floor cover'd with rich Carpets. On the right hand, there were, in another apartment, which was Vaulted, eight high Tombs: and it was through this laſt Vault, that people paſs'd into a third, in which was the Sepulchre of *Seid-Ibrahim*. The Tomb was two foot above ground, and was cover'd with a Carpet of yellow Damask. At the head and feet, as alſo on both ſides, there were ſeveral Wax Candles and Lanthorns, upon great braſs Candleſticks, and from the Roof of the Vault there hung certain Lamps. As I came out of this place, I met with our Miniſter, who expreſs'd ſo great a deſire to go into it, that I ventur'd once more to go in along with him; and he went in thither a ſecond time along with our Phyſician.

About two Musket ſhot from the Village, on the Eaſt-ſide, there is to be ſeen, in a Rock, the Sepulchre of another Saint, which is very ſumptuouſly built. The *Perſians* call the Saint who is interr'd in that place *Tiribabba*, and they affirm he was Maſter to *Seid-Ibrahim*, who had ſo great an Affection, and ſo particular a Reverence for him, that he made it his requeſt to God, that he would vouchſafe, that, after his Death, he might be ſeen in the ſame poſture as he was wont to put himſelf into, when he did his Devotions in his Life time; and that accordingly he is to be ſeen at this day clad in a grey Garment kneeling, which was his ordinary geſture *The Sepulchre of another Saint.*

1636. when he ſaid his Prayers, while he lived. Which a man need make no great difficulty to believe, if there may be any credit given to what is affirmed by *Camerarius*, in his *Hiſtorical Meditations*, after *Varro*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, to wit, that the Bodies of the *Perſians* are not corrupted, and that they are only dry'd up: I am of opinion, that this is to be underſtood only of ſuch Bodies as are not interr'd, but expos'd to the Air, nay it is further requiſite they ſhould be Bodies brought very low either by age or ſickneſs: for full Bodies are ſubject to corruption, in *Perſia* as well as other places

Theſe two places are very famous by reaſon of the Pilgrimages upon which the *Perſians* reſort thither, eſpecially about the time that *Tiribabba* hath a new Garment beſtow'd on him, and that the old one is torn to pieces, to be diſtributed among the Pilgrims. The Inhabitants of the Country relate ſtrange things of the Miracles of theſe Saints: but in regard they can be no other than Fables, or the effects of Sorcery, and that the *Perſians* are very apt to believe any ſtories, and are very much inclin'd to Sorcery, I thought it more diſcretion to wave the relation of their impertinences.

Upon the door of this Sepulchre, there was this Inſcription in *Arabick* Letters, *Alla mufethi hil ebuad*, that is to ſay, *O God, open this door.* There are cut within the Rock ſeveral Chambers, Neeches, and Holes, in which the Pilgrims are lodg'd and do their Devotions; nay there are ſome ſo high, that they muſt have Ladders of 12. or 15. foot long to get up to them.

There were three of us ventur'd to get up to the top of the Rock by dreadful precipices, helping one the other as we got up. There we found four ſpacious Chambers, and, within, ſeveral Neeches cut in the Rock, to ſerve for Beds. But what we thought moſt ſtrange was, that we found in that Vault, upon the very top of the Mountain, Muſcle-ſhels, and in ſome places ſuch abundance of them, as would induce a man to imagine, that the Rock was made up of ſand and ſhels. In our return from *Perſia*, we obſerv'd all along the *Caſpian* Sea, ſeveral of theſe ſhelly Mountains. whereof we ſhall give a further accompt hereafter.

Shels in mountains far from the Sea.

The Inhabitants of this Village of *Pyrmaraas* never drink any Wine, out of a fear, as they ſay themſelves, that, breaking the Laws of *Mahomet* and the Directions of the *Alchoran*, the Holineſs of the place might be thereby prophan'd. At the entrance of the Village, near the Sepulchre of *Seid-Ibrahim* there is a great Vault, or Ceſtern of 52. foot in length and twenty in breadth, compaſs'd with a wall of Free-ſtone, which in the Winter time they fill with Water, Snow and Ice, to be us'd in the great heats and drought of Summer, as well for themſelves as their Cattel.

The 29. the *Chan* ſent us word, that we might ſend our Harbinger to *Schamachie*, to take up Lodgings for us, and that we might follow him in the afternoon. But after we had loaded part of our Baggage, and juſt as we were going to take Horſe, the *Chan* ſent an expreſs Meſſenger to us, to intreat us to continue that night at *Pyrmaraas*. And that we might be aſſur'd, this was not done out of any deſign upon us, he ſent us ſeveral refreſhment, and among other things, four great Pitchers, and two Leathern baggs full of Wine, good ſtore of Pomegranates, Apples, Pears, Quinces and Cheſt-nuts, and to each of the Ambaſſadors an excellent Horſe ſadled and bridled. We could not then imagine what might occaſion this delay; but it was told us afterward, that the *Minatzim*, or Aſtrologer, belonging to the *Chan*, had perſwaded him, that that day was not a fortunate day to receive ſtrangers in.

The ſuperſtition of the Perſians.

The next day, *Dec.* 30. we left *Pyrmaraas*, about eight in the Morning, taking our way ſtraight to *Schamachy*, into which we made a very noble entrance. Within two leagues of the City, we met with one afoot, who came to tell us, from the *Chan*, that we were welcom, and that he would come out of the City in perſon to receive us. This man march'd on ſtill in the front of our Cavalcade. Within a league of the City, we met with about thirty Gentlemen on horſe-back, very well mounted, who came only to take a view of us, and immediately return'd, in full ſpeed, to the City. After this, we met, near a certain Village, with about a hundred men on horſe-back, who open'd, to make us way to paſs through them.

The reception of the Ambaſſadors at Schamachie.

About two Musket-ſhot thence we met with another Troop of Cavaliers, among whom there were twelve that had a particular Coiffure about their heads, having their Turbants pointed upwards like the Spire of a Steeple, which they call *Takia*; and we were told it was by Privilege that they were ſo dreſs'd, it being to ſignifie that they were of the poſterity and kinred of their Prophet *Aaly*. Theſe ſaluted us with a low inclination of the head, and bid us welcome, by ſaluting us with their *Choſckeldi*, in the *Turkiſh* Language, which they would rather ſpeak than the *Perſian*.

Having kept company with theſe about half a League, we perceiv'd on our right hand a body of about 500. men; and whereas we were told, that the *Chan* and his *Calenter*, or Lieutenant, were there in perſon, it was taken into conſideration, whether we ſhould keep on in the High-way, or turn aſide and make towards them. The Ambaſſador *Brugman* would have had us keep on in the High-way, which led ſtreight to the City, alleging that it was the *Chan*'s duty, who receiv'd us, and who ought to be his own Maſter of the Ceremonies, to come to us. But

our

our *Mehemandar*, and others of the Company aſſuring us, that the High-way was very deep and dirty, and that the fields were more fit for the reception of the Ambaſſadors, and the Compliments and Ceremonies occaſion'd thereby, they prevail'd with us, ſo that we went ſtreight towards the *Chan*, who ſtay'd for us upon a little Hill, and advanc'd towards the Ambaſſadors, as ſoon as he perceiv'd them coming up. He had on his right hand ſix men, very proper perſons, Arm'd with gilt Bows and Arrows; on his left, as many of his Guard, with their Muskets, and after him came a very great number of Gentlemen on Horſe-back, very well mounted, and clad in Garments of *Brocado*, and Mantles and Caps embroider'd with Gold and Silver. Being come up to us, he would needs do our Nation the greateſt honour imaginable, which was by taking the Ambaſſadors one after the other by the hand, contrary to the cuſtom of the *Perſians*. The firſt Complements over, he commanded Wine to be pour'd into a ſilver Veſſel, drunk to the Ambaſſadors, and oblig'd each of them to pledge him twice. 1636.

The Chan of Schamachie meets the Ambaſſadors.

The *Calenter*, and *Muſcovian Poſtanick*, *Alexei Saunouits*, who were about the *Chan*, bid us alſo heartily welcom, and took us by the hand.

As we march'd along, we had before us our loud Muſick, which conſiſted in Hawboyes, Timbrels, Cornets, and Tabours, but particularly in a kind of Inſtrument, called *Kerrenai*. Theſe are made ſomewhat like our Hawboyes, ſave that they are of Braſs, being above eight foot in length, and at the extremity, above two foot Diameter. There were four of theſe Inſtruments, and thoſe who play'd on them made a halt ever and anon, and ſtood in a Circle as our Trumpetters, holding up the end of their *Kerrenai* to the sky, and making a noiſe, which hath not only nothing of harmony in it. but is more like a dreadful howling than any thing of Muſick. There were alſo common Hawboyes, which they call *Surnatzi*, and earthen Timbrels, made like our Butter-pots. Having march'd on a little way in this Company, the *Chan* ordered all to make a ſecond halt, that the Ambaſſadors might drink, cauſing in the mean time, a certain Buffoon, or Jeaſter, one of thoſe whom they call *Tazuſch*, to make wry-faces, and ſhew a thouſand poſtures. He alſo uſed Caſtagnets, and ſung very pleaſant ſongs.

Within a quarter of a League of the City, there was a body or battalion of above two thouſand foot, moſt *Armenians*. This battalion conſiſted of five Regiments, diſtinguiſh'd one from the other by ſo many Colours, which were faſten'd to the top of a great and long Pole, ſo as that it was as much as a man could do to carry one of them. They had their particular muſick, conſiſting of Pipes and other Inſtruments, one whereof was very remarkable, and conſiſted of two braſs Baſins, which they ſtruck one againſt the other. All theſe people bid us alſo very welcome, and expreſs'd their joy at our arrival, ſome by clapping their hands, others by turning their Caps about their heads, or flinging them up into the air. There the Governour commanded a third halt to be made, that the Ambaſſadors might drink once more. Coming near the City-Gate, we were entertain'd with another band of muſick, conſiſting of Timbrells. Hawboyes, Trumpets, and other Inſtruments, which joyning with thoſe of our Company made ſuch a noyſe as would have drown'd Thunder it ſelf.

The *Chan* invited the Ambaſſadors with the chiefeſt of their Retinue to Supper, and made them croſs the Court on horſe-back, till they came to the Lodgings into which they were to go; but the Gentlemen, and the reſt of the Retinue were oblig'd to alight at the outer Gate. The floors of all the Chambers were cover'd with very rich Tapiſtry. The *Perſians* took off their ſhooes before they went into the Chambers; which put us to ſo much the greater trouble, in that being all, in riding-boots, we durſt not venture to go in, till ſome of the *Chans* Domeſticks took ſome of the more forward by the hand and brought them in; without putting us to the trouble of pulling off our Boots.

We paſs'd through three very fair Chambers, and were brought into a ſpacious Hall very ſumptuouſly furniſh'd, and hung with excellent pieces of Painting, repreſenting thoſe parts which are not commonly ſeen naked. In the midſt of the Hall, there was a Fountain, the caſt of the water repreſenting the form of a Glaſs. They had ſet, to cool, all about the Fountain, ſeveral ſilver Flaggons, and Bottles of Wine; and there were ſeveral Tables cover'd with all ſorts of Conſerves, The Governour knowing we were not accuſtomed to ſit down after the *Perſian* way, had cauſed ſeats to be made, and the more to oblige the Ambaſſadors, he ſate down, after our way of ſitting, oppoſite to the Fountain, cauſing the Ambaſſadors to ſit down on his right hand, and on his left, but upon the ground, the *Calenter* or Lieutenant, the *Minatſchim* or Aſtrologer, his Phyſician, and ſeveral other perſons of Quality. The Gentlemen and Officers belonging to the Ambaſſadors ſate down on the floor, the other ſide of the Hall.

Allows them ſeats, contrary to the cuſtom.

The *Muſicians* ſtood before the *Chan*. At the entrance of the Hall there were ſeveral young men, very handſom perſons, having on Garments of *Brocado*, with their Bows and Arrows in the poſture of ſhooting. All that were in the Hall, whether ſitting or ſtanding, had their backs to the Wall, and their faces towards the *Chan* and the company, ſo as that not one had his back turn'd to another, according to the ordinary cuſtom, which they obſerve in all their Aſſemblies.

1636. There were brought to the Company ſeveral little Tables cover'd with Fruits and Conſerves, to be ſerv'd to two at a time, while two Pages went round the Hall to fill Wine, it being all they had to do, unleſs it were, when they had ended one round, to begin another. After every one had eaten ſome few Conſerves, they were taken away, and the like Tables were cover'd with a very fine Cotton-cloath of ſeveral colours, to ſerve the Meat upon. About an hour after, the Meat was taken away, and Conſerves were ſerved up again, and after that began the Preparatives for Supper. The little Tables were taken away, that the whole Hall might be cover'd, upon the Tapiſtry, with great pieces of Linnen, which were to ſerve for a kind of Table-cloath. The Butler having done his duty, the Carver comes in with a great Wooden Diſh full of a certain thin bak'd Paſt. The *Perſians* call it *Jucha*, and every piece is above three foot in length, and as many in breadth. He caſt one of them to every one of the Company, to ſerve inſtead of a Napkin. That done, the Meat was brought in, in great Pewter Diſhes, which were ſet in the midſt of the Hall, where the *Suffreizi*, or Carver, kneeling down, cut it into pieces, and diſpos'd it into little Diſhes, whereof every one had one brought him.

The ſervices of the Feaſt.

A ſtrange ſort of Napkins.

All the Gueſts had every one ſtanding by them a *Tulſdan*, or Pot to ſpet in, made as our Chamber-pots, ſave that the mouth is narrower; and they make uſe of them inſtead of a Baſin to ſpet in, as alſo to put in the bones, parings, and cores of fruits, and other ſuperfluities, which might injure the Tapiſtry or the floor.

The neatneſs of the Perſians.

We had Muſick, while we were at Meal. The Muſick conſiſted of Lutes and Viols, very poorly plaid on; as alſo of Tabours and Voices, which made a wretched kind of Harmony. The two Pages who had fill'd the Wine at the Collation, danc'd to the ſound of all theſe Inſtruments: ſo that they ſeem'd as if they would give us a taſte of the delights of the Terreſtial Paradiſe, after the hardſhip we had ſuffer'd ſince our coming from *Moſcou*. The Governour's Palace lyeth upon the aſcent of a little Hill, whence might be diſcover'd all the houſes about the City; and he had commanded all the Inhabitants to ſet a row of Lamps in their windows, which repreſented to our eyes above twenty thouſand Stars, enough to diſpel the greateſt darkneſs of the night, and added much to the divertiſement, which they endeavoured to give all our ſenſes, while the Muſick of the Hawboyes and Timbrels made all the Rampiers of the City to reſound again.

The Chan an excellent Marksman.

The Governour, deſirous to let the Ambaſſadors ſee how expert he was in ſhooting, bid them obſerve one of the Lamps that ſtood near them, to ſee whether he ſtruck it out with the firſt Musket-ſhot: which he did twice together, without miſſing any one time. This Feaſt having laſted till it was ſomewhat late in the night, and that we began to think it a little cold, the Governour carry'd us into another Room with a fire in it, where he call'd for Conſerves, Wine, and Aquavitæ, which the *Perſians* were ſo greedy of, that one of them, a perſon of quality, who never had drunk any before, and would needs do it out of complyance to us, took ſo much of it, that the next day he was found dead in his bed.

One of the company kills himſelf with drinking Aquavitæ.

After this treatment, which laſted till midnight, the *Chan* permitted us to withdraw, and aſſign'd us Lodging among the *Armenians*, becauſe they were *Chriſtians*; but in regard our Hoſts had had no notice of our coming, and that our Baggage was not yet arriv'd, we found neither Beds, nor Benches, nor Tables, ſo that after ſo good a Supper, we had a very ill night of it.

The laſt day of *December*, the *Chan* ſent the Ambaſſadors ſeveral refreſhments, Wine, wild Fowl, and other Proviſions. The *Calenter* or Lieutenant ordered to be allow'd us for our dayly Proviſion, ſeventeen Sheep, twenty Pullets, a hundred Eggs, a certain quantity of Salt, and Bread, fifty quarts of Wine, and twenty burthens of Wood. This was very punctually obſerv'd for the four or five firſt dayes; but the *Mehemander* being oblig'd to get in theſe Proviſions out of the neighbouring Villages, which he could not ſo procure but that it was ſometimes three or four dayes ere we could get our allowance, the *Chan* ſent us word, that it were more for our convenience to ſend to the Market for our Proviſions, and that we might be aſſur'd, that what we laid out ſhould be reimburs'd at our departure thence. To that purpoſe, he caus'd it to be Proclaim'd by ſound of Trumpet, that all Proviſions ſhould be ſold to the *Frenqui* (for ſo they call the *Germans*, as well as the *French*, *Italians*, and *Spaniards*) at a reaſonable rate.

We continu'd three full moneths at *Scamachie*, expecting orders from the Court for our expence, and the proſecution of our journey. The Governour and *Calenter* endeavour'd what they could, in the mean time, to make this long ſtay of ours there the leſs teadious by the continual entertainments they made us, as alſo by the divertiſements of Hunting, and the Viſits they often gave the Ambaſſadors, together with the frequent Preſents they ſent them of Wine, wild-fowl, and fruits.

M. DC. XXXVII.

We began this year with the Ceremonies of the *Perſian* Gentleman's Enterrment, who had kill'd

kill'd himself by his excessive drinking of Aquavitæ, at the first Entertainment, which the Governour had given us, the day of our arrival. We shall have occasion hereafter to speak of the Ceremonies of their Enterrments, and therefore shall give no further accompt of it here, than that ordinarily the Bodies are carried into the *Metzid*, *Mosquey* or Church, whence they are afterwards transported to *Babylon*, *Kufa*, or *Netschef*, to be interr'd near their Prophet *Aaly*, or near some other of their *Imans*, or Saints. 1637.

January 2. the Governour and the *Calenter* visited the Ambassadors, and brought along with them, Conserves and Wine, for the Collation. The *Chan*'s design was, to hear our Musick, whereof he had heard much talk; and accordingly, he was so taken therewith, that he importun'd the Ambassadors to go and sup with him at the Castle, and to bring their Musick along with them. It consisted of a Violin, a Base-Viol, a Bandore, and a Voice. The Ambassadors would at first have put him off, but his instances were such, that they could not possibly do it; insomuch that we pass'd away the remainder of that day, in the same Divertisements as he had entertain'd us with the first day of our arrival. Only there was this extraordinary, that the Governour ordered to be brought out of the Stable some of his best Horses, to the number of twenty seven, among which there were three, which the *Sophy* had sent him, not long before, as so many assurances of his favour. He caus'd one of the Gentlemen belonging to his Chamber to mount them all, and to take several turns thereon about the Hall, though the floor were cover'd with very rich Tapistry.

Jan. 5. the *Chan* sent the Ambassadors word, that if they were desirous to be present, the next day, at the Ceremonies performed by the *Armenians* at the Consecration of their Holy-water, at which he should himself be in person, he would order a particular place to be kept for them. The *Armenians* call this feast *Chatschæ Schuran*, that is the *Baptism of the Cross*.

The Ceremonies are performed without the City, near a Bridge called *Puli Amberi*. The *Armenians* celebrate this Feast, as do also the *Muscovites* and some other *Christians*, upon the sixth of *January*, which is the day of the *Epiphany*, or appearance of the Star to the Kings or Wise-men. They began it with a Mass, which was said betimes in the morning before day. After Mass there was a Sermon preach'd, the former being said in a manner with the same Ceremonies as the *Roman-Catholicks* do it in *Europe*. The Ambassadors, whose Lodgings were near the Chapel of the *Armenians*, made no difficuly to be present at both Mass and Sermon; and after the latter, they were Complemented by the Bishop who had Preach'd it, and who came purposely for that Exercise, from the place of his ordinary residence.

The Armenians bless the Water on Twelf-day.

The Ambassadors assist at their Service.

He gave them to understand by an Interpreter, how glad he was to see their Devotions honour'd by the Presence of Persons of that quality, since it could be no small comfort to them, to see in their Churches *Europæan* Christians, who had never come into them before. Whereto he added, that their Excellencies the Ambassadors knew not who he was, but that he should find a time to acquaint them therewith: from which Discourse of his we inferr'd, that he was some Missionary of the *Pope*'s, sent into these parts, to endeavour the Re-union of the *Greek* Church with the *Roman*.

He further intreated the Ambassadors, to use their Mediation to the Governour, that they might be permitted to carry on the building of a Monastery, which the *Armenians* had begun; which they promised to do.

About noon the *Armenians*, by order from the Governour, brought us fifteen Horses, upon which we rode to the River, which is about half a League from the City. Those poor people, who were come to the City from all the adjacent Villages, went out of it in Procession, with abundance of Images, Crosses and Banners, guarded to the River-side by a strong party of Soldiers, which the Governour had assign'd them, for their Protection against the injuries and affronts of the *Mussulmans*, or *Mahumetans*, who make it their sport to abuse them. The Governour had caus'd a Tent to be pitch'd over against the place, where the Consecration was to be performed, very richly hung with Tapistry, and had ordered a sumptuous Collation to be made ready in it. There were on his left hand the *Muscovian Poslanick*, and a great number of Gentlemen, and the right he had kept void for the Ambassadors, and some of their retinue. After he had receiv'd us, and made us sit down, he commanded the *Armenians* to begin their Ceremonies. As soon as they begun Reading, at the River-side, four men, stark naked, leap'd into the water, and swum up and down for a certain time, to open the water, which was a little frozen over. One of our Spaniels, which was wont to go into the water, leap'd in after them: which found the *Persians* excellent sport, who look upon a Dog as so unclean a kind of Creature, that they would not willingly one should touch them; insomuch that they laugh'd to see the Ceremonies of the *Armenians* prophan'd by our Water-Dog; though indeed they look on all those poor people do as so much mummery. Only the Governour himself makes his advantage thereof, inasmuch as the pains he takes to be present thereat, and consequently to protect those of that Profession, brings him in yearly a Present of a thousand Crowns from their Churches.

The Ceremonies of the Armenians in Consecrating the Water.

After

1637. After the Bishop had read for an hour or better, and the Assembly given over singing and playing on the Timbrels, he pour'd a little Consecrated Oyl into the Water, into which he afterwards dipp'd a little Cross beset with abundance of Precious Stones, and at last, holding his Crosier over the Water, he gave it his Benediction.

After that Ceremony, all the *Armenians* took of it, some to drink, others to wash their faces withall. There were some among them cast themselves into it, but most took only so much of it as to sprinkle their faces therewith. Some of the Governours Domesticks made it their sport to dash the Priests and the Women, nay some were so uncivil with them, that the *Chan* himself was asham'd of it, and oblig'd to command them to forbear their rudenesses: though he himself made his Jester and others of his Servants Dance, purposely to abuse the *Armenians*, who Danced about their Bishop. The Governours Physician, who was an *Arabian* born, and a person of no Religion, had the Impudence to ask the Ambassadors, what they thought of *Jesus Christ*, and whether they believ'd him to be the Son of God. Answer was made him, that they believ'd him to be the True God, but that it was uncivilly done of the Physician to laugh at their Religion, and that they were not come thither to dispute it with him.

All the Ceremonies being over, they fell very seriously a-drinking, and the Governour took his Liquor so liberally, that being well nigh Drunk, he left the Company, and got on Horseback, without taking leave of any one. All the rest of the *Persians* follow'd him; which we were so much the more surpriz'd at, inasmuch as, not acquainted with their custom, we could not imagine what should be the reason of his going away: Being got on Horse-back, in order to our return for the City, we met with the Governour, who staid for the Ambassadors not far from the Tent. We understood afterwards, and indeed found it by exprience, that the *Persians* think it not much, to rise from Table, and go their ways, without making Excuse or Complement to those by whom they were entertain'd, who for their parts take the same privilege to do the like with those whom they had invited, when they find themselves in such a condition as that they are not able to keep them company any longer. Of this we had many instances, during our aboad in *Persia*, and that sometimes, at the *Schach*'s own Table.

January 9. the *Armenian* Bishop gave the Ambassadors a Visit. He came to their Lodgings with the Cross and Banner, having many Priests marching before him, who were all in their Pontifical Robes, with Wax-Candles in their hands. As they came into the Court, they fell a singing and playing on their Timbrels, Hawboies, and little Bells, and brought us a present of two Pitchers of Wine, and a dish of Apples, in the midst whereof they had planted a Wax-Candle lighted. They were above three hours in discourse with the Ambassadors, concerning the business of their Religion, and when they took leave of them, they re-iterated the intreaty they had made to them before, of employing their intercession to the Governour, for the building of their Church.

The Calenter's Feast.

Jan. 10. The *Calenter*, or King's Lieutenant, entertain'd the Ambassadors and all their retinue at a very great Feast: but before we sate down, he would needs give us the satisfaction to see his Palace, which was incomparably both better built and furnish'd than the Governour's. The Hall, where we were to Dine, was all arched and set out with a certain Plaister-work done in Leaves and Branches, which argu'd much the Ingenuity of the Inventor. The Hall looked into a very spacious and very fair Garden; the situation whereof, we thought so much the more advantageous, in that the Hall being high, and the Garden very low, it might be all seen out of the Windows thereof. On one side of the Hall there was a Gallery, out of which issu'd a Fountain, which casting its water at first very high, charm'd us with a low, but delighful noise, which the water thereof made by falling into another lower Basin opposite to a Chamber under the Hall, and thence into a third which was in the midst of the Garden. The Governour, who was also at this entertainment, with the chiefest of his Courtiers, had brought thither along with him the Marshal of the *Sophy*'s Court, who was then newly come from *Ispaban*. The Feast lasted till night, which being somewhat dark the *Persians* brought us to our Quarters with Torches: though they themselves were so well furnish'd, as to stand in need of conductors, at least as much as we did.

The Ambassadors Presents to the Chan.

The 18. of *January*, the Ambassadors sent the Steward of their Houshold, the Secretary of the Embassy, and the Controller, to the *Chan*, to make him the ordinary Present, which was, ten Ells of Scarlet, five Ells of blew Satin, a Barrel of Aquavitæ, a Chest, or Cellar, in which they sent him two dozen Bottles of all sorts of Spirits of Wine, and two pair of Knives, the hafts whereof were of Amber. This Present put him into so good an Humour, that we thought it a seasonable time, to present to him the Petition of the *Armenians*, concerning the Building of their Church.

The Governour permits the Armenians to build a Church.

In answer to which, he told us, that although, ever since the establishment of the *Mahumetan* Religion in *Persia*, the *Christians* never were permitted to build a Church at *Schamachie*, and that accordingly, it never had been his intention to suffer the *Armenians* to build any; yet such was the respect he had for the Intercession of the Ambassadors in their behalf, that they might

might assure themselves, he would no longer oppose it: and that they might have no occa- 1637.
sion to doubt his reality herein, he would needs have the Orders for that purpose dispatch'd in their presence.

The *Armenians* were so over-joy'd thereat, that, not thinking it enough to give the Ambassadors their humblest thanks, they promised so to order things, that their intended Structure should acquaint posterity with their Names, and the Good Offices they had done them upon that occasion.

Jan. 20. came back the Courier, or Express, whom the *Chan* had sent to *Ispahan*, even before we left *Niasabath*; upon which the Ambassadors sent to him, to desire him to communicate to them the Orders of the Court, concerning the prosecution of their Journey. Answer was made us, that he had not receiv'd any new Orders at all, and that, if we desired it, we might hear the Letter read, which he thereupon gave his Physician to read. The Physician, a person the fittest in the World to represent a Fool in a play, after he had kiss'd the Letter, put it to his forehead, and at last read it. The Contents of it, at least what he read, was to this effect; That the Express from the *Sulthan* of *Derbent* being come to the Court, before him whom the *Chan* of *Schamachie* had sent, all the account he had brought, was, that there was arriv'd at *Derbent* an Envoy, or *Postanick*, from the Great Duke of *Muscovy*, who had reported, that, within a few days, there would come into those parts certain Ambassadors from one of the Princes of *Germany*: That the *Schach*, who had receiv'd no other accompt of their arrival, thought it enough to order the Governour of *Derbent* to receive them, to entertain them kindly, during the stay they should make there, and to supply them with all things for the continuation of their journey, as far as *Schamachie*, and that when they were come thither, the *Chan* of *Schamachie* should send an Express to give an accompt thereof to the Court, from which he should immediately receive orders what to do, as well in respect of the maintenance of the Ambassadors, as their departure thence. The *Chan* demanded of us a Catalogue of the names and qualities of all of our Retinue; nay, he would have had it express'd in the said Catalogue, what Professions they were of, and that we should not fail setting down, that we had among us a Physician, a Chyrurgeon, a Painter, and Musicians; which we would not do; but thought it sufficient, to give them, in writing, only the names of our people, and the Offices, and employments they were in, upon the accompt of the Embassy. We had a great suspicion that the said Letter came not from the Court, and that there was somewhat more or less in it, and the more to be assur'd of it, we got the Courier to come the next day to our quarters. The Wine we gave him, and the small Presents which were secretly made him, unlock'd the man's breast, and drew out the whole secret. He told us, upon promise of secrecy, that the Governours Brother, having been, not long before executed, and that misfortune having, in some measure, engag'd the whole Family in the disgrace of the deceas'd, there was not any man durst undertake the delivery of his Letter to the *Sophy*, as being ignorant what the contents thereof might be: but that after a moneths delay, one of the Kings Chamberlains having ventured to lay it at his Majesties feet, the *Sofi* would make no answer at all thereto, but ordered another to write to him, and sent him word, that there was no answer to be made to his Letter, by reason of the orders sent to the *Sulthan* of *Derbent*, which were contain'd in the Letter, whereof we had heard the reading. That it was not thought fit to add any thing thereto, but an express command to the Governour, to see cut to pieces in his presence all those *Persians* that durst affront or injure the *Germans*, during the stay they should make in his Government. So that we were forc'd to stay there, in expectation of what orders the *Sophy* should send, upon the Dispatches, which the *Chan* was then sending to the Court by an Express.

The Schachs orders for the Ambassadors.

Jan. 25. the Governour accompany'd by the *Postanick*, and a great number of Courtiers, gave the Ambassadors a Visit; but in regard their *Lent* was already begun he would not participate of our Collation, and so having heard our Musick, he return'd to his own Palace.

Jan. 28. the *Muscovian Postanick* went for *Ispahan*, not well satisfy'd with the treatment he had receiv'd from the Governour and *Calenter*. All the revenge he could take was upon the *Mehemandar*, who had been assign'd to Conduct him, taking any occasion to affront and abuse him. Some of our Retinue accompany'd him a League out of the City, where they took leave of him.

The Muscovian Envoy leaves Schamachie.

February the fifth, walking abroad with some of our company, we went into a great house near the Market-place, which they call *Basar*. It was a very noble Structure, having many Galleries and Chambers, like a College. Meeting up and down with several persons, some antient, some young, some walking, some sitting, with books in their hands, we had the curiosity to enquire what place it was, and found that it was a School or College, which they called *Mandresa*, of which kind there are very many all over *Persia*.

FEBRU.

A College for the instruction of Youth.

While we were viewing the Structure, one of their *Maderis*, or Regents, who read publick Lectures, intreated us to come near him, and perceiving that I had caus'd to be graven upon a Cane

1637. Cane I walk'd with all these words in Arabick, *Bisme alla, rahman rachim*, that is, *in the name of the merciful God who sheweth mercy* (a sentence which the *Persians* put at the beginning of their writings) he desired me to bestow it on him, upon a promise that he would give me a better the next day: but finding I made some difficulty to part with it, he cut out the word *alla*, which in their Language is the proper name of God, and put what he had cut off in a piece of clean paper, very gently and carefully, and told me, the name of God ought not to be written upon a walking stick, which was many times thrust into the dirt.

The next day I went again to the same College, whether I had caus'd to be brought along with me a very fair Celestial Globe, but, by mistake, I went to another School, where nevertheless they receiv'd me very kindly. The Professors and Regents, as also the Students, very much wondred to see me come with so noble a Globe, and to understand thereby, that Astrology and the Mathematicks were better taught among us than in *Persia*, where they are not yet acquainted with the invention of Globes, and make use only of the Astrolabe, for the instruction of their Students. They took much delight in viewing my Globe, and they nam'd to me in the *Arabian* Language all the Signs of the Zodiack, nay, gave me to understand further, that they knew all the names, and all the significations of most of the other Stars.

A School for Children.

Another day, I went into a *Metzid*, or Church, in that part of the Town where we were quarter'd, to see, how they instructed their Children. They were all sate against the Wall, excepting only the *Molla*, or Master of the School, who, with some other aged persons, sate in the midst of the Hall. As soon as they saw me coming in, they invited me to sit down by them. The *Molla*, who had an *Alchoran* in his hand, very fairly written, suffered me to turn it over awhile, which when I had done, he took it back from me, kiss'd it, at the beggining, and would have given it me to kiss also: but I only kiss'd another book I had in my hand, and told him, that, knowing well what book I had my self, I made no difficulty to kiss it, but not understanding what was contained in his book, I should not be too forward to honour it so much. He laugh'd and told me I had done very well. There was among them an *Arabian* named *Chalil*, who was a *Minatsim*, or Astrologer, born at *Hetsa*, near *Meca*, aged about 65. years. He understood Astrology, and read *Euclid* to some of his Disciples. I presently knew the book by the figures in it, and made him some demonstrations, as well as I could express my self in the *Persian* Language: whereat the good old man was so much pleas'd, that desirous, on his part, to shew me what he could do, he took out of his bosom a little brass Astrolabe, and ask'd me, whether I had ever seen the like, or understood the use of it. Whereto having answer'd him, that I understood it very well, and that I had one at my Lodging, he seem'd to be very desirous to see it, which oblig'd me to go home to fetch it, and to bring along with me the Globe, which they wondred very much to see, especially when they understood that I had made it my self. The honest *Arabian* desir'd me to shew him, how I could set down the Degrees so exactly, in regard they have no Instruments wherewith to make their Circles and Degrees. I shew'd him the invention of it, and how in a short time, and with little trouble he might attain thereto, for which discovery, he acknowledg'd himself very much oblig'd to me, insomuch that ever after, he let slip no occasion, whereby he might assure me of his friendship, expressing it as well by his frequent visits, coming one day with abundance of excellent fruit, and dishes of meat ready dress'd purposely to Dine with me at his own charges, as by his earnest proffers of all the service that lay in his power. He gave me the Longitudes and Latitudes of the chiefest Cities and places of all *Asia*, which I compared with the observations I had my self made thereof, and found them very exact.

The *Molla*, or Master of the *Metzid*, was called *Maheb Aaly*, and was a very young, but mighty good natur'd man, and of an excellent humour, one who did all that lay in his power to serve me, doing me the greatest kindnesses he could upon all occasions, especially in my study of the *Arabian* Tongue. He brought me also acquainted with a certain friend of his, named *Imanculi*, who was an *Ohnbaschi*, or Captain of a Troop of Horse. These two came to see me every day alternately, as well to teach me their Language as to learn mine. Which they did with very great improvement dayly, especially *Imanculi*, who no doubt had in a short time arriv'd to the perfection of it, had it not been for the envy or jealousie of some of our own, which prov'd so great, as to make it suspected, that those poor people had some design to change their Religion: so that they were forc'd to keep out of the way, and for the most part to make their visits in the night. Insomuch that one day, to wit, *Febr.* 11. being gone to the *Metzid*, to take a Lesson in the Language, there came thither a *Persian* servant, to tell the *Molla*, from the Governour, that he much wondred, how he durst suffer those Christians to come into their Temple, that they had nothing to do there, and that it was his best course to dismiss them. The *Molla* was, at first, a little startled thereat, but upon second thoughts, considering with himself, that the *Persians* are never forbidden the company or conversation of *Christians*, he doubted this was some trick put upon him; and having taken the servant aside, he understood from him, that it was not the *Chan*, but our Interpreter who had sent him, to hinder my study of the

the Language. The next day, we had such another Message sent us; but we knew before both the Author and occasion of it, and therefore made no accompt thereof. Some time after, there happning some difference between the Ambassador *Brugman*, and our Interpreter, he acknowledg'd, that it was by order from his Excellency, that he had sent the said servant, to hinder my learning of the Language. Upon the same accompt was it that the said Ambassador ordered me to reduce *Persia* and *Turkie* into one Map, that so I might be taken off the study of the Language, at least as long as I should be employ'd about that teadious and troublesome piece of work. 1637.

Febr. 7. the Ambassadors were visited by a Monk, a *Roman Catholick*, named *Ambrosio dos Anios*, born at *Lisbon* in *Portugal*. The accompt he gave of himself, was, that he came from *Tiflis* in *Georgia*, which lies about ten dayes journey from *Scamachie*, where he was Prior of a Monastery of the Order of St. *Augustin*, and that he had undertaken that journey out of no other design, than upon the news he had heard, that a Potent Prince of *Germany* had sent a solemn Embassy into *Persia*, and that he could not imagine, it should be upon any accompt so much as the advancement of *Christian* Religion in those parts: That he had been the more willing to be at the trouble of that journey, out of the hope he had, that their Excellencies the Ambassadors, would not take it ill that he had taken the freedom to wait on them; not only to congratulate their happy arrival in *Persia*, but also to serve them in any thing lay in his power: That he had been seven and twenty years in the Kingdom, and that during so long a Tract of time, he had not been so negligent in inquiring into the affairs of the Countrey, and the humour of the Nation, as that he might not be in some measure serviceable to them in their Negotiation. *An Augustine Monk visits the Ambassadors.*

We knew not, upon the first proposal, what to imagine of the intentions of this Religious Man, and therefore we thought fit to stand as it were upon our Guard, till that after ten dayes conversation with him, we really found him sincere in all his proceedings, insomuch that we made no difficulty to trust him absolutely in all things. Besides the *Portuguez*, which was his Mother-Tongue, and the Latine, in which he entertain'd the Ambassadors, he understood also the *Georgian*, the *Turkish*, and the *Persian* Languages, for the attaining of which last, he gave me many excellent directions.

About this time, many of our people were troubled with burning Feavers, which was a consequence of their abundant drinking of Wine, after the much VVater they had been forc'd to drink before. The VVine of *Persia* is very good, but strong, and our people drunk so freely of it, that the Ambassadors were forc'd to forbid the use thereof by a very strict order. There were two and twenty of them kept their Beds at the same time, but by Gods mercy, and through the extraordinary care of the Physician, not one dyed.

The same day, which is, according to the accompt of the *Persians*, the 21. day of *Ramesan*, they celebrated their *Auschur*, or solemn Feast, in memory of *Haly*, their great Saint and Patron. The Ceremonies and Devotions were performed in a House built for that purpose, without the City. The Governour, his *Calenter*, and the other chief Officers, were in a Gallery of the said House, and opposite to the Gallery, there was an open Chair, about eight foot high, which was plac'd under a piece of Linnen Cloath which had been pitch'd there, for the convenience of the *Chatib*, that is, their Prelate, who sat in the said Chair, clad in a blew Garment, which is the Mourning-Colour of that Country. He spent above two hours in reading in a Book, which they call *Machtelnama*, containing the Life and Actions of *Haly*, singing with a loud and dolefull, yet clear and intelligible Voice, and that without any intermission, unless it were when he came to some remarkable Passage, or some Moral Sentence, whereof he only said the first Word, leaving the rest to be sung out by the other Priests, whereof there stood a great number about the Chair. One of those Priests cry'd out at the end of every passage, *Luanet Chudai ber kuschendi Aaly bad*, that is, *Gods Curse be on him who kill'd Haly*: whereto the whole Assembly answer'd, *bisch bad kem bad*, that is, *rather more than less*. When he comes to the passage where *Haly* said to his Children, (there are some believe he was well skill'd in Judiciary Astrology, and that he fore-saw his own Death) that he should not live long, and that it would not be long ere he were kill'd by one of his Domesticks, discovering it should be *Abdurraman ibni Meltzem*, upon which the Children, with tears in their eyes, intreat him, to be carefull of his Person, and rather to prevent *Abdurraman*, then suffer them, upon his Death, to become Orphans, destitute of all Comfort, and expos'd to the discretion of their Enemies; when the *Chatib*, I say, comes to this place, you shall see the *Persians* weep and sob most bitterly; as they do also when the *Chatib* represents how *Haly* was kill'd in their *Metzid*, as he was at Prayers, and the desolate condition his Children were in upon his Death. When the *Chatib* hath given over Reading, the *Chan* sends him a Garment of Silk, which he immediately puts on, and then there were conducted, in Procession, three Camels carrying Coffins, cover'd with black Cloath, to represent those of *Haly*, and his two Sons, *Hassan* and *Hossein*. After that follow'd two Chests cover'd with blew Cloath, in which were the Books and Spiritual Treatises written by *Haly*. Then came two excellent Horses, having at the Pommel of *A Feast in memory of Haly.* *A Persian Priest pleasantly dress'd.* *A Procession.*

1637. the Saddles, andupon the Saddles, several Bows, Arrows, Turbants, and Flaggs. After them march'd one man alone, carrying upon the top of a long pole a kind of Tower or Steeple, in which there were thrust four Cimiters, but they were cover'd with so many Ribbons, and other Toyes, that they could hardly be perceived: and at last many men carrying on their Heads little Boxes cover'd with Feathers, and Flowers of several colours, in which the *Alchoran* lay open.

These last Danc'd and Leap'd, in cadence to a certain dolefull Musick of Hawboyes, Timbrels, Flageolets and Tabors. On the other side, many young Boyes Danc'd and Sung together, clapping one another upon the shoulders, and crying *Heder, Heder*, which is the name of *Haly, Hassan, Hossein*; and with these Ceremonies they took their way towards the City. Upon this day the Death of *Haly* is celebrated all over *Persia:* but *Mahomet*, their great Prophet, hath no particular Festival.

The 14. of *February*, was the new Moon, at which ends the Lent of the *Persians*, which began the 16. of *January*, which according to their accompt is the first of *Rameſan*; but in regard it was the eve of their Sabbath, which is Friday, their Ecclesiasticks thought fit to continue the Fast till that day. The next day after the Feast, the *Chan* made a great Entertainment for all the Grandees of his Court, to which he invited also the Ambassadors with their retinue, and treated them very Magnificently.

The Ambassadors treated by the Chan.

The 27. came back the Courrier, whom the *Chan* had dispatch'd thence ever since the 21. with expres orders for our departure, with the first convenience, for *Ispahan*. This good news put some of us into an humour to go a Hunting. The Governour lent us his excuses, that, some business of importance intervening, he could not go along with us; however, he sent us his Huntsmen, his Hounds, and his Hawks; as also a Leopard, which, being Excellently well taught, started with as much swiftness as a Grey-hound, and gave us all the satisfaction Hunting could afford: He discover'd no Hare which he took not, and came on at the least call, with more command than any Setting Dog, leaping up behind the person who had the ordering of him. The *Chan* had in the mean time caus'd a sumptuous Collation to be made ready for us in his own Garden, without the City; but the person he had sent to invite us to pass that way, mist the Company, and overtook us not till we were coming into the City; so that it being too great a trouble for us to go then back again, he sent to our quarters some part of the Meat which had been prepared for our Entertainment.

An order from the Court for their departure.

MARCH The first of *March*, which according to their Almanack, called by them *Taguim*, is the fourteenth of *Scheual*, the *Persians* celebrated another Feast, which they call *Chummehater*, in memory of the day, on which *Haly* took possession of the Estate of his Cousin and Father-in-law *Mahomet*. The *Chan* treated us again this day very Magnificently, near the River under a Tent, where, during the time of the Entertainment, he gave us the Divertisements of several sorts of Dances, and among others that of a Youth of about twenty years of age, who Danc'd to the Musick of two little Cimbals, which he himself play'd on excellently well; as also that of a *Moor*, or black *Arabian*, who leap'd and danc'd between the Porcelane Dishes, wherein the Meat had been brought up, with such exactness, that he broke not one. Nay, as it should seem, all the people were willing to contribute to our Divertisement, by the publick Acclamations which fill'd every street: And the *Chan* himself would needs give us another tryal of his skill at the Bow. He told us that heretofore he had cut a Hair with his Arrow, at a considerable distance, and that he would try, whether he could do as much at the age he was of then, which was forty five years. Having therefore fasten'd to a Horses hair one of those Rings, which the *Persians* make use of to bend their Bows, and commonly wear them upon their Thumbs, and having caus'd the Boy that held it to stand at the distance of above six paces, he cut it twice one after another with his Arrow. He also, with a Fire-lock, shot an Apple, which he had caus'd to be cast into the Air.

In our return to the City, after an Entertainment which had lasted six hours, all the Officers took occasion, in a spacious plain, to give us a Tryal of the swiftness of their Horses. I must needs confess it is extraordinary, and that there is no English Horse comes near them: but it is certain withall, that this is all they teach them. They also gave us the Divertisement of their Engagements or Horse-back, and their manner of Skirmishing with their enemies, and shew'd us an incredible and miraculous Activity, not only in casting their Switches, which, in that Exercise, they made use of instead of Javelins, Riding with full speed upon those whom they pursu'd, but also in catching them in their hands when they were cast at them, and immediately Darting them at the pursuers. Of all those engag'd in that Exercise, the *Chan*'s Master of the Horse behav'd himself the best, and had bestow'd on him by way of recompence, one of the best Horses out of his Master's Stable.

Another Festival.

The third of *March*, the *Persians* celebrated another Feast, which they call *Tzar Schembesur*, that is, the fourth sad Sabbath, and it is the next *Wednesday* before the Vernal Equinox, by which they begin their year; of which they are perswaded, that this *Wednesday* is the most unfortunate day. And this, they say, they know not only by Tradition, but also by Experience,

which

which hath discover'd to them, that there never happen'd any thing but misfortune to them that day. Thence it comes, that they do not any business that day, they keep their Shops shut, Swear not, nor make any Debauches; but above all things, take they an especial care, not to pay away any Money that day, out of a fear, they should be oblig'd not to do any thing else all the year after. There are some who spend the whole day in telling what Money they have in their Houses: others go, without speaking a word by the way, to the River, for some water, wherewith they sprinkle their Houses and Houshold-stuff, thinking by that means to divert the misfortune which might befall them. If they meet with any one of their acquaintance, as they return home-wards, they cast some water into his face with their hands, or haply, pour the whole Pitcher full upon him: but this is a kindness they do only to their best friends, out of a perswasion, that those who are so served, and have their Cloaths all wet, cannot fail being happy all the year after. Young people that are not Married, find also their Divertisement at this solemnity, which is, to walk up and down the Streets, or along the River side, playing upon certain Timbrels of bak'd Earth, which they carry under their arms. Others carry great Staves in their hands, and go up to their knees in the River, to dash those who come to fetch water, either by casting it at them with their hands, or taking hold of them, to wet them, or to rub their faces with the borders of their wet Garments, or haply they break the pitchers with their Staves. These last are look'd upon as ill-presaging Birds, so that those who can keep out of their clutches, think they have avoided many misfortunes that should have happened to them that year. Upon which accompt it is, that there are some, who to avoid meeting with them, go and fetch in their water before day: but all these fopperies are done only in the morning, for as soon as it is afternoon, they go a walking, and bestow the time in any of their other ordinary Exercises. The Author of the Preface before the *High-Dutch* Translation of the *Kalusthan*, says, that this Festival is Dedicated to Saint *John Baptist*, and that it is in Commemoration of his Baptism, that the *Persians* do all those Ceremonies. True it is indeed, that the *Persians* have a certain Veneration for that Saint, and that they go, to this day, upon Pilgrimage to his Sepulchre at *Damas*, and it may be, that was the intention of him who instituted this Feast; but now, there is no track to be seen of any such thing. 1637.

March the tenth, that is, the 20. according to our stile, (for the Author means in all places the old) they celebrated the first day of their year, which they call *Nauras*, with great solemnity. For though they commonly count their years from the *Hegira*, or the day of *Mahomet*'s flight, from *Meca* to *Medina*, which is their *Epoche*, and co-incident with the 16 of *July*, according to our Almanacks; yet so it is, that, their year, consisting only of twelve Lunar moneths, and consequently being eleven days shorter than ours, they take a certain day for the beginning of their year, which is that, on which the Sun enters *Aries*, at the Vernal Equinox, in what quarter of the Moon soever it happens; but of this we shall give a further accompt elsewhere. *The first day of the Year.* *Which consists of 12. Lunar moneths.*

The Ambassadors sent some of us to the Castle to complement the *Chan* upon the beginning of the new year, and to wish him a good one. We found him at Table, having near him the *Minatzim*, or Astrologer, who rose up ever and anon, and taking his Astrolabe, went to observe the Sun, and at the very moment that the Sun came to the *Equator*, he publish'd the new year, the beginning whereof was celebrated by the firing of some great Guns, both from the Castle and the City-Walls, and at the same time, there might be heard a Musick of all sorts of instruments. Opposite to the *Chan* sat one of their Orators, whom they call *Kasiechuan*, who made an Oration, intermixt with more Faces and Gestures than any Player can shew on the Stage, speaking only of the Victories obtained by the Kings of *Persia* over the *Turks*, the *Usbeques*, and other enemies of that Nation. The remainder of the day was merrily spent in Eating and Drinking, whereof we, who were sent upon the Complement, participated sufficiently, for the *Chan* would needs oblige us to sit down at Table with him. The Festival lasted till the next day, and then the *Chan* made a great Entertainment for the Ambassadors, whereto he invited also the Monk I spoke of before.

March 20. the *Chan* and the *Calenter* came to see the Ambassadors. They were both gotten sufficiently Drunk, and the occasion of their Visit was this, that the *Chan* being to take a Journey (as he would make us believe) and not likely to return before our departure thence, he came to tell us, that he thought it unhandsome to go without taking leave of the Ambassadors. He brought along with him his *Hakim*, or Physician, who had also some smattering in Astrology, as most of that Profession have. His *Hakim* told him, after he had observ'd the Sky a while, that the Stars signify'd it was an unfortunate hour to go into the Lodgings of the Ambassadors, and upon that Prediction, they sat down in the Court and fell a-drinking. The *Chan* having taken notice of one of the Ambassador *Crusius*'s Pages, a beautiful and well-timbred Lad, he desir'd him to come near him; which when he had, addressing his speech to the Physician, he ask'd him, whether he did not think him a fine Boy, and wish'd he had been his his own Son. The Physician, having taken another view of the Heavens, though the Air were not very clear, and that it was not near night, made answer, that if, after he had earnestly

1637. view'd the Boy, and by that means Imprinted an Idea of him in his imagination, he went and lay with a Woman, he would certainly get as handsome a Boy as that was. This the *Chan* and his Company believ'd as an Oracle; insomuch, that having for some time well considered the Page, he got on Horse-back and departed.

There was at *Schamachie* a *Persian* slave, named *Faruch*, who being a *Muscovite* by Birth, had been stollen and sold into *Persia*, where he had been circumcis'd, while he was yet very young. He delighted much to be among us, because there were in our retinue some persons who could talk with him in his own Language: insomuch that being, by his often coming to our quarters, grown familiar with some, he came one day to tell us, that we should have a care of our *Persian* Interpreter, whose name was *George Rustan*; for, to his knowledge, he had written to some of his Friends at *Ispahan*, to this effect; That, though he had liv'd a long time among *Christians*, yet were they not to inferr thence, that he had abjur'd the *Mahumetane* Religion; but that he should ere long be with them, to give them further assurances of the contrary. *Rustan* was a *Persian* born, and had, not many years before, travell'd into *England*, where he had been Baptiz'd. Some years after, he went into *Muscovy*, where we found him, in the *English* Residents retinue, who was his God-father; and coming to hear that we were to go into *Persia*, he made so many friends, and was so importunate with the Resident, that at last, we gave him leave to go along with us as an Interpreter. Yet was he not receiv'd into our retinue, till he had oblig'd himself by a Writing under his hand, to come back with us, and by many solemn protestations assured us, that his going along with us was out of no other design, than to look after and receive what was due to him of his Patrimony, that he might have somewhat to Trade withal as a Merchant at his return. Accordingly, we were no sooner come to *Ardebil*, but we found the truth of what we had been told by *Faruch*: for, *Rustan*, as soon as he was got to a place, where he might expiate his pretended sin, and declare himself with safety, he went to the Sepulchre of their great Saint, *Schich-Sefi*, where he did his Devotions as a right *Mahumetane*: which that he had done, he got a formal Certificate. We secur'd him at *Ispachan*, but he made his escape, and got into the Sanctuary, which they call *Alla-Capi*. That done, he cast himself at the feet of the King, and the *Seter*, or Chief of their Sect, expres'd his repentance in tears, begg'd Pardon, put himself under the Kings protection, and remain'd in *Persia*.

Our Persian Interpreter proves a Renegade.

March the 22. Father *Ambrosio* took leave of us, being to return to his Monastery at *Tiflis*.

March 24. the *Chan* sent away the New-years gifts, which the Governours are wont to send the King at the beginning of the year, and which were at this time so much the greater, by how much the disgrace and death of his Brother impos'd upon him a necessity of Courting the Kings favour. The Present consisted in a certain number of excellent Horses, richly Harnes's'd, several Camels loaden with *Russia* Leather, several rich Stuffs, and thirty bags full of Swan's down: but what augmented the value of this rich Present, was a great number of handsome Boys and Girls, whom he sent along with it. The *Chan* went himself out of the City, with an intention, as was given out, to conduct the Present two or three leagues: but he returned not, leaving, by that means, upon the *Calenter*, the trouble of providing all things for the prosecution of our Journey. Immediately after the *Chan*'s departure, there was sent to our quarters the sum of sixty *Tumains*, which amount to about a thousand Crowns, by way of re-emburse-ment for the charges we had been at during our stay at *Schamachie*.

But, in regard it amounted not to one half of what we might expect, according to the allowance which was assign'd us at our arrival, the Ambassador *Brugman*, sending us to the *Calenter* about other business, charged us to ask him by the way, whether it were upon any order from the King, or out of the Governours kindness towards us, that the said sum had been sent us, and to let him know, that though it was not the intention of the Ambassadors to receive any money, yet since the *Calenter* had sent it under his own Seal, they would carry it so seal'd to *Ispahan*: That they could not forbear complaining of the injury had been done them in keeping them there so long, contrary to the orders they had received from Court, to take the speediest course they could for their departure.

The Ambassadors re-emburs'ed their expence.

The *Calenter* made answer, that it lay not upon him to maintain the Ambassadors, and to furnish them with money: That it was not to him their Master had sent them, but to the King, and that it was accordingly by his Majesty's appointment, that he had sent the foresaid sum: That he could not hinder them from making their complaints, but that they should advantage themselves nothing thereby: That, for the clearing of himself, he would produce their acquittance at the Court, and that the *Chan* and himself had supply'd them out of their own, till the Kings Order was brought them: That he was much troubled at the inconveniences which the Ambassadors had been put to, during the long stay they had made in that City, but that it was not their fault, since it had been impossible, in so short a time, to get Horses and Wagons enough, for so many people, and so much Baggage, intreating us, ere we went away, to honour him so far as to Dine with him once more, which we did.

March

March the 27. there were brought us sixty Wagons for the Baggage, and for the convey- 1637.
ance of some of the Retinue who were sick, or not able to ride, and a hundred and twenty Sadle-Nags. We sent away our Steward with all the Baggage that night.

But ere we take our leave quite of a place where we had sojourn'd so long, it will not be amiss to give here a short accompt of the City of *Scamachie*. Father *Bizarrus*, in his *History of Persia*, and *Joseph Barbaro*, in his *Travels*, call it sometimes *Summachia*, sometimes *Sumachia*, or *Samachia*, and the *Spaniards* write it *Xamachi*. Some Geographers place it in their Maps below *Derbent*, others place it above, and there are also some who put it in twice, for fear of failing. Its true name, according to the pronunciation of the *Persians*, is *Scamachie*, and it lies forty *German* Leagues, or six great dayes journey from *Derbent*: it being suppos'd a man takes the Mountain way, which is very much about. For if a man go a-foot, or on horseback along the *Caspian* Sea, by the City of *Bakuje*, and the Mountain *Lahatz*, where the King hath a place for the receipt of customs upon forein Commodities, he may easily travel it in two dayes. The Camels ordinarily take the latter way, and perform their journey in four or five, and at most in six or seven dayes, according to the burthen they carry. *Scamachie* is the chief City of that noble Province, which the antients called *Media Atropatia*, or *Media Minor*, and which is now called *Schiruan*; which is the more to be observ'd, in respect of their mistake, who place this City in *Hyrcania*. It lies at thirty four degrees, forty minutes longitude, and at forty degrees, fifty minutes latitude, in a valley between two Mountains, which hide it so, as that it is hardly seen till a man comes to the very Gate. The *Persians* affirm, it was built by *Schiruan Schach*, and that it was heretofore much larger than it is now, since there were in it five thousand houses. It was destroy'd by the *Turks* in the time of King *Abas*, who perceiving the Emperour of the *Turks* took in only the strongest places, thereby to secure his Conquests, and minded not open places, and considering withall, that so many strong and fortify'd places were rather a burthen than an advantage to him, and being in the midst of his Kingdom were hard to keep, ordered the pulling down of the Walls on the South-side of the City, where they were strongest. He took the same course with the Cities of *Tauris*, *Nachtzuan*, *Kentza*, &c. Scamachie described.

This South-part of *Scamachie* makes as it were a City by it self, as being divided from the North-part, which is still compass'd with a strong Wall, by a little plain, which serves for a common Market-place to both. The *Persians* affirm, that the Grand Seigneur having taken the City of *Scamachie*, took the stones from all the Sepulchres, and therewith repair'd the Walls of it. The North-side of the City lies at the foot of a little Mountain, and is somewhat, but not much bigger than the other, containing but about nine hundred houses. It hath but a poor Wall about it, which being but low, and having but a wretched Ditch, hinders not but that a man may come into the City at any time. The City hath five Gates; its streets are narrow, and the houses low, and most built of Mortar and Earth. There are very few of Brick, or Free-stone. The Inhabitants are partly *Armenians*, partly *Georgians*: who have each their particular Language, so as that they would not understand one another, if they did not make use of the *Turkish*, which is common to both, not only in *Schiruan*, but also all over *Persia*. Their greatest Commerce lies in Stuffs of Silk and Cotton, whereof there are such quantities made, that Women, nay, very Children make a shift to get their living there, by spinning and preparing the Silk and Cotton for the work-men. Most of their shops are in the South-part of the City, where there is also a *Basar*, or Market-place, into which abutt many streets, which are all covered, for the convenience of the Merchants. Not far from this Market-place, there are two Store-houses, containing many Chambers and Galleries, for the entertainment of forein Merchants, who sell by whole-sale, and for the disposal of their Merchandises. One is called *Schach Caravansera*, and is the place appointed for the *Muscovites*, who bring thither Tin, *Russia* Leather, Copper, Furrs, and other Commodities. The other, which is called *Losgi Caravansera*, was built for the *Tartars* of *Circassia*, who do not bring their Commodities thither, but lead them, they being only Horses, Women, young Lads, and handsom Maids, wherewith they Trade among themselves in their own Countrey, where they steal them upon the Frontiers of *Muscovy*. The *Jews*, who have also some part of this latter Store-house assign'd them, upon this accompt, that the *Muscovites* will not admit them into their Company, bring thither, from *Tabesserahn*, the best Woollen Tapistry in the whole Countrey, whereof there is brought into *Europe* but the refuse. Stuffs of Silk and Cotton, nay, Gold and Silver Brocadoes, as also Bows, Arrows, and Cymitars, are sold there at a very reasonable rate. *Its streets and houses.* *Its Inhabitants, their Languages, &c.*

In our return from *Persia*, the *Muscovian* Envoy *Alexei Savinouits* woulds needs go into the Storehouse belonging to the *Tartars*, & being a person of a pleasant humour, he fell a cheapning of a Boy, about fifteen or sixteen years of age, who was handsom enough, and ask'd the *Tartar* what price he let him at, who made answer, he should have him for a hundred Crowns. *Alexei*, who had no mind to buy, proffer'd him two and thirty; but the *Tartar* laugh'd at him, and giving the Boy a clap upon the buttocks, told the *Muscovite*, that that very part of him was worth more.

There

1637. There are alſo in the City three *Hamams*, that is, Baths, or publick Stoves, the uſe whereof is as ordinary in *Perſia* as *Muſcovy*. There are two which are common to both men and women, but with this diſtinction, that the women go in only in the day-time, and the men in the night. The third which they call *Hamam Schach* is only for the men. Hard by this third Bath there are two great Trees, for which the *Perſians* have a great Veneration, as having been planted by one of their Saints, named *Schich-Marith*, who is interr'd not far thence, in a *Metzid*, or Church, where there are greater Devotions done than in other *Metzids* about the City, wherein there are ſix in all. The Revenue of this Bath is ſpent in Luminaries, Cloaths, and other things neceſſary about the holy Sepulchre.

The Chan's charge. The *Chan*, or Governour of the City of *Scamachie*, hath alſo the command of the whole Province, joyntly with the *Calenter*, or King's Lieutenant. The Governour is entruſted with the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, as alſo the diſpoſal of things Civil and Military, upon which laſt accompt, he is oblig'd to maintain a thouſand men, out of the Revenue of his Government, and to be in a readineſs to march, upon the firſt order he receives to that purpoſe. The Kings Lieutenant hath the overſight of his Revenue, and diſpoſes of the Crown-Lands, but is not oblig'd to go to the Wars: on the contrary he is left in the Province, whereof he hath the ſole command during the abſence of the other. The *Chan*'s name was *Areb*, and he kept a very noble Court, though he were a perſon of very low extraction, ſon to a Peaſant of the Village of *Secrab*, between *Tauris* and *Ardebil*: but the lowneſs of his extraction was recompens'd in the great endowments he was Maſter of. The *Perſians* are very indifferent as to a man's birth, provided he be otherwiſe a perſon of courage and worth, and *Areb* had much of both, and had acquir'd ſo great reputation by his valour, that *Schach-Sefi* made him Controller of his Ordinance, when he beſieg'd *Eruan*, which the *Turks* had taken from the *Perſians*. He diſcharg'd that truſt ſo well, and in all other things anſwer'd the opinion the King had conceived of him, that he beſtow'd on him then the Government of *Scamachie*, which became vacant by the death of *Terruch-Chan*, who was kill'd in the ſiege we ſpoke of before. *Areb* took no ſmall pleaſure in ſhewing us the wounds he had receiv'd in that War, and in telling us how many *Turks* heads he had brought to his King, who ſent him continually upon parties and forlorns, againſt the Army, which was coming to relieve that place.

The Governour and his Lieutenant had both very gracefull and bold aſpects, and with that all the requiſite qualities in Commanders, ſave that they were both ſo addicted to Wine, that they were ſeldom met faſting: but the Governour had ſtill this advantage over his Lieutenant, that he was more apt to be overcome by it than the other.

I may boldly and truly ſay, that, in all this City, I found not the leaſt track of Antiquity. For, though I took abundance of pains to find out that great Tower, whereof *John Cartwright* an *Engliſh* Gentleman, ſpeaks, in the relation of his *Travels into Perſia*, where he ſayes it is built of Flint and Free-ſtone, and that they have thruſt many dead mens skulls between the ſtones, yet could I not find any ſuch thing, or learn any news of it. 'Tis true, I found two mens heads cut in the ſtone, at one certain place of the City-wall, but no body could tell me what they Repreſented. It is alſo true, that, not far from the City, there are to be ſeen the ruins of a Caſtle, which had ſome time been fortify'd, as the ſame Author ſayes elſewhere. For it is certain, that there are the remainders of a very ſtrong place within half a League of the City, and that towards the North-ſide, upon a very high, and very ſteepy Mountain, which is called *Kale Kuleſtan*.

I had the curioſity to go up to the top of the ſaid Mountain, and found nothing whole, but a very noble great Cellar, and near it one of the deepeſt Wells that ever I ſaw, both compaſs'd with the beſt free-ſtone that ever was put in any work. We were told that that Province had heretofore had its particular Kings, and that *Schiruan Scach* had built that Caſtle, upon the accompt of one of his *Chaſſes*, or Concubines, who gave it the name, and that it was *Alexander* the Great that deſtroy'd that noble Structure, which none ever after offer'd to repair. I am of opinion, that the Caſtle derived its name from the neighbouring Valley, in as much as, having running through it a Brook, which makes it one of the moſt delightful places in the World, and that being in the Spring cover'd with an infinite number of Tulips, which nature her ſelf is pleas'd to produce there, it is not to be much admir'd, that they called the place *Kale Kuleſtan*, that is, the Fort, or *Caſtle of Roſes*, ſince the *Perſians* give the name of *Kuleſtan*, or *Valley of Roſes* to all thoſe places, where they would have it expreſs'd, that there is an extraordinary pleaſantneſs. So that there is no neceſſity of ſeeking the Etymology of that name in Fables, or in things which might have hapned before the time of *Alexander* the Great, whereof the *Perſians* have had nothing tranſmitted to them.

Sepulchres of Saints. Near *Kuleſtan*, between the Fort and the City of *Scamachie*, there are alſo two Chapels, upon a Mountain, which is higher than that we ſpoke of laſt. In the greater of the two, which is built in the form of a *Parallelogram*, there is a very high Sepulchre to be ſeen, and all about it ſeveral pieces of Cloath and Rags of all ſorts of colours, with Rods of Iron, whoſe ends are like the tops of Arrows, and they are faſtned or ty'd to the Sepulchre with a ſilk ſtring. In the other,

other, there were two Sepulchres, adorn'd much after the same manner with the former. These are the Tombs of some of their Saints, near which they often do their Devotions. 1637.

The Tomb of a Princess of Persia.

From this last Chapel there is a descent into a spacious Vault, where is to be seen the Sepulchre of one of their Kings Daughters, named *Amelek Kanna*, of whom they relate, that she had so great an aversion against marriage, that her Father desirous she should match with a *Tartar*-Prince, she kill'd her self, to prevent it. The same *Cartwright* says, that the young maids of those parts go once a year to the Sepulchre of this Princess, to bewail her death. It is possible, that, in his time, some such thing might be done; but let it be taken for certain, that that custom is now absolutely abolish'd, and that it is not Devotion, but the Heat, which obliges the Inhabitants, in the height of Summer, to retire to this Mountain, as also to *Kulestan*, for the greater coolness of the air: and that it is out of such a consideration, that they do their Devotions near these Saints more frequently in that season, than at any other time of the year. Tradesmen, and persons of mean condition, stay there only in the day time, and at night return to the City; but the *Chan*, the *Calenter*, and persons of quality have their Tents pitch'd there, and remove not thence during the three hottest Moneths of the year. During which time they also drive their Cattel towards the Mountain of *Elbours*, where they find not only a more temperate air, but also as good Meadow-ground as any in all *Persia*. That Mountain is part of Mount *Caucasus*, and it is of such height, that though it be at a very great distance from thence, inasmuch as it lies on one side of *Tabristhan*, towards *Georgia*, yet may it be discover'd from *Kale Kulesthan*, and the other neighbouring Mountains of *Scamachie*. It was upon this Mountain of *Elbours*, as it is reported, that the *Persians* kept and antiently Worshiped their perpetual Fire: but now there is not the least track to be seen of it, neither there, nor near *Jesdt*, though *Texeira*, and those who follow him, would have us believe the contrary. True indeed it is, that there are, to this day, in the *Indies*, certain Religious men, who have a Veneration for the Fire, and keep it in with the same care that the *Persians* did heretofore; as we shall take occasion to shew in the subsequent Travels of *Mandelslo* into those parts. But it is time we return to the pursuance of our Journey.

The perpetual fire of the antient Persians.

The Ambassadors prosecute their journey.

The Baggage being sent away the 27. of *March* in the Evening, the Ambassadors follow'd the next day, and were upon their way two hours before day. The Ambassador *Brugman*, who was dis-satisfy'd with the Treatment we had receiv'd at *Scamachie*, would not permit the *Calenter* should have the honour to conduct us, but gave order we should dislodge and depart without any noise, and that all should go, while it was yet Night, afoot out of the Gates, where we took Horse. Having Travell'd about two Leagues, we found a *Scotch-man* of our retinue, whose name was *Alexander Chambers*, dead in the Waggon, though, at the Loading of the Baggage, he seem'd to be so well, as that it was conceiv'd he might have gone through the Journey, which occasion'd us to make a Halt, to dispose of the Body into the ground. We buried him at the bottom of a little Hill, cover'd all over with Hyacinths, on the left hand, near the High-way.

Having got half a League further, we came to the Sepulchre of another Saint, named *Pyr Mardechan*, in the Country of *Fakerlu*, where we were forc'd to take up our Quarters in the open Air, and without Tents, making a shift in that manner to pass over one of the sharpest Nights we had in all our Journey, by reason of the Storm, which came attended by Lightning, Thunder, Wind, Rain, Snow and Frost; the Ambassador *Brugman* being desirous to outvy the Thonder, with our Artillery, which he caus'd to be several times discharg'd. The next day, the same Ambassador having observ'd, that several pieces of Canon were left behind, because there were not Camels enough to bring them away, and that the Horses were too weak to draw them, would needs fall out with the *Mehemander*, and was so transported with Passion, that he came to Railing, and Spetting when he nam'd the *Chan* and the *Calenter*, and said that the *Chan* had not been so good as his Word, and had ly'd in all he said, but that he should resent it, and that he would either have his Life, or the other should have his.

The demeanour of one of the Ambassadors.

Some were of opinion, that he would stay there till the pieces we had left at *Scamachie* were brought up: but, upon the Remonstrances of some others, that the place was too incommodious; that we had nothing over our Heads; that we should want both Wood and Provisions, and that the sick Persons would not be able to endure the Cold, it was resolv'd we should go on, which we did, and came, after two Leagues travel to a *Caravansera*, called *Tachtsi*, and having gone two Leagues further, we were got to the top of the Mountain of *Scamachie*.

Upon the top of the said Mountain there is a fair Plain, and an even and fertile ground, though in Winter, and at the beginning of the Spring, Rain, Snow and hard Weather are no strangers there, and bring the same inconveniences along with them, as they do in some parts of *Europe*. But as soon as we were come to the brow or descent of the Mountain, we saw a clear Sky, a chearful Sun, and discover'd a Country wholly cover'd with Verdure, in a spacious Plain, which reaching above ten Leagues, without any excrescency so much as to the height

1637. height of two foot, represented to us, as it were in a Map, the Course and Conjunction of those two Rivers, *Araxes* and *Cyrus*, which the Writings of Antient Historians and Geographers have so highly celebrated. This descent was above half a league, but easie, and not very steepy; so that those who went fore-most, looking behind them, saw the last of our company descending as it were out of the Clouds. We took up our Lodging that night in certain *Ottacks*, or Huts, which the *Tartarian* Shepherds had set up there near their Flocks.

Nomades. *Mar.* 30. we got four leagues, along the Plain, as far as the Village of *Kasilu*. We met, in our way, with a company of Sheep-herds and Cow-herds, who march'd with their Houses and all their Houshold-stuff, their Wives and Children, all as it were shuffled together in Wagons, or pack'd up upon Horses, Cows, Asses, and other Creatures, not ordinarily us'd in carriage, after a very odd manner, and such as represented a very Fantastick kind of Transmigration.

Ever after that day, we had nothing but fair weather, a Sky clear, and without any cloudiness, save that when we travell'd over the Mountains, we might, in the Morning, see the Heavens a little over-cast; but as soon as the Sun appear'd, all was dispell'd.

March the last, we travell'd two leagues, along the River side, to a Village named *Tzauat*, upon the right side of the *Kur*, or the River, which the Antients called *Cyrus*, all the Houses whereof were built of Reeds and Canes, and cover'd with Earth. About a quarter of a league above this Village, is the Conflux, or meeting of this River with that of *Araxes*, which is now called *Aras*, at thirty nine degrees, fifty four minutes Elevation; the *Cyrus* coming from West-north-west, and the *Aras* from South-west. These Rivers after they are met together are about four hundred paces in breadth. Their water is black and deep, and the brink on both sides pretty high. All along the River side, and all the Meadow grounds of the Province of *Mokan*, were cover'd with Liquorice, the stalk whereof is many times as big as a man's arm, and the juyce, beyond all comparison, sweeter and more pleasant than that of *Europe*.

The conjunction of Cyrus *and* Aras.

APRIL. The River *Kur* serves for a common Frontier to the two Provinces of *Schirvan* and *Mokan*, and there is a Bridge of Boats over it, near *Tzawat*. We pass'd over it the second of *April*, and found, on the other side of the River, another *Mehemandar*, whom the *Chan* or Governour of *Ardebil* had sent to meet us, and to conduct us in the pursuance of our Journey, as far as the chief City of his Government. He had brought along with him, for the carriage of us and the Baggage, forty Camels, and three hundred Horses: in regard, the way we were then to come into being very bad, by reason of the continued Mountains and Valleys, we could not have made any use of our Waggons. He supply'd us with Provisions in abundance, allowing us, every day, ten Sheep, thirty *Batmans* of Wine, and Rice, Butter Eggs, Almonds, Raisins, Apples, and all sorts of Fruits as much as we pleas'd. On Sunday, after Sermon, we departed, taking our way along the River *Aras*, for above a League. We lodg'd that night within half a League of the River, at the entrance of a great Heath in Hutts, which the *Mehemandar* had purposely ordered to be provided, for our convenience.

The Frontiers of Schirvan *and* Mokan

April the third, we pass'd over the Heath, which reaches about four *Farsangs*, or *Persian* Leagues, and we were lodg'd again that night in Hutts, as we had been the night before. We had seen all that day in great Herds, a kind of Deer, which the *Turks* call *Tzeiran*, and the *Persians*, *Ahu*, which have some resemblance to our Harts, save that they are rather Red than Fawn, and their Horns have no Brow-anclers, but are smooth, and lye backward like those of wild Goats. They are very swift, and there are not any of that kind, as we were told, but what are in the Province of *Mokan*, and about *Schamachie*, *Karrabach*, and *Merrage*.

Ahu, *a kind of Deer.*

April 4. we were forc'd to leave the way of the Heath, though much the nearer, and to take another, which brought us, by a great compass of above six Leagues, to a Torrent called *Balharu*, out of this consideration, that if we had travell'd along the Heath, we should have wanted water, both for our selves and our Horses. We found in that place abundance of Tortoises, which had made their Nests along the side of the Torrent, and in the Sand of the little Hills thereabouts, but all expos'd to the Mid-day Sun, so to give the greater heat to their Eggs, which cannot be hatch'd but in the Hot, or rather burning Sand. Perceiving some men on the other side of the Torrent, some of our people had the curiosity to cross it, to observe their manner of Life: Their Children were stark Naked, and Aged persons had nothing about them but a shirt or smock of Cotton. The poor people entertain'd us very kindly, and brought us some Milk. They thought that the King of *Persia* had sent for us, to serve him in his Wars against the *Turk*, out of which perswasion, they pray'd for our good success, that God would make their and our Enemy fly before us, as far as *Stampol*, that is, *Constantinople*.

Tortoises.

The Inhabitants.

Betzirwan *April* the 5. we overcame the Heath of *Mokan*, and came to the Mountain and Country of *Betzirwan*, after we had twelve several times cross'd one little River, which lay so many times in our way. We got that day five leagues, and lodg'd at night in a Village called *Schechmurat*. Most of the Houses were built at the foot of the Mountain, and some within the Mountain, and were cover'd with Reeds: but we found not any Body in the Village, for those who went along with

with the *Chan* of *Schamachie*'s Preſent, for *Iſpahan*, had made the Country people believe, as they paſs'd that way, that we were a ſort of Barbarous people, who thought it not enough to take and ranſack all, but did alſo abuſe and beat ſuch as entertain'd us: upon which accompt of us, they were all gone to hide themſelves in the Rocks of the neighbouring Mountain. There were ſome of our company, who got up a very high Mountain to ſee what Simples they could find there, and to take a view of the adjacent Country: but they found not any there, and the other nearer Mountains, which were higher than that we were upon, abſolutely deprived us of the ſight of the Champain. 1637.

They met not with any thing remarkable there, ſave that upon the very top of the Mountain, there was a pleaſant Spring, near which we ſaw coming out of the cleſts of the Rock a kind of Crabb, which ſome among us, who had never ſeen any before, took for ſome venemous Creature. The Author is of opinion, that it is a Sea-fiſh; but he is miſtaken, for it is properly no other animal than that which in *Latin* is called *Cancer*, is found in Rivers, and is of a different ſpecies from the common Sea-crabb, which is called *Acaſtus*. We ſate down by the Spring-ſide, and, in what Liquor nature had furniſh'd the place with, drunk to our Friends in *Germany*.

April 6. We could not poſſibly get above two Leagues, over Mountains and Rocks, where we ſaw a great number of Fig-trees, which the Earth produc'd there without any Cultivation. We came at night to a ruin'd Village, called *Tiſle*; but ere we had quite taken up our Quarters and unloaded the Baggage, word was brought us, that it was the Plague, which, the Autumn before, had conſumed all the Inhabitants of that place; whereupon we immediately left it. The Ambaſſadors caus'd a Tent to be pitch'd in the fields, but all the reſt of the retinue had, at firſt, no other covering over their Heads than the Sky, till the *Mehemandar* had ſent for ſome *Tartarian* Huts, which were brought late in the night loaded upon Oxen. Theſe kind of Huts are made of ſeveral pieces of Wood, which are faſten'd together at the ends, ſo as they may be taken a-ſunder, or ſet together in a ſhort time. The Sieur *Uchterits*, who had ſtay'd a while in the Village, to ſee the Baggage loaden and convey'd thence, coming to the Ambaſſadors Tent, was ſo rail'd at by the Ambaſſador *Brugman*, who reproach'd him that he came from an Infected Houſe, to bring the Plague among them, that he fell into a Feaver. *Tartarian Huts.*

There were ſome in the Company, who finding the weather ſomewhat cloſe and cold, went and lock'd themſelves up in a houſe, where they made a good fire, and ſpent the time merrily with the Wine they had kept the day before, diverting themſelves, and ſinging to drive away Melancholy, and to forget the froward humour of the Ambaſſador *Brugman*, which they were as much afraid of as the unwholſome air. The *Indians* had begun the building of a *Caravanſera* in that place, for the convenience of Commerce, which was grown to a conſiderable height; but the Plague had hindred them from finiſhing it.

The 7. we had a very ſad dayes journey of it, being forc'd, in a continual trot, to travel above ten leagues, without ever baiting, in the cold, the wind, and the ſnow, which not onely diſheartned our people, many whereof fell ſick, but lay ſo heavy upon the Camels, that divers of them fell down under their burthens. There is in theſe parts abundance of *Abſynthium*, or Wormwood, and we were told, that the Herb of it is ſo venemous, that if Horſes or any other Creature eat thereof, they die immediately, upon which accompt it was, that we durſt not unbit that day. About noon, we came in ſight of a *Caravanſera*, called *Aggis*, the ſtructure whereof is of the nobleſt kind we had ſeen. Not far from it, we met a *Perſian*, who was excellently well mounted, and attended by two ſervants, who told us, that the King had ſent him to be our *Mehemandar*, to take order for our ſubſiſtence, and to Conduct us with the ſooneſt to the Court. We lodg'd that night in a Village called *Tzanlu*, at the foot of a Mountain, where we found excellent Gardens, and abundance of fruit-trees, but no Wood for firing, inſomuch that we were forc'd to make uſe of Cow-dung, Horſ-dung, and Camels-dung. We ſent away that day our Forrager, to take up Quarters for us at *Ardebil*. *Ill weather;* *A venemous Herb;* *The King ſends another Conductor to meet the Ambaſſadors.*

The 8. having broke our faſt, we got on Horſ-back, and after we had travell'd three leagues along the Mountain of *Tzizetlu*, we came to the River *Karaſu*, which riſes out of the Mountain of *Bakru*, in the Countrey of *Kilan*. We croſs'd it near the Village of *Samajan*, over a very fair ſtone bridge, containing ſix noble Arches, which were in all thirty eight fathom in length. About half a league thence, we came to the end of that day's journey, to a Village called *Thabedar*, two little leagues from *Ardebil*, where we ſtay'd that night. The next day, being Eaſter-day, we ſaw how the Inhabitants dawb the Walls of their Houſes with Dung, that the Sun may the ſooner dry it, and make it combuſtible: but we were alſo in this place terribly perſecuted with Fleas and Lice, and other naſty Vermine, wherewith we were in a manner cover'd.

The 9. we Celebrated our Eaſter, beginning the Feſtival with the firing of our great Guns, and ſmall ſhot, which we ordered to be diſcharged thrice. That done, we had a Sermon, and did our Devotions.

About noon we were viſited by our new *Mehemandar*, whoſe name was *Netzefbee*; he

1637. was a perſon of an excellent good humour. He came to Complement us upon occaſion of the Feſtival, and brought us a Preſent of five fiſhes dry'd in the Sun, a diſh, full of Bread, Pomegranates, Apples, and a ſort of Pears I had never ſeen before, faſhion'd like a Citron, and full of a very pleaſant juyce, and having a ſweet ſcent, pickled Cowcumbers, preſerv'd Garlick, and *Schiras*-wine, which is the moſt eſteem'd of any that grows in *Perſia*.

April 10. being *Eaſter-Monday*: we made our entrance into *Ardebil*, for the moſt part with the ſame Ceremonies, but with greater Pomp and Magnificence, than we had done at *Scamachie*. About noon, we met with a party of Horſe, which having ſaluted, and taken a view of us, immediately returned towards the City.

The entrance of the Ambaſſadors into Ardebil.

Near the Village of *Kelheran*, (which is ſo noble a place, that viewing, at a diſtance, its Steeples, or Towers, whereof there are a very great number, and they make a very great ſhew, in regard they are built of ſtones of ſeveral colours, we took it for the City it ſelf, though they are diſtant one from the other above half a league) we met with, in the head of a body of Horſe, the *Calenter* of *Ardebil*, whoſe name was *Taleb Chan*, an aged, and very ſpare man. Having ſaluted the Ambaſſadors, he rid on one ſide of them. Having paſs'd by the Village, we ſaw in a ſpacious Plain, abundance of horſe and foot, who opened to make us way. Some paces thence, we ſaw croſſing the fields towards us at the head of a Brigade of above a thouſand Horſe, the Governour of *Ardebil*, whoſe name was *Kelbele Chan*. He was a low man, but of a good aſpect and pleaſant humour. After the Complements reciprocally paſt between him and the Ambaſſadors, he rode in between them. Before our Troop, there march'd two youths clad in Sheepskins of ſeveral colours, upon their clean skirts, and carrying each of them upon the top of a long and very ſlender pole, an Orenge. The poles, we were told, were made of a Date-tree.

Theſe youths read and ſung, out of a Book, certain Verſes made in honour of *Mahomet*, *Aly*, and *Schach-Sefi*. They were Sons or Diſciples to a certain *Abdalla*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. After them came others, who were cloathed in white, and had a wonderful Art in imitating the Notes and ſinging of Nightingales and other birds. On both ſides march'd the Timbrels and Hawboies; in ſome places there were people dancing and ſinging at the ſame time, and at others were ſome dancing after another manner. Some caſt their caps up into the air, and caught them again with cries and exclamations of joy. There were ſome danc'd with little Garlands about their heads, much like thoſe we had ſeen at *Scamachie*, when they celebrated there, the death of *Aly*. Near the City ſtood the Guards, in two files, having their Bows and Arrows in their hands, Coats of Mail about their bodies, and their heads cover'd with little Caps like Calottes, which they call *Aratskin*, in which they had plac'd abundance of Feathers, the ends whereof, ſome thruſt through their Caps, into the skin. Many of them were naked down to the waſte, and though they had the fleſh of their Arms and Breaſts pierced with Daggers or Ponyards, yet did they not ſeem ſenſible of any pain thereat; whence we inferr'd there might be ſomething of Charm in it, and that they were Sorcerers, there being abundance that deſerve that name in *Perſia*. There was alſo a Company of *Indians*, who as we paſs'd by, ſaluted us, after their way, with a low inclination of the head, putting their hands to their breaſts. When we were come ſomewhat near the City, there was ſo great a confluence of people, that we could not get a hundred paces forward without making a halt; inſomuch that they were forc'd to drive them away with Cudgels and Bulls-pizzels, ſo to make them give way. And within the City, all the Windows, Houſes-tops, Steeples, and Trees, were full of thoſe, who came from all parts to ſee our paſſage through it.

The Governour gives them a Collation.

The Governour brought us, through a ſpacious Garden, into a fair Summer-houſe, to which there were ten ſtairs to get up, and treated us with a ſumptuous Collation, in a very ſtately Gallery; honouring all thoſe who came up with the Ambaſſadors ſo far as to preſent, to every one of them with his own hands, a Veſſel full of Wine, while all the reſt of the Retinue were treated below, in a Tent, which had been purpoſely pitch'd there to that end. The Collation was accompany'd with the beſt Muſick the Country could afford, as alſo with a Dance performed by their *Oehtzi*, or Archers, who dancing, in cadence, with their Bows in their hands, repreſented a kind of Ball, which their exactneſs of the obſervance of time made more delightful & divertive, than had been the ſinging of thoſe two youths, the ſons of *Abdalla*, who with their Orenges in their hands, very ſeriouſly celebrated the praiſes of their Prophet. After the Collation and Divertiſement, the Ambaſſadors were conducted to very ſpacious Lodgings, which had been taken up for them in one of the nobleſt parts of the City, which Lodgings had ſometime belong'd to *Sara Chutza*, high Chancellor of *Perſia*. The reſt of the Retinue were Lodg'd not far from them, in the neighbourhood, where they were well accommodated, by thoſe into whoſe houſes they were receiv'd.

The Chan's *Houſe deſcribed.*

This Summer-houſe, being one of the nobleſt Structures I ever ſaw, deſerves I ſhould give in this place a more particular deſcription of it. *Sulfagar Chan*, the Predeceſſor of *Kelbele Chan*, in the Government of *Ardebil*, a Perſon of infinite wealth, had built it, according to a modell he had brought out of *Turkey*. The figure of it was Octagonal, and it was three Stories, ſo

rais'd,

rais'd, that Art had not left any thing to be desir'd. Every story had its Fountains, which 1637.
cast their water higher than any part of the House. The Walls were built of a sort of Glittering stones, of all Colours, Blew, Green, Red, and of all sorts of Figures, and all the Floors were cover'd with the richest Tapistry the Country could afford. All about the House there was a spacious Gallery, all built with Marble, and adorn'd with Painting, representing Flowers and Leaves. At one of the corners of that Gallery, there was a little Couch or Chair of State, four foot square, cover'd with Embroider'd Tapistry, having in the midst a Quilt wrought with Gold and Silk, to signifie, that the King, passing one day through *Ardebil*, had rested himself there; which made the place so Venerable, that, to the end none should come near it, it was encompass'd with an Iron rail. The said *Sulfagar Chan* had built also another House of Pleasure or Summer-house, in a great Garden, near a stone-Bridge, without the City; but at the time of our Travels that way, it lay desolate, as indeed it had been ever since the Death of *Sulfagar*, who had been Executed, upon the instigation of *Kartzogar*, General of the *Persian* Army. The other House, which was within the City, had been bestow'd by the King upon *Kelbele Chan*, to be enjoy'd by him during his Life.

The veneration the Persians have for their Prince

The next day after our arrival, which was *April* 11. there was brought the Ambassadors from *Schich-Sefi*'s Kitchin, the *Thaberick*; which is a certain quantity of Meat, sent in for three meals, to such great Lords, and other Persons of quality, as come into that City, according to a pious Institution, which hath been observ'd about the Body of *Schich-Sefi*, Author and Founder of the Religion of the *Persians*, as also near that of the late King, whose Sepulchres are at *Ardebil*. Our *Thaberick* was brought us in 32 great Dishes or Basins full of Rice, of all sorts of Colours, upon which the Meat was laid, which consisted of Boyl'd, Roast, Omelets, and Pastry, according to their way of Dressing. Those who were appointed to bring us this Dinner, carry'd the Dishes upon their Heads, and set them down upon a Cloath, which was laid upon the ground.

Thaberick

We were not over-pleas'd with this Entertainment, by reason, not only of the trouble it was to us to sit down according to the *Persian* way, but also because we were forbidden to drink any Wine at this Feast of the *Thaberick*. However, we ordered our great Guns to be discharg'd at it, as also our Trumpets to sound, and would have made a small Present to those who had brought it; but they desir'd to be excus'd, telling us, that the Devotion of the place permitted them not to receive any Presents.

Is serv'd without Wine.

The next day, there was such order taken for the Provisions of the Kitchin, that we had all the reason in the world to be satisfy'd therewith. We were allow'd every day sixteen Sheep, two hundred Eggs, four *Batmans* (which come to 26 pounds) of Butter, thirteen pound of Raisins of the Sun, six pound and a half of Almonds, a hundred *Batmans* of Wine, two *Batmans* of Sirrup, Meal, Honey; and Poultry in abundance, besides the extraordinary Presents, which were ever and anon brought us from the *Chan*; insomuch, that our expence, during our stay at *Ardebil*, amounted to,

The expence at Ardebil.

In Bread,	1960. *Batmans.*
In Wine,	6250. *Batmans.*
Eggs,	9300.
Sheep,	477.
Lambs,	472.

April. the 12. we receiv'd the first visit from the Governour, who, with much kindness, came to make the proffers of his services to the Ambassadors, whereof we afterwards found the real effects, when occasion required. The same day, he sent away an Express to Court, to give notice there of our arrival, and to receive orders for the prosecution of our Journey, which yet came not till two moneths after.

The Governours visit

April. 21. an *Armenian* Bishop came to see the Ambassadors. *He* was but lately come thither from the City of *Eruan*, was a Person discours'd very handsomely, and told us many particulars concerning the state of the *Christian* Churches in *Asia*. Among other things, he told us, that there was near *Eruan* a Monastery wherein there were above four hundred Religious men, and that there were in the Mountains, between *Aras* and *Kur*, above a thousand Villages inhabited by *Christians*, and that there were, besides all these, near *Caswin* and *Tauris* above two thousand Families, which made up in all above five hundred Churches. Whereto he added, that the *Turks* had, not long before, carried away above fifteen hundred *Christians*, and very highly commended the King of *Persia*, for his care in preserving their Privileges, and not burthening them with Taxes, as the *Turk* does, intreating us to recommend their concernments to the King, when we should come to Court.

The visit of an Armenian Bishop. Christian Churches in Asia.

April. 25. which, according to the *Arabians*, is the 10. day of the moneth *Silhotza*, was the great *Bairam*, or the Festival which they call *Kurban*, that is, *Sacrifice*, in commemoration of the Sacrifice, which *Abraham* would have made of his son *Ismael*, according to the command

Kurban or Sacrifice of the Persians.

1637. of God: for ſo they underſtand the Hiſtory of the Sacrifice of *Abraham*. All their Ceremony conſiſts in killing, before day, a Sheep, or Lamb, in the ſtreet, at their own Doors, which being cut into pieces, they diſtribute them among the poor, who come to thoſe Doals in great numbers. They do not reſerve ſo much as the skin; which they do, as they affirm, according to the example of *Abraham*, who reſerv'd nothing of the Ram, which he ſacrifiz'd inſtead of his Son.

The Pilgrimages of the Perſians and Turks.

It is about this time, that the *Perſians* go to do their Devotions at *Meca*, as well as the *Turks*. They ſay that *Noah*, when he went into the Ark, took along with him ſeventy two Perſons, and for that reaſon, it is requiſite the Pilgrims of *Meca* ſhould amount to the number of ſeventy two thouſand; and that number ought to be ſo exactly obſerv'd, that if there be either more or leſs, they muſt not be receiv'd there, as ſuch, that year. But above all things, it is their main care, that that great number be compleat; for otherwiſe, as they affirm, the Angels would be oblig'd to come in, to make up what were wanting, and it were a wont of reſpect to thoſe Spirits to put them to that trouble. The men put on a particular Coiffure for this Voyage, which is a kind of Turbant of white Wool; in regard their Law forbids them to wear it of any Colour, or of ſilk at that time. They call this kind of Turbant *Ehharan*, and they cover their Heads therewith, only as they go; ſo as that one part of it falling down on one ſide of the Head, paſſes under the Chin, and is faſten'd on the other ſide.

Particulars of the Pilgrimage to Meca.

They commonly take their way through the City of *Jeruſalem*, where they do their firſt Devotions. Thence they paſs through *Medina*, where they continue them, at the Sepulchre of *Mahomet*, which they kiſs with a profound Veneration, and then they conclude them at *Meca*, or Mount *Arafat*. From *Medina* to *Meca*, they are cover'd only with a ſhirt, nay ſome go naked down to the waſte. In this poſture, they march continually, and after a very particular faſhion. For they are oblig'd to go, after the rate of a trotting Horſe, or rather that of a Camel galloping; and that with ſuch earneſtneſs, that they hardly take the leiſure to eat and drink, or yet to ſleep: and all, out of an imagination, that the Sweat caus'd by that Violent Motion, and forc'd out of their Bodies, carries away with it all their Sins, and cleanſeth them of all their filthineſs. The Women, who might not be able to bear the inconveniences of ſuch a march, have the privilege to ſwath up their Breaſts with a Skarf, which hath a particular name, and they call it *Scamachtze*.

The tenth day of the moneth of *Silhatza*, is that of their great Devotion. That day, all the Pilgrims go to Mount *Arafat*, which, they ſay, is the place where the Patriarch *Abraham* ſhould have Sacrifiz'd his Son, and there they ſpend the whole night in Prayers. Towards the dawning of the day, they come down, and go to the City of *Meca*, where their *Hetzas*, or High-Prieſt, makes a Proceſſion, conducting through the chief ſtreets a Camel, which is appointed for the Sacrifice. The Hair of this Camel is a very precious Relick among them; whence it comes, that the Pilgrims throng, to get as near as they can to the Beaſt, and to ſnatch off ſome of his Hair, which they faſten to their arms, as a very ſacred thing. The *Hetzas*, after he hath walk'd the Beaſt ſufficiently, leads him to the *Meydan*, that is, the great Market-place, and puts him into the hands of the Baily, or Judge of the City, whom they call *Daroga*, who, attended by ſome other Officers, kills him with an Axe, giving him many blows in the Head, Neck, and Breaſt.

As ſoon as the Camel is dead, all the Pilgrims endeavour to get a piece of him, and throng with ſuch earneſtneſs and ſo confuſedly, with Knives in their hands, that theſe Devotions are never concluded, but there are many Pilgrims kill'd and hurt, who are afterwards allow'd a place in their Martyrologies. After all theſe Ceremonies, they go in Proceſſion about the *Moſquey*, they kiſs a Stone, which was left after the finiſhing of the Structure, and they take of the Water, which paſſes through a Golden Chanel over the *Moſquey*, and carry it away as a Relick, with a little piece of a certain Blackiſh Wood, of which Tooth-picks are commonly made. When the Pilgrims are return'd from their Pilgrimage they are called *Hatzi*, and they are as it were *Nazarites*, dedicated to God, in as much as it is unlawful for them to drink Wine ever after.

From this Pilgrimage, and the Sacrifice perform'd at *Meca*, we ſhall take occaſion to inſert here, what the *Perſians* and *Turks* relate of that of *Abraham*, as *Mahomet* hath dreſs'd up the ſtory, falſifying the truth of it in all its circumſtances. They ſay in the firſt place, that *Abraham* was the ſon of *Azar*, who was Graver to *Nimroth*, King of *Egypt*, and that he married *Sara*, who was ſo beautifull a Woman, that the King having caſt his eye on her, *Abraham* grew jealous, and carried her away into *Arabia*; but finding that ſhe bore no Children, he there bought a Slave, named *Hagar*, whom he carnally knew, and, by her, had *Iſmael*. *Hagar* being near her time, and not able any longer to endure the ill treatment ſhe receiv'd from *Sara*, reſolv'd to run away. *Abraham* coming to hear of her diſcontent, and fearing ſhe might make away the Child, eſpecially if ſhe came to be deliver'd without the aſſiſtance of ſome other Women, follow'd her, and found her already deliver'd of a Son, who, dancing with his little feet upon the ground, had made way for a Spring to break forth. But the water of the Spring came forth

forth in such abundance, as also with such violence, that *Hagar* could make no use of it to quench her thirst, which was then very great. *Abraham* coming to the place, commanded the Spring to glide more gently, and to suffer that water might be drawn out of it to drink, and having thereupon stay'd the course of it with a little Bank of Sand, he took of it, to make *Hagar* and her child drink. The said Spring is, to this day, called *Semsem*, from *Abraham*'s making use of that word to stay it. After this *Sara* pray'd to God with such earnestness, that he gave her her son *Isaac*. 1637.

Some time after *Ismael*'s birth, the Angel *Gabriel* appear'd to *Abraham*, and told him, that God commanded him to build a house upon the River, which *Ismael* had given the rise to: in answer whereto, *Abraham* representing, that it was impossible for him to build any great structure in the midst of a Desart, where there was nothing but Sand; the Angel reply'd, that he should not be troubled at that, and that God would provide. Accordingly, *Abraham* was no sooner come to the place appointed him by the Angel, but Mount *Arafat* forc'd out of its quarries a great number of stones, which roll'd down from the top of the Mountain, to the side of the little River, where he built a house, which hath since been converted to a *Mosquey*, and is the same where the Pilgrims of *Meca* do their Devotions. The Structure being finish'd, there happened to be one single stone remaining, which began to speak, and to complain that it had been so unfortunate, as not to be employ'd in that Edifice. But *Abraham* told it, that it should so much the rather be comforted, in as much as it should one day be in greater Veneration than all the rest put together, and that all the faithfull who came to that place should kiss it. This is the stone we spoke of before. These people say, it was heretofore all white, and that the reason of its being now black, is, that it hath been constantly kiss'd through so many ages.

Some years after, the same Angel *Gabriel* appeared again to *Abraham*, who was grown a very rich and powerful man, and told him, that God intended to make the highest tryal that could be of his affection and gratitude, and that he would have him, in acknowledgement of so many favours, to sacrifize his son to him. *Abraham* immediately consented, and being return'd home, bid *Hagar* call up her son, and put on his best Cloaths, that he might be the better look'd on at the Wedding, to which he intended to carry him. They departed the next day betimes in the morning, and took their way towards Mount *Arafat*, *Abraham* carrying along with him a good sharp knife, and some Cords. But as soon as they were gone, *Sceithan*, that is to say, the Devil, represented himself to *Hagar*, in the shape of a man, reproach'd her with the easiness, wherewith she had consented, that her son *Ismael* should go from her, and told her, that what *Abraham* had related to her concerning the Wedding, to which he was to bring him, was pure forgery, and that he was carrying him streight to the Shambles. *Hagar* ask'd him why *Abraham* would use her so, since he had alwayes express'd a great tenderness to her son. The Devil made answer, that God had commanded it should be so; whereto *Hagar* reply'd, that since it was God's good pleasure to make that disposal of him, it was but fit she should comply therewith. Whereupon the Devil pressing harder upon her, and treating her as an unnatural Mother, endeavouring by those aggravations to bring her into rebellion against God, she pelted him away with stones. The Devil's endeavour proving unsuccessfull that way, and too weak to overcome the obstinacy of a woman, he apply'd himself to *Abraham*, reviv'd in him the tendernesses and affection of a Father, represented to him the horrour of the murther he was going to commit, and remonstrated to him the little likelyhood there was, that God should be the Author of so barbarous and abominable an action. But *Abraham*, who was acquainted with the subtilty and artifices of that wicked spirit, sent him away, and to be the sooner rid of him, cast also a stone at him. The last attempt the Devil had to make, was, to represent to *Ismael* the horrour of death, and the unnatural procedure of his Father: but he found the same treatment from him, as he had from the other two, and had a good stone flung at his head. The Father and Son being come to the top of the Mountain, *Abraham* said to his Son *Ismael*; My Son, I cannot imagine thou knowest the occasion of our journey, and the reason why I have brought thee to this place. It is only this, that God hath commanded me to sacrifize thee: whereto *Ismael* made answer, that since it was God's pleasure it should be so, his will be done, only let me entreat thee, Father, to grant me three things. The first is, that thou have a care to bind me so fast, that the pains of death may not engage me to attempt any thing against thee. The second is, that thou whet thy knife very well, and, after thou hast thrust it into my throat, that thou hold it very fast, and shut thy eyes, out of a fear the cruelty of the action dishearten thee from going through with it, and so leave me to languish a long time. And the third, that, when thou art returned home, thou remember my duty to my Mother.

Abraham, having promis'd to observe all these things, and whetted his knife, binds his son, directs the knife to his Throat, and, shutting his eyes, holds it as fast as he could: but finding, when he opened his eyes again, that the knife had made no entrance, he is extremely troubled, and tries the edge of it upon a stone, which he cuts in two. He was so astonish'd thereat, that he addres's'd himself to the Knife, and asked it, why, having so good an edge as to cut a stone, it could not as well cut his Sons Throat. The knife made answer, that God would not have it so,

1637. so. Whereupon the Angel *Gabriel* took *Abraham* by the hand, and said to him; Hold a little, God would only make tryal of thy faith, Unbind thy Son, and sacrifize this Hee-Goat; and immediately there came into the place a Hee-Goat, which *Abraham* offered to God, for a burnt-offering.

They affirm, that the three stones, which *Hagar*, *Abraham* and *Ishmael* cast at the Devil, are yet to be seen, near the High-way, between *Medina* and *Meca*, and that there are made thereof two great heaps of stones, by the means of the Pilgrims, who bring every one three stones, to be cast at the Devil, at the same place where these heaps are, to the end he may not distract them in their Devotions.

Prayers for the dead. We saw also the same day above five hundred Women, who were going before day to the Church-yard to weep over the Graves of their Husbands, and others of their kinred. There were some who had somewhat to eat at the same time; others had some passages of the *Alchoran* read to them; and those of any quality had Tents pitch'd there, for their reception, that they might not be expos'd to the sight of all that pass'd by.

This kind of Devotion for the Dead is commonly performed in the time of their *Orut*, or *Lent*.

The Ambassadors were again that day treated out of *Schich-Sefi*'s Kitchin. The meat was brought in, in six great Copper Vessels tinn'd over, which they call *Lenkeri*, and the Conserves, in nine great Vessels of Porcelain.

The Chan *treats the Ambassadors.* The next day, the *Chan* treated them very Magnificently, at a Dinner he had provided in one of his Summer-houses.

Acquaints them with the violent death of the Grand-Signior. The 27. in the evening, the Governour communicated to the Ambassadors the good news he had received from *Chan Kustan*, General of the King of *Persia*'s Army, who had writ to him, that the *Janizaries*, in a mutiny at *Constantinople*, had kill'd the Grand Signior, and impriſon'd the most eminent Ministers of his Court. The *Persians* expres's'd their joy thereat, by the fire-works which the Governour order'd to be made, as also by the Musick, which ecchoed all over the City. The Ambassadors did the like on their part, with their great Guns, causing them to be fired six times over, and ordering the Trumpets to sound, and the Drums to beat, while from the roof of their Lodgings they could see all the fires about the City.

The Governour was so well pleas'd to see that the Ambassadors concern'd themselves so much in the publick joy, that he sent them two flaggons of *Schiras* Wine, with a Glass-Vessel, full of Sugar-candy'd.

MAY. *May* the first, we Celebrated the Birth-day of the Ambassador *Crusius*, which was concluded at night with a Magnificent Supper, to which we had invited our *Mehemander Netzef bek*.

The Chancellor of Persia's *son visits the Ambassadors.* The 4. the Ambassadors receiv'd a visit from the son of *Saru-Taggi*, Chancellor of *Persia*, who was come purposely from *Ispahan*, accompany'd by some persons of quality, to see the Ambassadors. We entertain'd him with our Musick, which he seem'd to be much taken with, and treated him with a sumptuous Collation, during which, the great Guns were discharg'd, as often as there was any great health drunk.

A particular Festival of the Persians. *May* 14. the *Persians* began to Celebrate a mournful Festival, which they call *Aschur*, which signifies *ten*, in regard it lasts ten days, and begins with the Moon of the moneth *Maheram*. Of all the sorts and Sects of *Mahumetans*, the *Persians* only Celebrate this Feast, in memory of *Hossein*, the youngest son of *Huly*, whom they accompt one of their greatest Saints. The Legends relate of him, that he was kill'd in the War he was engag'd in, against the *Calif Jesied*. *He* was at first (according to their story of him) troubled with an extraordinary thirst, in regard they had depriv'd him of all water. Afterwards, he had seventy two wounds, which he receiv'd by Arrows, and at last, *Senan ben aneſſi* run him through the body with a sword, and *Schemr Sultzausen* kill'd him out-right. That this Feast lasts ten dayes, proceeds hence; that *Hossein* having left *Medina* to go to *Kufa*, was, for ten days together, pursu'd by his Enemies, who treated him as we related before. During all that time, the *Persians* go in mourning, expres's much affliction, suffer not the Rasour to come near their heads, though, at other times they make use of it every day, live very soberly, drink no Wine, and content themselves with Water. The whole City of *Ardebil* was taken up in these Ceremonies and extravagant Devotions. In the day time, the Children and young Lads assembled themselves in great companies up and down the streets, carrying in their hands great Banners, at the extremities whereof there were Snakes of Pastboard winding to and fro, much like *Mercury*'s Caduceus. The *Persians* call them *Eschder*. They went to the Doors of their *Metzits*, or *Mosqueys*, and cry'd one after another *ja Hossein, ja Hossein*, that is, *O Hossein*. In the evening, especially the three last days of the Festival, after Sun-set, men did also meet in several places, under Tents, with abundance of Torches and Lanthorns, having at the tops of their Poles Orenges, as the Children of *Abdalla*, singing, and crying out as loud as they were able, their *ja Hossein*, and that with such violence, that it chang'd the colour of their countenances. *Having* sung thus about an hour, they return'd to the City, and went in Procession with their Banners and Torches,

A strange kind of Devotion.

through

through the principal ſtreets. The tenth day concluded the Devotions of the Feſtival. In the morning there was an Oration made in honour of *Hoſſein*, with the ſame Ceremonies in a manner, as we had ſeen at the Feſtival of *Aly* at *Scamachie*. Theſe Ceremonies were performed in the Court of the *Meſar* of *Schich-Sefi*, where, near the Chancery, they had planted a Banner, which, as it is reported, was made by the daughter of *Fatima*, the daughter of *Mahomet*, who caus'd the Iron-work of it to be made of a horſ-ſhooe, which had belong'd to one of the horſes of *Abas*, Uncle to *Mahomet* by the Father ſide, which *Schich Sedredin*, the ſon of *Aſalſe Schich-Sefi*, had brought from *Medina* to *Ardebil*. They ſay, that this Banner ſhakes of it *miracle.* ſelf, as often as they pronounce the name of *Hoſſein*, during the Sermon which is made in honour of him, and that when the Prieſt makes a recital of the particulars of his death, how he was wounded with ſeventy two Arrows, , and how he fell down from his horſe, it may be ſeen ſhaken by a ſecret agitation, but withall ſo violent, that, the ſtaff breaking, it falls to the ground. I muſt confeſs, I ſaw no ſuch thing, but the *Perſians* affirm it ſo poſitively, that they think it ſhould not be any way doubted. 1637.

May 24. about noon, the Governour ſent the Ambaſſadors notice, that they concluded the Feſtival that night, and that if they would be preſent at the Ceremonies which were to be performed, they ſhould be very welcome, and he would take it for a great honour done him: but it muſt be with this condition, that, complying with the Law of the *Muſſulmans*, they were not to expect any Wine at the Collation he intended to treat them withall.

In the cloze of the evening, the Ambaſſadors went to the Governour's Palace, who met them at the ſtreet door. And whereas the Ceremony was to be done in the Court, they were intreated to take their places on the left hand, where they had prepared Seats, cover'd with Tapiſtry, for them, and their Retinue, who would have been much troubled, to ſit as the *Perſians* do. There were ſet before them, upon a Cloath, wherewith they had cover'd the ground, ſeveral Veſſels of Porcelain, with Suger'd and Perfum'd waters, and, near the Table, braſs Candleſticks, four foot high, with great Wax Candles in them, as alſo Lamps, fill'd with rags dipt in Suet and Naphte. The Governour took up his place at the entrance of the Court, on the right ſide of the Gate, and ſate upon the ground. Our people had ſtanding before them great Wooden Candleſticks, or Branches, holding each of them twenty or thirty Wax-Candles. There were faſten'd to the Walls thouſands of Lamps, of Plaiſter, all fill'd with Suet and Naphte, which caſt ſo great a light, that the houſe ſeem'd to be all on fire. They had drawn croſs the Court certain Cords whereat hung Paper-Lanthorns, which gave not ſo full, but, without compariſon, a more pleaſant light, than that of the Lamps and Creſſet-lights. The Inhabitants of *Ardebil* are diſtinguiſh'd into five quarters, or profeſſions, who meet each by it ſelf, and intreat ſome of their Poets, whereof there are a very great number in *Perſia*, to write them ſome Verſes, in commendation of *Aly* and *Hoſſein*, and making choice of thoſe among them who ſing beſt, they go and give the Governour a Serenade, who receives kindly, and beſtows a Preſent of water ſweetned with Sugar, on that band, which is moſt excellent, either as to its invention or Muſick. *The laſt Ceremonies of the Feſtival.* *Perſian Poets.*

Theſe Muſicians being come into the Court drew up in five bands, in ſo many ſeveral places, and preſented themſelves one after another before the Governour; but, for the ſpace of two hours, they may be rather ſaid to cry out and roar, than to ſing: after which they all came by order from the Governour, to make a Complement to the Ambaſſadors, and wiſh'd them a happy journey, and good ſucceſs in their Negotiation at the Court.

In the mean time, there were dancing at one place in the Court ſeven youths; all naked, excepting only thoſe parts which modeſty would not have ſeen by all. They called that kind of people *Tzatzaku*, and their bodies, from head to foot, were rubb'd over with Suet and Naphte, inſomuch that their black skins being more ſhining than jet, they might very well be compar'd to ſo many little Devils. They had in their hands little ſtones, which they knock'd one againſt the other, and ſometimes they ſmote their breaſt with them, to expreſs their ſorrow for the death of *Hoſſein*. Theſe *Tzatzaku* are poor boys, who diſguiſe themſelves in that manner, to get ſome ſmall matter by it, which is, that they are permitted, during the time of the Feaſt, to beg Alms for *Hoſſain*'s ſake. At night, they do not lodge at their Homes, but ly in the aſhes which are brought out of *Schich-Sefi*'s Kitchin. Some, inſtead of Suet, rub themſelves with Vermilion, that they may make a more lively repreſentation of the blood of *Hoſſein*: but, at this time, there were not any ſuch. After theſe Ceremonies, the Governour entertain'd the Ambaſſadors with noble fire-works; which moſt of the *Perſians* took very ill at his hands, and thought it not over religiouſly done of him, to give ſuch Divertiſements to the *Chriſtians* during the time of their *Aſchur*, which ought to repreſent only things conducing to ſadneſs and affliction.

Theſe fire-works conſiſted of ſeveral very excellent and ingenious inventions, as of little Caſtles, Towers, Squibs, Crackers, &c. The Caſtle, to which they firſt ſet fire, was three foot ſquare, the Walls of Paper, of all ſorts of Colours. They lighted firſt ſeveral ſmall Wax-Candles about the moat of it, which diſcover'd the figures painted on the Paper. There came *Fire-works.*

out

1637. out of it Squibs and Crackers for an hour and a half, or better, before the Caſtle it ſelf took fire. Then they ſet fire to another invention, which they call *Derbende*. It was a kind of Saucidge, about ſix Inches thick, and three foot long, caſting, at firſt, at both ends, a ſhower of fire, and afterwards ſeveral Squibs and little Serpents, which falling among the people, ſet their Cotton Garments on fire; while they fir'd ſeveral ſorts of Crackers, which in the air, were turn'd to Stars and other figures. They ſet fire alſo to ſeveral boxes; but what we moſt admir'd was a great kind of fire-work, which was faſten'd to the ground with great Iron Chains, and caſt out fire at the mouth, with ſo dreadfull noiſe, that we were afraid it would have burſt at laſt, and ſcatter its fiery entrails among the company. This fire-work they call *Kumbara*.

There were ſome, who carry'd Paper-Lanthorns upon long Poles, which were alſo fill'd with ſquibs and crackers: but what diverted us moſt of all, was, that, out of thoſe Lanthorns, there came a piece of Linnen, which, being folded together, and ty'd up in knots, had, in each of thoſe knots, ſeveral ſquibs, crackers and ſerpents, which having much ado to get out, made an admirable ſhew, by the windings which the fire made through all the folds of that piece of cloath. Others carried in their aprons, a certain compoſition, into which ſome that paſs'd by let fire fall, as it were negligently, whereupon, he who carried it ſhaking his apron, there came out a great number of Stars, which burnt a long time upon the ground.

In theſe Fire-works, the *Perſians* make uſe of white *Naphte*, which is a kind of *Petreolum*: but in regard this Drugg is ſeldome found in *Europe*, there may be uſed, to the ſame effect, the ſpirit of *Turpentine* rectify'd. We ſaw alſo, at a great diſtance, in the air, certain flames, which vaniſh'd as ſoon in a manner as they appear'd. I conceive theſe flames proceeded from a certain Drugg, which the *Muſcovites* call *Plaun*, which is a yellow powder made of a certain herb, commonly found upon the ground, in the Foreſts that are planted with Pines and Birch, and is properly called in Latin, *Acanthus*, in French, *Branche urſine*, in Engliſh, *Bears-foot*, or *Bears-britch*. Every ſtalk of this herb hath on it two Buttons, which are ripe in *Auguſt*, and then the *Muſcovites* are very carefull to gather them, dry them in an Oven, beat them, and keep the powder which comes from them in Ox-bladders, to be ſold by the pound. It is us'd alſo in Medicine, as being a drier, and is adminiſtred with good ſucceſs in Wounds, and the Itch. But the *Muſcovites* uſe it for the moſt part in their Divertiſements, putting it into a Tin-box made like a Pyramid, into which they thruſt that end of a Torch which is not lighted, and by that means make the powder come out, which being very ſmall, immediately faſtens on the flame, and is lighted, and diſappears almoſt at the ſame time; ſo that continually thruſting in the Torch, a man makes ever and anon a new flame, which is very lively, and makes the nobler ſhew, in that it is not accompany'd with any ſmoke. This powder will not take fire, if it be not ſtirr'd after the foreſaid manner: for if it be caſt upon burning coals, or if a lighted candle be thruſt into it, it would not take fire.

Theſe Fire-works entertain'd us ſo long, that it was after mid-night ere we came to our Quarters, where we found not any thing colder than the Hearth; for out of a preſumption, that the Governour would have treated us at Supper, there had been nothing provided at home.

The enterment of Hoſſein reprrſented

The next day, very betimes in the Morning, before the Sun was to be ſeen over the Horizon, the *Perſians* made a Proceſſion, which was to repreſent the interment of *Hoſſein*. In this Proceſſion there were carried a great many *Eſchders* and Banners, and there were led ſeveral excellent Horſes and Camels, cover'd with blew Cloath, in which were to be ſeen many Arrows quilted, as if they had been purpoſely ſhot into it, repreſenting thoſe which the Enemies had ſhot at *Hoſſein*. Upon theſe Horſes rid ſo many Boyes, who had before them empty Coffins, upon which they had caſt a little Straw, or Hay, and they repreſented the great affliction of the Children of *Hoſſein*. Upon ſome of thoſe Horſes, they had ſet fair Turbants, Cimitars, Bows, and Quivers, full of Arrows.

A bloody devotion.

As ſoon as the Sun was up, there might be ſeen in the baſe-Court, a very great number of men, who let themſelves Blood in the arms, in ſo great quantity, that a man would have thought there had been many Oxen kill'd there. The young Lads ſlaſh'd and cut themſelves above the Elbow, and clapping the Wounds with their hands, they made the Blood ſpurt out all over the Arm, and about the Body, and in that condition they ran up and down the City. This was done in remembrance of the effuſion of the innocent Blood of *Hoſſein*; out of a perſwaſion, that, by this action, they expiated ſome part of their ſins; which perſwaſion is the ſtronger, in as much as they are prepoſſeſs'd with an opinion, that thoſe, who dye during this Feſtival, are infallibly ſaved. They ſpeak alſo with the ſame aſſurance of their Salvation, who dye during the Feſtival of *Aly*, and in their Lent.

Ardebil *deſcribed.*

As concerning the City of *Ardebil*, which the *Turks* call *Ardevil*, and may be found in Maps under the name of *Ardonil*, it lies in the Province of *Adirbeitzan*, by the antients called *Media Major*, the chief Cities whereof are *Ardebil*, *Tabris*, or *Tauris*, *Merrague*, *Natſchan*, *Miane*, *Urumi*, *Choi*, *Salmas*, &c. *Ardebil* is one of the moſt antient and moſt celebrious Cities

ties of all the Kingdome, not only by reason of the residence which several Kings of *Persia* made there, but also particularly upon this accompt, that *Schich Sefi*, Author of their Sect, liv'd and dy'd there. Some are of opinion, that it may be conjectur'd, from the History of *Quintus Curtius*, that it is the City which he calls *Arbela*. In this Citie are to be seen the Tombs and Monuments of the Kings of *Persia*; and it is a place of so great Traffick, that it may be justly numbred among the most considerable of all the East. The *Turkish* Language is much more common among the Inhabitants, than the *Persian*. I found the elevation of the Pole there, to be at thirty eight degrees, five minutes, and the longitude to be 82. degrees, 30. minutes. 1637.

It is seated in the midst of a great Plain which is above three Leagues about, and compass'd of all sides by a high Mountain like an Amphitheatre, the highest part whereof, called *Sabelhan*, which lies West-ward from the City, is alwayes cover'd with Snow. Towards the South-South-West, lies that Mountain of the Province of *Kiban*, which is called *Bakru*. It is from these Mountains it proceeds, that the Air there is somtimes extremely hot somtimes extremely cold; insomuch that even in *August*, they begin to be sensible of the inconveniences of Autumn, as also to be troubled with those Epidemical Diseases, which reign there every year, and commonly carry away a great number of persons. Nor was our Quarters free from them. For besides the great number of servants who fell sick, the Ambassador *Brugman* and our Physician lay in of a Feaver, but especially the latter, who was reduc'd to that lowness, that there was no hope of Life. In the greatest heat of the day, and exactly at noon, there rose a kind of a Whirle-wind, which fill'd the whole City with dust; but it lasted not above an hour. The rest of the day and night is calm, which gave occasion to the *Persian* Proverb, *Saba Ardebil, Nimrus Kardebil*, that is, *In the morning Ardebil, at noon, full of dust.*

Yet is it not the cold quality of the Climate, but its Situation that hinders the earth there to produce Wine, Melons, Citrons, Orenges, and Pomegranates, which are to be had in almost all the other Provinces of *Persia*. Apples, Pears, and Peaches thrive very well there. Which is to be understood of the City it self, and the Plain, in which it is seated: for the Air is incomparably more hot and more temperate at the foot of the Mountain; whence it comes, that, thereabouts, you have all sorts of Fruits, and the Trees, which, in *April*, do but begin to bud about *Ardebil*, were very forward at the Village of *Alaru*, at the foot of the Mountain *Bakru*. This particular of fruits only excepted, the soil thereabouts is very good, as well for arable Lands as Pastures: insomuch that the Plain, which is not very great, is able to maintain the Inhabitants of above sixty Villages, all which may be seen from the City. Besides all which, the Revenue which is rais'd for the King, from the *Arabian* and *Turkish* Shepherds, is very considerable, by reason of the Liberty allow'd them to feed their Cattel thereabouts, and to Trade therewith in those parts, after they have purchas'd the *Schach*'s Protection, or embrac'd the Religion of the *Persians*. Some of the Clarks belonging to the Farmers of the Revenue assured me, that within fifteen dayes before, there had pass'd over the City-Bridge above a hundred thousand sheep, and for every sheep, they pay four *Kasbeki*, or two pence *Sterl*, for their pasturage, and as much when the owner sells them. This last duty is called *Tzaubanbeki*; and the other *Abschur Eleschur*, or the duty of Water and Herbage, which the *Turks* call in one word *Othbasch*.

The air not so warm as elsewhere.

The fertility of its soil.

The City is somewhat, but very little, bigger than that of *Scamachie*, but hath no Walls. No House but hath its Garden, so that, seen at a distance, it seems rather a Forest, than a City. Yet are there no other Trees about it than Fruit-Trees, inasmuch as the Country produceing no Wood fit for Building, nor indeed any for Firing, the Inhabitants are oblig'd to supply themselves, out of the Province of *Kilan*, which is six good dayes Journey distant from it. Within a League of the City, South-ward, lies a Village named *Scamasbu*, out of which rises a little River called *Balachlu*. Before it comes into the City, it divides it self into two branches, one whereof divides the City, and the other compasses it; and is joyned again to the other, and so fall together into the River *Karasu*. It is so apt to over-flow in the moneth of *April*, when the Snow upon the Mountains begins to dissolve, that if the Inhabitants of the Plain had not the industry to divert it by Trenches, which they make on that side which is towards the City, it would drown them all.

Of such an inundation, there happened an Example in the time of *Schach Abas*, when the violence of the water having broken the Dikes, over-threw in a moment a great number of Houses; in regard, the Walls, being built only of Mortar and Bricks bak'd in the Sun, there is not any able to stand out against the least inundation: so that the River carried away their Housholdstuff, nay many Children in their Cradles; as it had also near happened at the time of our being there, upon the 12. of *April*, when there were a thousand men at work day and night in making Chanels, and in turning the River by means of a Trench, which was made in the plain upon the River side, which over-flow'd all the adjacent fields. The City besides a great number of narrow strees, hath five very fair and broad ones, named *Derwana, Tabar, Niardower, Kumbalan*, and *Kasirkuste*: in all which they have been at the pains of planting

Its Streets.

1637. both ſides with Elms and Linden-Trees, to have ſome ſhade againſt the exceſſive heats of the Climate.

Its Market-place. The Market-place, or *Maydan*, is large and noble, as being above three hundred paces in length, and a hundred and fifty in breadth, and having, on all ſides, Shops ſo orderly diſpos'd that no Merchandiſe, no Profeſſion but hath its particular quarter. On the right hand as you come into it, you find, behind the Sepulchre of *Schich-Sefi*, and the laſt Kings of *Perſia*, a *Metzid* or *Moſquey*, in which lies interred *Iman Sade*, or one of the Children of their twelve Saints. Malefactors and Criminals may retire thither for a certain time, and thence eaſily get to the Monument of *Schich-Sefi*, which is their great Sanctuary. As you come out of the Market-place, you come to a place which they call *Baſar*, where the firſt thing you meet with is a great ſquare arched Building, called *Kaiſerie*, where are ſold all the precious Commodities of the Country, as Gold and Silver *Brocadoes*, and all ſorts of precious ſtones, and ſilk ſtuffs,. As you come out thence, you enter, by three Gates, into ſo many ſtreets, cover'd over head, all beſet with Shops, where are ſold all ſorts of Commodities. There are alſo in theſe ſtreets, ſeveral *Caravanſeras* or Store-houſes, built for the convenience of forein Merchants, as *Turks*, *Tartars*, *Indians*, &c. We ſaw there alſo two *Chineſes*, who had brought thither, to be ſold, Porcelane, and ſeveral things of *Lacque*.

The Sepulchre of Schich-Sefi a Sanctuary.

Its Metzids or Moſqueys. There are alſo in the City a very great number of publick Baths, and *Metzids*, the chiefeſt whereof is that which they call, *Metzid Adine*, which is ſeated upon a little Hill, as it were in the midſt of the City, and hath a very fair Steeple. There, the greateſt Devotions are done, on holy-days, and particularly on *Friday*, from which it derives the name. At the entrance of the *Metzid*, or Church, there is a Fountain, which the late *Saru Chotze*, otherwiſe called *Mahomet Riſa*, Chancellor of *Perſia*; brought to that place, by a Chanel under ground, from the very ſource, which is in a Mountain above a League diſtant from the City, South-weſt-ward.

The Sumptuous Monuments of *Schich-Sefi*, and the laſt Kings of *Perſia*, are near the *Meidan*. The *Perſians* call that place, *Meſar*, and *Kebel-Chan*, Governour of the City did us the favour to let us into them, upon *Whitſun-Monday*. He ſent us word before hand, that, ſince we were ſo deſirous to ſee the holy Sepulchre, we muſt be oblig'd to abſtain from VVine that day, and that our Supper ſhould be brought us out of *Schich-Sefi*'s Kitchin.

The Ambaſſadors viſit Sehich-Sefi's Sepulchre. The Ambaſſadors went thither immediately after Dinner, attended by all their Retinue, and their Guards. The Gate, at which we entred, to get into the firſt Court, is a very large one, and above it there was a great ſilver Chain, reaching from one ſide to the other, at which there hung ſuch another perpendiculary in the middle. It is a Preſent, which *Aga-Chan*, Governour of *Merrague*, had, out of Devotion, made to the holy Sepulchre. This firſt Court is very ſpacious. and pav'd all over with broad ſtones, having on both ſides great Vaults, where there are many Shops, and backwards a very fair publick Garden, open to all.

Lay down their Arms at the entrance. The Governour, having receiv'd us in the Baſe-Court, brought us to another Gate, over which there was alſo a Silver-Chain like the former, and it was an expreſſion of the Devotion of *Mahomed-Chan*, , Governour of *Kentza*. At the entrance of this Gate, they demanded our Arms,, it being not lawful to carry any, of any kind whatſoever, to the place where the Sepulchre is; inſomuch that if a *Perſian* were found but with a knife about him, it would coſt him his life. The threſhold of this Gate, as alſo of all the following Gates, was of white Marble, and round, and notice was given us not to ſet our foot upon it, but to ſtep over it, the right foot foremoſt, out of this reflection, that having been kiſs'd by ſo many Millions of Millions of perſons, it were, as they ſaid, very irrational that our feet ſhould prophane it. Thence we enter'd into another Court, which was at leaſt as long as the firſt, but much narrower, and pav'd after the ſame manner, having vaults and ſhops on both ſides as the other. On the right hand, there came out of the Wall, by a braſs-Cock, a fair Fountain (the water whereof was brought a League diſtance thence) that they might drink, who retir'd thither out of Devotion. At the end of this Court, on the right hand, we were ſhew'd a very fair and ſpacious Vault arched above, pav'd without, with green and blew ſtones, and within, hung with Tapiſtry. In the midſt of this Vault, there were two fair braſs Candleſticks with lights in them. All along the Walls ſate ſeveral Prieſts, cloath'd in white, who ſung as loud as ever they were able, expreſſing a great humility, and an extraordinary Devotion, by a continual moving from one ſide to the other; which motion was performed by them all at the ſame time, and with the ſame ſhaking, and that with ſo much exactneſs, that a man would have thought they had been all faſten'd to the ſame Cord, and that they had been all drawn at the ſame time. This place is called *Thſchillachane*, in regard *Schich-Sefi* retired thither every year, to faſt, eating only, for 40 days together, but one Almond a day, at leaſt if we may believe the Relations of the *Perſians*. Thence, we paſs'd through a third Gate, over which there hung alſo a Silver-Chain, beſtow'd on the place, by *Alli-Chan*, Governour of *Kappan*, in another

Schich-Sefi's Faſt of forty days.

ther Court which was leſs than the two precedent, and pav'd all over with little ſquare-ſtones of ſeveral colours. We entred into the place where the Sepulchre was, by a Gate which was built like a great Tower, the Clappers whereof were all cover'd with plates of ſilver, and adorn'd with ſeveral Rings of the ſame Metal, which Gate brought us into a great Structure. The pavement before the Gate was cover'd with Tapiſtry, to expreſs the holineſs of the place; and we were told, that, for the ſaid reaſon, it was expected, we ſhould put off our ſhooes. 1637.

The Ambaſſadors, at firſt, made ſome difficulty to render that reſpect, to a place, for which they could not have any Veneration, but perceiving, that if they did it not, they would not have been permitted to go in, they at laſt reſolv'd to comply with the cuſtom. The *Perſians*, to let them know, they did not any thing, that might abate ought of their Dignity, told them, that *Schach-Abas* himſelf, when he came to ſee the Sepulchre, many times, put off his ſhooes when he was come within half a League of the City, and came ſo far bare-foot; but that they could not expect that Devotion from us. We paſs'd thence into a very fair ſpacious Gallery, hung, and cover'd with Tapiſtry: and afterwards, we entred by another Gate, cover'd with plates of Gold, into another Sumptuous Structure which was Arch'd all about. *Schach-Abas*, being upon the point of his departure, into the War he was then engag'd in againſt the *Usbeques Tartars*, made a vow, and promis'd, to beſtow a Golden Gate on the Sepulchre of *Schich-Sefi*, at *Ardebil*, and another upon *Iman Riſa*'s at *Choraſan*, if his Armies had the ſucceſs he expected: which vow he very religiouſly performed, immediately upon his return, having had all the advantages over his Enemies that his own heart could have wiſh'd. This Vault was about four fathom ſquare, and was enlightned by a great number of Gold and Silver Lamps; among which there were ſome, above three foot Diameter. On both ſides ſate twelve *Haſifahns*, or Prieſts, having before them, upon Desks, great books of Parchment, wherein were written, in Capital *Arabian* Characters, certain Chapters of the *Alchoran*, which they ſung, much after the ſame manner, as our Monks do their Veſpers, but with the ſame motion as we had obſerv'd at the *Tſchillachane*. Having gone through that Vault, we came to another appartment, which was divided from it only by a Silver Rail, though rais'd higher by three ſilver ſteps, to get up into it. The Governour, and our Interpreter *Ruſtan*, having kiſs'd thoſe ſteps, he went into it with the Ambaſſadors, who took along with them four perſons of their Retinue. This apartment was much more richly adorn'd than any of the reſt, and there was at one end of it another place rais'd a foot from the ground, the Rails whereof were of maſſy Gold. It is behind that Rail or Partition, that the Sepulchre of *Schich-Sefi* is to be ſeen, built of white Marble, and not of Gold, as ſome have written. It was cover'd with Crimſon Velvet, and rais'd three foot from the ground, being about nine foot in length, and four in breadth. From the Roof, there hung certain Lamps of Gold and Silver, and on both ſides, two huge Candleſticks of maſſy Gold, in which there were ſet great Wax Candles, lighted in the night time.

The Door of that Golden Rail was lock'd, and though the Ambaſſadors were very importunate to have it opened, yet could they not prevail, the *Perſians* telling them, that the Laicks, even to the King himſelf, were not permitted to come within that place. In the ſame apartment where we then were, was to be ſeen, on the left hand, in a particular Vault, the Sepulchre of *Schach Iſmael*, the firſt of that name; as alſo that of *Scach-Sefi*'s Wife, and thoſe of ſome other Queens of *Perſia*: but we were permitted to ſee no more of them, than we could diſcover at the meeting of the Curtains, which were drawn at the entrance of it: and from what we could judge thereof, there was nothing remarkable. There came all along after us a grave old man, who, with a perfuming-pot in his hand, purify'd the places, through which we had paſs'd. *Laicks not permitted to approach the Sepulchre.*

Having taken notice of all that was to be ſeen in that place, we were conducted through the ſame Gallery, towards the right hand, into another ſpacious apartment, which was Arch'd all about and Gilt; where we could not but admire the manner of its building, which being near as large as a fair Church, was nevertheleſs ſuſtain'd by the ſtrength of the Roof, and without Pillars. This Hall is called *Tzenetſera*, and ſerves for a Library. The books were lay'd in Drawers, ſhuffled one upon another, without any order, but otherwiſe well enough kept. They were all Manuſcripts, ſome, upon Parchment, others upon Paper, moſt in *Arabick*, and ſome in the *Perſian* and *Turkiſh* Languages, but all excellently painted, richly bound, and cover'd with Plates of Gold aud Silver, carv'd, and branch'd. The books of Hiſtory were enrich'd with ſeveral repreſentations in colours. In the Neeches of the Vault, there were above three or four hundred Veſſels of Porcelane; ſome, ſo large, as that they contain'd above 40. quarts of Liquour. Theſe only are uſed at the entertainments, which are brought from the Sepulchre, to the King and other great Lords, who paſs that way: for the holineſs of that place permits not that they ſhould make uſe of any Gold or Silver. Nay, it is reported of *Schich-Sefi*, that he, out of an exceſſive humility, made uſe onely of Woodden Diſhes. *A miraculous Vault.* *The Library*

Thence we were brought to the Kitchin, the Door whereof was alſo cover'd with Plates of Silver, *The Kitchin*

1637. Silver, and all things within it were ſo handſomly ordered, that it was not a little to be admir'd. The great Cauldrons were all ſet in a row, and ſeal'd within the Wall, along which paſs'd a Pipe, which, by divers Cocks, ſupply'd all the Kitchin with water.

The Charity of the place. The Cooks of all degrees had every one his place, according to their functions and employments. This Kitchin maintains every day above a thouſand perſons, accompting thoſe belonging to the houſe, and the poor, among whom they diſtribute thrice a day, Pottage, Rice, and Meat; to wit, in the morning at ſix, at ten, and, in the after-noon at three. The two morning-meals are upon the accompt of *Schich-Sefi*, who, to that end, lay'd a foundation of fifty Crowns per diem; and the third is an Alms beſtow'd there, by order from the King of *Perſia*. Beſides theſe, there are ſo many Alms diſtributed there upon the accompt of private perſons, that there is not only enough to maintain the poor, but there is much over and above, which is ſold to thoſe who are aſham'd to beg. At the time of theſe meals or diſtributions, they ſound two Timbrels, which, as they ſay, were brought from *Medina*, with the Banner of *Fatima*, by *Schach Sedredin*.

Sepulchres of the Kings of Perſia. Going out of the Kitchin, we entred into a very fair Garden, where we ſaw the Sepulchres of *Sulthan Aider*, *Schach-Tamas*, and ſeveral other Kings of *Perſia*, which were in the open air, and without any thing over them, but a ſmooth ſtone. The principal Lords, whoſe Sepulchres are to be ſeen in this *Meſchaich*, are,

1. *Shich-Sefi*, the ſon of *Seid-Tzeibrail*.
2. *Schich-Sedredin*, the ſon of *Sefi*.
3. *Schich-Tzinid*, the ſon of *Sedredin*, whom ſome *Europæan* Authors, erroneouſly call *Guined*.
4. *Sulthan Aider*, the ſon of *Tzinid*, who was flead alive by the *Turks*.
5. *Schich Aider*, the ſon of *Sulthan Aider*.
6. *Schach-Iſmael*, the ſon of *Schich Aider*.
7. *Schach Tamas*, the ſon of *Schach-Iſmael*.
8. *Schach-Iſmael*, the ſecond of that name, the ſon of *Schach-Tamas*.
9. *Schach-Mahomet Choddabende*, ſon of *Schach-Iſmael*.
10. *Iſmael Myrſa*, brother of *Choddabende*.
11. *Hemſa Myrſa*, } ſons of *Choddabende*.
12. *Schach Abas*, }

A Fable. *Schich-Sedredin* ordered his Sepulchre to be built, after the death of his Father, by an Architect, whom he had brought along with him from *Medina*, and according to a Model which he drew of it himſelf by Miracle (for the *Perſians* affirm, that both he and his Father wrought many) which was, that having commanded the Architect to ſhut his eyes, he raviſh'd him into an extaſie, during which, he gave him a ſight of the Model, according to which he would have that Structure built, and according to which it was afterwards done. *Schich-Tzinid*, adding thereto the great Court, and ſeveral Houſes, augmented it ſo as that now it ſeems a very noble and ſpacious Caſtle, whither there comes every day ſo great a number of perſons, to Diſcourſe, or Walk, that there are few Princes Courts where there are more ſeen. The foundations of ſeveral Kings, its vaſt Revenues, and the Preſents which are daily made thereto, do ſo augment the Wealth of it, that ſome conceive, its Treaſure amounts to many Millions of Gold, and that, in caſe of neceſſity, this *Meſar* might raiſe and maintain a very powerfull Army, and that it would furniſh more ready Money than the King could himſelf. Beſides the Farms and Dairies which depend on it, it hath within the City of *Ardebil* two hundred Houſes, nine publick Baths, eight *Caravanſeras*, or Store-houſes, that great Vault, which is called the *Kaiſerie*, all the *Meydan*, with its Vaults and Shops, a hundred other Shops in the *Baſar*, and the Market-places, where Cattel, Wheat, Salt, and Oyl are ſold. The *Aſtaſniſchin*, or Regraters and Huckſters, and thoſe who ſell Commodities in open Market, having neither Shops, nor Stalls, pay certain duties thereto. It is poſſeſs'd, about *Ardebil*, of thirty three Towns or Villages; and in the Province of *Serab*, of five Villages. In the City of *Tauris*, it hath ſixty Houſes, and a hundred Shops, and two Villages without the City; ſeveral *Caravanſeras* and Baths, in the City of *Caſuan*, as alſo in the Province of *Kilan* and *Aſtara*. The duties of *Abſchur* and *Eleſchur*, in the Province of *Mokan* belong to it, and one moyety of thoſe of *Chalchat*, *Kermeruth*, and *Haſchteruth*, not accounting what the *Tartars* and *Indians*, who make profeſſion of the *Perſian* Religion ſend thither, nor the Preſents, which are brought from all parts, in conſequence of the Vows, which they are wont to make, in great Journeys, in their Sickneſs, nay indeed in any buſineſs of Importance, which they very Religiouſly perform. Beſides all theſe, there are ſo many Gifts, Donations and Legacies made to it, that there paſſes not a day, but a man ſhall ſee going thither Horſes, Aſſes, Camels, Sheep, Money, and other things. All theſe things are receiv'd by two Perſons, who are oblig'd by an Oath to be faithful to that ſacred place, and they are called *Neſſurtzchan*, from the word *Neſur*, which

ſignifies

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ſignifies a Vow, and they have an allowance out of the revenue of a fair Village, which is within half a League of the City, called *Sultanabath*; which was granted by *Schich Iſmael*, to that purpoſe. Theſe Commiſſaries are every day in an apartment on the left hand as a man goes into the *Metzid Tzillachane*, and are ſet on both ſides of a Cheſt or Box, cover'd with crimſon Velvet, into which they put the Money that is brought them, as they do alſo that which ariſes by the ſale of thoſe Horſes, Camels and Aſſes, which are beſtow'd on the Sepulchre: for the Oxen and Sheep are kill'd, and diſtributed among the poor. They give thoſe who bring them a ſmall Preſent, which is a handful of Anniſeed; and they are given to underſtand thereby, that their Souls ſhall enjoy ſerenity and bliſſe in the other VVorld.

Commiſſaries for the reception of the profits.

They alſo give the Pilgrims who come thither to do their Devotions, a Certificate of their being there, and of the Prayers they ſaid there: which ſerves not only for a Teſtimony of the profeſſion of their Religion, but alſo for a protection againſt ſeveral diſgraces and misfortunes. nay, which is more, for the ſaving of their Lives. Accordingly, our Interpreter *Ruſtan*, having reſolv'd to leave us, and fearing what might follow upon the complaint which the Ambaſſadors ſhould make to the King of him, took three authentick Copies of ſuch a Certificate, whereof two were found among his Cloaths, after his departure, and preſented, at our return, by the Ambaſſador *Cruſius*, to his Highneſs of *Holſtein*, in whoſe Library, they are ſtill to be ſeen.

The *Perſians* call theſe Certificates *Sijaretname*, and they are given, not only here, at the Sepulchre of *Schich Seſi*, but alſo at *Meſchet*, at that of *Iman Riſa*, and theſe latter are as efficacious, and have the ſame authority as the former. Now that it may be underſtood how Certificates are able to ſave the Lives, either of a Malefactor, or a perſon fallen into diſgrace at the Court, I ſhall here allege an example of it. Not long before the time of our Travels into thoſe parts, it happened, that *Tzirra-Chan*, who was a perſon of quality, and one ſo highly in favour with *Schich-Seſi*, that he concluded a Marriage between him and one of the Ladies of his *Seraglio*, coming one day ſomewhat late to Dinner, the King ask'd him the reaſon of it, and ſaid to him, ſmiling, that it muſt needs be the careſſes of his new Married Wife, kept him away ſo long. He had the boldneſs to make anſwer, that his Majeſty had not miſs'd the mark much, that indeed he had been dallying with a Woman, but that it had been with the Wife of *Agaſi-Beg*, who was then in the room, and diſcharg'd the Office of *Steward*, when *Tzirra-Chan* told the ſtory. The King was ſo ſtartled at that inſolence, that, bluſhing, out of vexation and ſhame together, he knew not how to lift up his eyes, to look on either of them: which *Tzerra Chan* obſerving, and inferring thence, that he had ſaid too much, roſe from Table and went to his own Houſe. As ſoon as the King had taken notice of his departure, he call'd *Agaſi*, and ſaid to him, *Thou haſt ſeen*, Agaſi, *after what manner* Tzirra, *not thinking it enough to have diſhonour'd thy Houſe, muſt needs make oſtentation of his lewdneſs, and reproach thee with thy infamy, and have the confidence to do it in my preſence: Go thy ways, and bring me his head.* *Agaſi* obey'd, and went his way; but about ſome two hours after, the King much wondring to find that *Agaſi* was not return'd, ſends after him, to know what was become of him. The King had this account brought him, that *Tzirra* and *Agaſi* had been found, like very good friends, making merry, and drinking together. Whereupon, the King not able to forbear laughing, cries out, *ja Kurrumſak, O the poor Cuckold*: but immediately after, reflecting on their procedure, and imagining, that it was a joynt deſign between them to put the affront upon him, and that they laugh'd at him in their ſleeves; he Commanded *Aliculi-Chan*, Brother to *Ruſtan, Chan* of *Tauris*, *Divanbeg*, or Judge of the Province, to go and fetch both their heads. In the mean time, *Agaſi* coming to himſelf, and conſidering that the King never jeſted in things of that nature, and that he might well come to repent his neglect in executing his Commiſſion, took leave of the company and withdrew; but *Tzirra*, confident of the King's favour, and preſuming on the familiarity there had been between them, was ſo imprudent as to ſtay, as it were expecting the effects of his Prince's indignation, and had his Head cut off. *Agaſi*, making his advantage of *Tzirra*'s death, went in the mean time to the Sepulchre of *Iman Riſa*, whence he brought one of thoſe Certificates, wherewith, ſome moneths after, he preſented himſelf before the King; who, perceiving him coming at a diſtance, could not forbear laughing, and ſaid to him, *I commend thee for thy wit, my honeſt kind hearted Cuckold, go thy ways, I pardon thee for* Iman Riſa's *ſake; come, kiſs my foot.* Thus did this *Sijaretname* or Certificate, ſave *Agaſi Bek*'s his life, who was afterwards entertain'd again into the *Schach*'s ſervice, not indeed in the quality of Steward, but only as a Gentleman belonging to his Chamber.

The confidence of a Favourite.

Inſolence puniſhed.

Yet is it not to be thought, but that theſe Secretaries, of whom ſuch Certificates are obtained, are guilty of frauds and connivances in the diſpoſal of them, by delivering them ſigned and ſealed, with blanks to put in the names of ſuch as may have occaſion for them; as may be ſeen by the Copy which is in his Highneſs's Library at *Gottorp*. Of *Schich-Seſi*, his Life and Miracles, we ſhall give an account hereafter, when we come to treat of the Religion of the *Perſians*.

In

1637. In the same Village af *Kelheran*, about a League and a half from *Ardebil*, there is another sumptuous sepulchre, built in honour of *Seid-Tsebrail*,, the Father of *Schich-Sefi*. He was a poor Peasant, who not able to pretend to any thing particular, which might distinguish him from the other Inhabitants of the place, had also his Burial common with them. But *Sedredin*, finding the reputation of his Father's Sanctity so well establish'd, that it was become in a manner Hereditary in his Person, would needs have it return backwards to his Grand-father, and to that end, caus'd his Relicks to be uncover'd, and honour'd them with a Sepulchre, at the place where it is now to be seen. Some affirm, that in the same Tomb are kept the bones of *Seid-Sala*, and *Seid Kudbedin*, Father and Grandfather of *Tzebrail:* but others would have all the honour done to *Seid Tzebrail* alone. And it is possible they may be all mistaken, it being very hard, that, after so many years, their bones and ashes could be distinguish'd from those of so many others.

Another Saint's Sepulchre.

The Tomb described.

The Tomb it self stood in the midst of a large Garden, and was built absolutely round, rais'd ten steps from the ground, adorn'd all about with glass of all sorts of colours, which are preserv'd by Iron-grates, and had in the midst of its Roof, a great round Tower, built of blew and green Stones. Those of our retinue, who were desirous to go into it, were forc'd to leave their shooes and Boots at the door, as also their Swords and their Canes. The building within was of admirable Architecture. The Roof, which was Azure Gilt, was joyn'd by bowing-Pillars, through which the light came in. The floor was cover'd with the richest kind of Tapistry, and the Walls, which were open of all sides, had in them other little Partitions, or Vaults, where they taught Children to read and sing the *Alchoran*, so to enable them in time to become *Hassans*, or Guardians of that Holy Sepulchre. We found here and there, upon little seats, Books lying open, in order to the singing of their Service, after the same manner as we had seen at the sepulchre of *Schich-Sefi*. The Tomb was about a man's height, and an Ell and a half in breadth, of Joyners work, all the Junctures being done over with little plates of Copper, and all cover'd with a piece of green Velvet. Over the Tomb hung four Lamps, whereof two were of Gold, the other two of Silver, which two *Tziragts Chihan*, or snuffers, were oblig'd to light at the cloze of the Evening, and to keep in all Night. Over against the Tomb, there was a little Chapel, kept for the Sepulchre of several other persons of the same Family of *Schich.Sefi*.

The Governour of Ardebil administers an Oath to the religious men belonging to the Sepulchre.

From the sanctity of the place, it proceeds, that the *Chan* of *Ardebil*, administers an Oath to the Religious men of the place, for their fidelity thereto, as well as their allegiance to the King, as being oblig'd joyntly to serve that Holy-sepulchre and the King; whence it may be inferr'd, he hath a certain spiritual Jurisdiction as well as the temporal. As a privilege whereof, as also upon the accompt of the situation of his City, which is no Frontier, and consequently not subject to the invasion of the *Turk*, the Governour is freed of the charge of maintaining that number of soldiers, which the other Governours are oblig'd to raise and keep, out of the Revenue of their Governments.

His Retinue was very well ordered, not exceeding fifty persons, to whom his own Temperate Life serv'd for an Example. He treated us three several times, but was guilty of no excess, and seem'd to be very temperate in all things, save that he took abundance of Tobacco, sucking it through a Pipe of Cane which was put into a glass of Water, according to the *Persian* mode, and drunk very much *Cahwa*, or *Coffee*, to moderate the insurrections of the Codpiece.

Medicinal Waters.

What is most remarkable about *Ardebil*, is the sources of Medicinal waters, whereof there is a great number, and of several sorts, whether in order to Health or Divertisement, to which the *Chan* or Governour, proffer'd to bring us, and would have done it, had not the Ambassadors indisposition, who was then sick, prevented him.

What we can say of them upon the relations of the *Persians*, is, that, at the foot of the Mountain *Sebelan*, there is a source called *Serdebe*, over which *Sulfakar-Chan*, whom we mention'd before, built a spacious Vaulted apartment. Its water which is almost luke-warm, and as clear as it is possible water can be, makes a very pleasant Bath.

Sulphureous Sources.

Three Leagues thence, on the right side of the same Mountain, there is another source, the waters whereof are so Sulphureous and so corrupt, that they infect all the circumambient air. It is excellent good for the Itch, upon which accompt it is called *Abcotur*, a word which in the *Persian* Language signifies that disease.

Sources of hot water.

Out of the same Mountain, but from another part of it, there arise three other Springs of hot or boyling water, called *Meul*, *Daudau*, and *Randau*. The first rises out of a little Hill, between two sources of cold water. *Daudau* hath also not far from it a cold Spring, the water whereof is us'd to allay the contrary qualities, by the mixture of their waters, which are brought by several Conduits into the publick Baths. *Daudau* is admirable for the several effects it produces, being sometimes very wholsome, sometimes of no use at all. To know when it may be us'd with success, they have this observation, that there may be seen in the water Serpents, which have on their heads other little white Serpents, set round about them like a Crown. When

Serpents discover the wholesomness of the water.

there

there are none of these to be seen in it, the water hath no vertue, so that it is to no purpose to bath in it. 1637.

About half a League from the City, upon the right side of the High-way, there is a Pond, or rather a standing Pool, called *Schercol*, which is cover'd all over with great pieces of Salt-Peter and Salt, as with a crust of Ice, whither such as are troubled with the Itch, go and bath themselves.

Having staid two full moneths at *Ardebil*, the first of *June*, came thither a *Mehemander* named *Abasculi Beg*, with orders from the King for our immediate departure thence, he being charg'd to bring us within six weeks to the Court, where he said the Ambassadors were with much impatience expected. But being himself an antient man, and consequently not fit to be over-earnest in travelling, he left with us his son, whose care it was to conduct us to *Ispahan*. These new orders oblig'd *Netzefbeg*, who had been our *Mehemander* from *Scamachie*, to take leave of us. We requited, in some measure, his civilities towards us, with a Present of four pair of Sables, five Ells of dark grey Cloath, four Ells of green Satin, the like quantity of blew Satin of *Genua*, and four bottles of Aquavitæ.

JUNE. *The King sends the Ambassadors another Conductor.*

Abasculi did all that lay in his power to hasten our departure, and was so earnest to find us all necessary conveniences, that he caus'd the Horses and Camels to be brought to the very Doors of our Lodgings, the more to oblige us to send away the Baggage. But the Ambassador *Brugman*, who was resolv'd to have the brass-pieces, which he had kept till then, brought away along with us, would needs, in defiance of all perswasion to the contrary, have carriages made for them. Which to satisfie him in, the *Mehemander* was forc'd to make use of certain Trees, which were an Ornament to the City, after many remonstrances, of the impossibility which he told us we should meet with by the way, to draw Artillery after us. So that we found our selves insensibly engag'd to make a longer stay there than we expected; for, though they us'd all possible diligence to make the said Carriages, yet was our journey put off for eight dayes longer.

At last, all things being ready, there was sent to the *Chan* three pair of the best kind of Sables, whereof the *Persians* make very great account, a striking-Clock, a Chest, or Cellar, containing twelve bottles of *Ros Solis*, and two pictures, done by our own Painter, representing a Person of quality and a Lady, dress'd after the *French* mode. He sent back to the Ambassadors, each of them an excellent Horse, with their Bridles and Saddles, set out with Silver-plates, two pieces of Satin, one red, the other blew, one piece of Gold and Silver Brocado, one piece of Cotton-stuff, with flowers of silk, and a piece of Cushion Canvas, with flowers of gold and silver.

June 10. the *Mehemander* brought a hundred and sixty Horses, and twelve Camels, as well for the Baggage, as the six pieces of Artillery. The next day, we sent away both, and on the 12. followed our selves. The Ambassador *Brugman*, who was yet weak, though recover'd of his Feaver, was carried in a Horse-Litter, and went away about five in the morning, attended by thirty persons of our Retinue. Most of the Inhabitants, who had no notice of our departure, and had never seen any Litter before, finding it cover'd with Cloath, and compass'd by men on Horse-back, imagin'd we were going to celebrate some Festival in the Country, and that the Litter carried the mysteries of our Religion. The Ambassador *Crusius* went away about eight, with the rest of the Retinue. *Kelbele-Chan* was gone before to a Garden, without the City, expecting the Ambassadors, that he might take leave of them, it being not their custom, no more than it is in some other places, to conduct Strangers at their departure, with the same Ceremonies as they had receiv'd them, withall, it being, according to their perswasion, an incivility, to bring such as they had before kindly entertain'd, out of their Lodgings. Accordingly, after we had travell'd about a League, we met him in the fields, and with him a *Sulthan* of *Tabris*, who being Marshal in the *Persian* Army, had about him a considerable number of people, who were all cover'd with Tygres and Lynx's skins, and by their countenances discover'd the quality of their Master. The Governour carried the Ambassador *Crusius* into the *Ottaks*, or Huts of the *Tartarian* shepherds, not much out of the High-way, whither he had brought abundance of cold Meat, Fruits and Conserves.

They leave Ardebil.

Having taken leave of him, we prosecuted our journey, over a high and craggy Mountain, till we came to the Village of *Busum*, which lies in a bottom, four Leagues from *Ardebil*. There we over-took our Baggage and our Artillery; but the Wheels of the Carriages were so spent, that the Ambassador *Brugman* was, with much ado, perswaded, that it were more convenient to leave the six greater Pieces there, upon the promise made by the *Mehemander*, that he would get an order from the King to the Governour of *Ardebil*, to have them sent after us, and to that end, he took the bore and size of them. We took along with us the two little brass Pieces, weighing each of them 300. weight, and four murthering Pieces.

The Chan *takes leave of the Ambassadors.*

June the 13. we continu'd our journey, through very bad way, and over Mountains with such dreadfull precipices, that not thinking it safe to trust the Beasts with the Litter, wherein the Ambassador *Brugman* lay, we had it carried by men. In the Vallies, we found many great Villages

1637. Villages and Huts, and excellent Meadows, all cover'd with fair Cattel. Having travell'd five Leagues, or better that day, we came at night to a Village called *Sengoa*, where we found a *Melik*, or Receiver general of the whole Province of *Chalcal*, which begins at that Village, and reaches as far as the River *Kiſiloſein*. His name was *Baindur*, and he had ſucceeded his Father in that employment, who had been ſo much in favour with *Schach-Abas*, that with one of the VVomen of his *Seraglio*, whom he married, he gave him two or three great Lordſhips.

The Province of Chalcal.

The corruption of the Perſian *Officers.*

The 14. our way lay ſtill over high Mountains, yet in our way, we paſs'd through three Villages, where our *Mehemandar* fail'd not, according to his cuſtom, to take up Horſes, pretending they were for us, that the Countrey people might be oblig'd to redeem them. Having travell'd four *farſangs*, or leagues, we came into a very pleaſant Valley, where we lodg'd near a delightfull Spring. And whereas we had ſome occaſion to ſtay there till the next day at noon, I had the leaſure to obſerve the height of the Sun there, and found, that we were at thirty ſeven degrees, and twenty minutes of the Line. In this place, we ſaw green Graſs-Hoppers, which were above three Inches in length, and one and a half in compaſs.

Graſs-hoppers.

The 15. preſently after Dinner, we ſet forward on our journey, and the Ambaſſador *Brugman* finding himſelf a little more hearty, got on Horſ-back with the reſt. Before we got to the dreadful Mountain *Taurus*, which the *Perſians* call *Perdelis*, we came to a bottom, which preſented it ſelf to our view like an Abyſs. We were two hours in getting down to it, and above three in getting out of it, though between the points of the Mountains, there ſeem'd not to be half a League diſtance. It is a moſt dangerous paſſage for Travellers, who are oblig'd to come in ſtrong parties, for fear of falling into the hands of Robbers, who diſcover, at a diſtance, the number of paſſengers, and accordingly judge whether they can engage them, or muſt let them alone.

Kiſiloſein. There runs through the bottom the River *Kiſiloſein*, which falls into it through Rocks and Precipices, with an inconceivable ſwiftneſs, and a noiſe that ſtuns the paſſengers. The waters of it are whitiſh; whence it comes that in the Province of *Kilan*, where it falls into the *Caſpian* Sea, it is, in *Taliſinan*, called *Iſperuth*. *Schach-Tamas* built a very fair Bridge over it, of Brick, containing nine Arches. The way was planted on both ſides with wild Almond-Trees, Cypreſs, and *Sena*- Trees. Having croſs'd the River, we came to the Aſcent, which was very ſteepy, though it went ſtill winding till it came to the top of the Mountain, and it was ſo hard to get up, that to advance ought, we were many times forc'd to ſtep up as if we got up a pair of ſtairs: having in the mean time on our left hand, Precipices and Abyſſes ſo dreadfull to look on, that the Mule of a *Muſcovian* Ambaſſador falling down there, was never after ſeen or heard of: inſomuch that thinking it not ſafe to ride it up, we alighted, and led our Horſes.

By that time we were got to the top of the Mountain it was night, and that ſo dark, that we loſt our way, in the abſence of our *Mehemandar*, who had ſtay'd behind in ſome Villages in the bottom. We were gotten into very dangerous wayes, and went ſtill a-foot, though the trouble we had been at, (which had put us all into a ſweat) wearineſs, and the cold, which beat into our faces, might well have prevail'd with us to make uſe of our Horſes. We were three whole hours, ere we overcame the darkneſs of the night, and all other imaginable inconveniences; but at laſt about midnight, we got to the Village of *Keintze*, four Leagues from our laſt Lodging. We ſtay'd there all the next day, as well in expectation of our *Mehemandar*, and to give our Horſes a little reſt, as to refreſh our ſelves, after the precedent day's wearineſs, with the Divertiſement, which Wine, our Muſick, and the noiſe of our Artillery could afford us. We intended to give our *Mehemandar* a ſharp reprehenſion, and reproach him with his negligence; but he ſoon ſtopp'd our mouths, telling us, that he could not but acknowledge himſelf oblig'd by his charge, to wait on the Ambaſſadors, and that he ſhould not have neglected their ſervice; but that he had not the heart to hear the injurious, and blaſphemous expreſſions, which fell every foot from the Ambaſſador *Brugman*, which yet ſhould not hinder him from taking order, that we ſhould be plentifully ſupply'd with Proviſions; wherein, to give him his due, he failed not, and contributed much to the good Cheer we made that day.

The Mehemandars *complaint.*

The 17. we left *Keintze*, after the mid-day's great heat was a little over: but our *Mehemandar*, inſtead of Conducting us along the High-way, made us turn on the right hand, and Lodg'd us in a Village, called *Hatzimir*, ſeated in a bottom, which was, of all ſides, encompaſs'd with Rocks. The *Melik*, or Receiver of the place, treated us with certain Baſins of fruit, Apricocks and Grapes, which were not fully ripe, and a ſack of Wine, wherewith we made a Collation, which ſerv'd us for a Supper: for our Cook, preſuming we ſhould have kept the High-way, was gone before us with all the Proviſions.

June 18. we got on Horſe-back after Sermon, and Dinner, marching after the rate of a full trot, between two very ſteepy Hills, and we came about midnight to the Village of *Kanahl*, which is two leagues or better out of the High-way, and ſix from our laſt Lodging, and we were

were Lodg'd in several houses, scatter'd up and down, upon three hills. They had taken up for the Ambassadors a great unfurnish'd house, at the entrance of the Village; but finding there was no convenience at all for them, they refus'd to Lodge there; and having left two of their Guard upon the Avenues of the Village, to give an account of them to the rest of the Retinue, they took up other Ledgings, and we after their example, though the Country-people, who were surpriz'd at our unexpected arrival, and could not so soon get their Wives and Daughters out of the way, deny'd us entrance, and put us to the necessity of taking up Quarters by force, half-dead as we were with cold, and spent with hard travelling. But we were hardly laid down, hoping to rest our selves the remainder of that night, when our Trumpet sounding to horse, made us get out of our Beds, to see what the matter should be. Being come to the Trumpetter, he brought us to the Ambassadors Lodgings, where we understood that twenty *Persians* of the same Village, all hors'd, had set upon, abus'd, and dis-arm'd the Guard which the Ambassadors had left upon the Avenues of the Village, and that they had kill'd them, if our Steward, with the *Muscovian* Interpreter, who, by reason of his sickness, had not been able to follow us, had not come up to their relief, and made the *Persians* draw back, fearing there might be others coming after them. There was a Lieutenant with twenty Musketiers commanded out, to clear the High-ways all about, and all the Retinue were Lodg'd as near as could be to the Ambassadors. 1637.

The Persians set upon the Ambassadors Guard.

The 19. we continu'd in the same place, where we caus'd Tents to be pitch'd. Here our Secretary fell sick of a burning Feaver.

The next day, being the 20. we departed thence about two in the morning, and march'd all the Fore-noon, which was extremely hot, through a vast Plain, where we saw only barren and heathy grounds. About noon we came to the little City of *Senkan*, six Leagues from *Camahl*. The City is not enclos'd with a Wall, but is otherwise sufficiently well built. Within half a League of the City, we receiv'd from the Governour of *Sulthanie*, who was then in the City, a Present of certain Dishes of Apricocks and Cowcumbers, which were a great refreshment to us, in that excessive heat and sultrines of weather.

The City of Senkan.

At the extremity of the Suburbs we were met by thirty persons on Horse-back, well mounted, who receiv'd us in the name of the Governour of *Sulthanie*, whose name was *Sewinduc Sulthan*. Among these Gentlemen there was one, who, though he had neither hands nor feet, yet made a shift to guide his horse, with as much skill as any of the rest. He was son to one of the principal Inhabitants of the City, who had been heretofore much in favour with *Schach-Abas*, the Grand-father of *Schach-Sefi*, for his Poems, and other excellent Productions of his Understanding; upon the accompt whereof, he was so well respected at Court; that the King not only granted him the life of his son, who for some Crimes had deserv'd death, but would also continue him in his favour, contrary to the custom of the Country, according to which all the relations of a Malefactor, or unfortunate person, participate of his disgrace or misfortune. The young man had been guilty of strange debauches and extravagances, even to the Ravishing of Maids and Women in their houses, so often reiterated, that they became at last insupportable; so that the *Schach* ordered him, to have his hands and feet cut off, and caus'd the stumps of his arms and legs to be thrust into boyling Butter, to stop the blood. He had wooden hands, crooked at the extremities, wherewith he made a shift to hold his Bridle.

A Horseman had neither hands nor feet.

The City of *Senkan* was heretofore of a considerable bigness, and famous for its Trading, before *Tamberlane* destroy'd it: but what reduc'd it to the condition it is in now, is the *Turk*, who hath taken and plunder'd it several times. Yet are there some very handsome houses in it, and those well furnish'd, in which we were entertain'd with much civility, and our sick people extremely well accommodated. The *Sulthan* came to visit the Ambassadors immediately after their arrival, and made his excuses that he had not met them; which was upon this score, that having been wounded in the shoulder at the siege of *Eruan*, and the wound being lately opened, he could not have waited on us in person. We sent to him our Physician and Chyrurgeon, who dres's'd him; which he look'd on as so great a kindness, that he thought it not requital enough to send us a Present of several excellent Fruits, but he also doubled the ordinary allowance of our Provisions.

Senkan *destroyed by Tamberlane.*

All about this City, there are only Barren and Sandy grounds, which bring forth only Briars of about the height of a mans hand.

About half a League from it, there may be seen a branch of the Mountain *Taurus*, which they call *Peydar Perjamber*, and reaches from North to South, towards *Kurdesthan*, where may be seen, as they affirm, the Sepulchre of one of the most antient Prophets, from whom the Mountain derives its name. At the foot of this Mountain there is a very pleasant Valley, which is checquer'd up and down with a great number of Villages.

A branch of Mount Taurus.

June 21. having stay'd till the great Heat were over, we left *Senkan* after Sun-set, taking our way, by Moon-light, through a Plain of six Leagues, at the end whereof we came, with the Sun-rising, to *Sulthanie*. It had been so calm and cold in the Night, that we had hardly

Sulthanie.

1637. the uſe of our Limbs, ſo that we had much ado to alight. This ſudden change, from extreme cold, to the exceſſive heats of the next day, occaſion'd the falling ſick of fifteen perſons of our retinue at the ſame time, all of a violent burning Feaver, the fits whereof were very frequent, accompany'd with a benumd'neſs of all the Members: but that misfortune hindred not but that they were ſet on horſe-back, and though to avoid the heats of the day, we afterwards travel'd only by night, yet were they ſo far from over-maſtering their former wearineſs, that they were brought lower and lower. Two of our Guards took occaſion to fall out at this place, and fought a Duel, wherein one of the two, who was a Scotch-man, named *Thomas Craig*, was run into the Lights, near the Heart, of which VVound he lay long ſick, but at laſt was Cur'd.

Its ſituation. As to the City of *Sulthanie*, it lies at eighty four degrees, five minutes Longitude, and at thirty ſix degrees, thirty minutes Latitude, in a ſpacious Plain, which is not, as Mr. *Cartwright* writes, encompaſs'd of all ſides with a great Mountain; but it hath indeed on both ſides, eſpecially on the right hand, the Mountain of *Keidar*. It makes a great ſhew at a diſtance, by reaſon of ſome very ſumptuous ſtructures, and a great number of ſteeples, and great Pillars, which dazle the eye on the out-ſide; but within it is in a manner deſolate, and when a man comes near it, he finds the Walls almoſt even with the ground. It was heretofore one of the greateſt, and nobleſt Cities of all *Perſia*, being above half a League in length, as may be yet ſeen by the marks upon the way of *Hamedan*, half a League or better from the City, in a gate which hath belonging to it, and a Tower, which ſome affirm was heretofore part of the City Walls. *Sulthan Mahomet Chodabende*, having joyn'd to his other Territories ſome part of the *Indies*, as alſo of the *Usbeques*, and *Turky*, built it out of the ruins of the antient City of *Tigranocerta*, and made it the ſeat of his Empire, from whom it derives the name of *Sulthania*: inaſmuch as heretofore, the Kings of *Perſia* were not called *Schachs*, as they are now, but they aſſum'd the quality of *Sulthan*, as the *Grand Seigneur* does. *Chotza Reſchid*, King of *Perſia*, whom *Jos. Barbarus* calls *Gianſam*, deſtroy'd ſome part of the City of *Sulthania*, upon a Rebellion of the Inhabitants, and what he had left, *Tamberlane* made an end of. We ſaw there the ruins of a very fair Caſtle, which had ſerv'd the King for a Palace, and the City for a Cittadel, there being yet ſtanding ſome part of its Walls, all built of ſquare pieces of free-ſtone, and adorn'd with a great number of quadrangular Towers. The nobleſt buildings in it, or *Emerat*, is the *Metzid* or *Moſquey*, where is to be ſeen the Sepulchre of *Mahumed Chudabende*. It hath three gates, very much higher than thoſe of St. *Marks* at *Venice*, and are not of Braſs or Copper, as *Bizarrus* relates, but of Steel, poliſh'd, and wrough Damask-wiſe.

Built by Chodabende.

The greateſt of the three gates, which is over againſt the *Meydan*, or Market-place, would not open, as they affirm, even though twenty of the ſtrongeſt men could be choſen ſhould endeavour all they could to thruſt it open, if they do not pronounce theſe words, *Beask Aly Bukscha*, that is, *be opened for* Aly's *ſake*, and then the Gate turns to and fro upon its hindges, with ſo much eaſe, that, no Child but may open it. The whole roof which grows narrower and narrower up towards the top, is built with white and blew ſtones, which, in ſeveral places, have very fair Characters, and excellent Figures done upon them. One part of the ſtructure was divided from the other by a braſs Grate or Rail, for the Sepulchre of *Mahomet Chudabende*, making a kind of Quire, where we ſaw ſeveral old *Arabick* Books, above half an Ell ſquare, having Letters as long as a man's finger, and black and golden Lines alternately. I made a ſhift to get ſome of the Leaves, which I ſtill very carefully keep in the Prince's Library. It is ſome part of the Paraphraſe upon the *Alchoran*, which they call *Serats Elkulub*, or *Candle of the Heart*, and begins with a Fable, the relation whereof the Reader may haply think worth his reading. He ſays then, that God baniſh'd the Devils, and had ſhut Heaven Gate upon them, yet had they ſtill a deſire to know what the Angels did, and what they ſaid of the good or ill fortunes of men, that they might give them notice thereof, by the means of Fortune-tellers and Sorcerers. To dive into theſe ſecrets, they thought the only way was to get up on one anothers ſhoulders, till ſuch time as the laſt could put his Ear to Heaven-Gate. God perceiving their temerarious attempt, darted on the head of the foremoſt of them a Star, which is called in Arabick *Schihab*, which ſtriking through all the Devils immediately reduc'd them to aſhes: But that this judgement hinders not, but that ſometimes the Devils make uſe of the ſame means, to endeavour to dive into the ſecrets of Paradice, though they are often puniſh'd for it. Thence is it, that when the *Perſians* ſee one of thoſe Meteors, which to our ſight appear as Stars, and ſeem to fall down to the earth, they rejoyce thereat, and pronounce theſe words.

A likely ſtory.

A Paraphraſe of the Alchoran.

The ſuperſtition of the Perſians.

Choda nike daſcht mata es ſchitan,
Heme buſuchtend we ma Chalas ſehudim.

That is to ſay, *God of his goodneſs keep us from the Devil; they ſhall all be reduc'd to aſhes, and we ſhall be delivered from them.*

The

The sepulchre of *Sultan Mahomed Chodabende* is to be seen through a grate of admirable workmanship, at the end of the Temple, on that side where the *Mecherab* or Altar, stands. This grate is certainly one of the noblest things that are to be seen all over *Persia*, being made of *Indian* Steel, polish'd and wrought Damask-wise, the Barrs being about the bigness of a mans arm, and so neatly wrought that the Junctures are hardly discernable. Nay some affirm it is all of a piece, and that there were seven years spent in the doing of it, at the end whereof *Chodabende* had it transported from the *Indies*, together with the Gates of the *Mosquey*, to the place where they are now to be seen. 1637.

There were in the same *Emerat*, twenty brass Guns and a Mortar-piece, and among the rest, four pieces of Battery, the others Culverings, all set upon carriages with four wheels. The Mortar-piece was mark'd with a spread Eagle, above which were these two Letters A. and Z. and under it an A. The Balls were of Marble. The Tower was built in the form of an Octogone, and compass'd about with a great Gallery, which had eight little Towers, up to which there was an ascent by eight low steps. At the entrance of the *Mosquey* there was a square Fountain, into which the water was brought from a Spring rising out of the Mountain *Keider*. There is also belonging to it a very fair Garden, and a Summer-house. *Artillery.*

There is in the same City another fair *Mosquey*, founded by *Schach Ismael*, the first of that name. The entrance into it is through a very fair and large Gate, over which there is a round Tower: and the first thing offers it self to your view is a noble Pyramid, somewhat decay'd at the top, having about it eight fair Pillars of Marble. Then is it that you come into the *Mosquey* it self, which is very high and well arched, having a great number of Pillars which up-hold the Roof, with pleasant Galleries, and in the midst a rich Pulpit. This also hath a fair Garden belonging to it, in the midst whereof there is a Tower, whose point ends in a Pyramid.

These structures do in some measure oblige us to credit what *Paulus Jovius* sayes, in the 14. Book of his History; as also what *F. Perodin* confirms, in the Life of *Tamberlane*, to wit, that that barbarous Commander, who over-ran all that lay in his way like a Torrent, yet express'd a certain respect for those things, which were, though out of superstition, accompted sacred. *Tamberlane had a respect for the Mosqueys.*

Near this *Mosquey* there is also to be seen another great Gate, of free-stone, between two Pillars, twenty fathom high, which seems to be antique, and had been built at the Ceremonies of some Triumph; but it begins now to decay.

The City hath about six thousand Inhabitants, who wondred very much to hear us relate, that some of those who have published their Travels into *Persia*, would make the World believe, that the cold weather forc'd them in the Winter time to forsake the City, and change their Habitations. For, it is so far from being true, that there are many places in *Persia*, where the cold obliges the Inhabitants to change their Habitations, that, on the contrary, it is an effect ordinarily caus'd there by the Heat.

True indeed it is, that there are some places in that Kingdome, where the cold is very incommodious, by reason of the scarcity of firing, as for instance, near *Eruan*, at a place called *Deralekes*, as being seated between two Mountains, and especially at the Village of *Arpa*. But it is not so great as to oblige the Inhabitants to change their Habitations: for they only quit their upper Rooms, and retire into Cellars, built very deep under ground, not only to serve them for a place of retirement in the Winter time, against the cold, but also in Summer, against the heat.

June 25. we left *Sulthanie*, after we had staid there three dayes, which were spent up and down the Country, in getting us fresh Horses and Camels. The sick persons, who by reason of their weakness, were not able to ride on Horse-back, were dispos'd into such Chests, as the Women make use of when they travel. The *Persians* call them *Ketzawhea*, and they are put on Camels backs, like Carriers packs. The Physician and my self were set upon the same Camel, whereby we were put to two great inconveniences, one proceeding from the violent Motion caus'd by the going of that great Beast, which at every step, gave us a furious jolt; and the other, from the insupportable stink of the Camels, whereof there being but one Boy to guide eight or ten, they were ty'd one to another, and went all in a file, insomuch that the infectious smell of all that went before, came full into our Noses. *The Women travel in great Chests.*

We departed two hours before Sun-rising, and travell'd that day six Leagues, through a very fertil Country, all arable and pasture Lands, leaving, on the left hand, the little Mountains called *Tzikitziki*, where the King of *Persia*'s best Race-Horses and Mares for breed are kept. About noon we took up our Lodging at the Village of *Choramdah*, which lies on the side of a little River, having so many Trees and Gardens about it, that it is not without reason that name is given it, which signifies, a *place of Pleasure*.

The 26. we departed thence in the night, and travell'd five Leagues or better, over Mountains and Valleys.

The 27. we departed at mid-night, and, having travell'd five Leagues, we were got, by Sun-

1637. rising, near the City of *Casuin*, or *Cashan*; but that the *Daruga*, who had the Command of it, might have the leisure to set his affairs in order for our entrance, our *Mehemander* carried us to a Village where we staid above two hours till such time as the *Daruga* came to receive us. This entrance was not accompany'd with the same Ceremonies as we had seen in other places, in regard the Governour, having not the dignity of *Chan*, could not express the same Magnificence. Yet was it handsom enough, in as much as the *Daruga* came attended by five or six hundred men, horse and foot. There came also to meet us an *Indian* Prince, accompany'd by some Gentlemen on horse-back of his own Countrey, and follow'd by a great number of Lacqueys and Pages. He came in a kind of Chariot, having one other person with him in it. The Chariot was drawn by two white Oxen, which had very short necks, and a bunch between the two shoulders, but they were as swift and manageable as our horses. The Chariot was cover'd above, and lay'd over two Wheels, which instead of an Axletree, turn'd upon a piece of Iron, made so crook'd at the middle, that it bore the weight of the whole Chariot. The Charioteer sate before, and guided the Oxen, fasten'd to a Beam, which was made fast to the Horns, with a Cord drawn through their Nostrils.

Being come within 500. paces of the City, we met with fifteen young Ladies, excellently well mounted, very richly clad in Cloath of Gold and Silver, &c. having Neck-laces of great Pearls about their necks, Pendants in their ears, and abundance of other Jewels. Their faces were to be seen, contrary to the custom of honest Women in *Persia*. Accordingly, we soon found, as well by their confident carriage, as the accompt given us of them, that they were some of the Eminent Curtezans about the City, who came to entertain us with the Divertisement of their Musick. They march'd before us, and sung, to the sound of certain Hawboyes, and Bag-pipes, that went before them, making a very extravagant kind of Harmony. And that we might be sure to see the City, we were carried quite through it, and Lodg'd on the other side thereof.

As we pass'd through the *Meydan*, we saw several persons playing on Timbrels, and Hawboyes, who, joyning with the other *Musicians*, accompany'd us to our Quarters. The people came also thither in great numbers, some of them having it put into their heads, that there were in the *Ketzawehas*, some great Beauties, whom we carried as Presents to the King: but when they saw sick persons with great beards coming out of them, they hung down their heads, and made all the haste they could away.

The situation of Casuin. I found this City, conformably to the Calculation of the *Persians* and *Arabians*, at 85. degrees Longitude, and at 36. degrees, 15. minutes Latitude. It is one of the principal Cities of the Province of *Erak*, which is the antient *Parthia*, wherein is comprehended as well *Sulthania*, as all the other Cities, from this place as far as *Ispahan*. It was antiently called *Arsacia*, and it is seated in a great sandy Plain, having, within half a dayes journey of it, Westward, the great Mountain of *Elwend*, which reaches towards the South-west, as far as *Bagdat* or *Babylon*. The City is a *farsang*, or good *German* league in compass, but hath neither Walls, nor any Garrison kept in it, by reason it lies at so great a distance from the Frontiers. Yet hath it, with these disadvantages, above a hundred thousand Inhabitants, whereof, if there were occasion for them, a good part might be put into Arms. Their Language is the *Persian*, but somewhat different from the common Dialect, whence it comes that it is not so intelligible to the other *Persians*, being much after the rate that the *German* Language is to the *Hollanders*. The houses are all of Brick bak'd in the Sun, according to the *Persian* way, having not any Ornament without, but within, they are very well furnish'd, as to Vaults, Wainscoats, Paintings, and other Houshold-stuff.

Is the antient Arsacia.

Hathabove 100000. *Inhabitants.*

Its Language.

The Streets are not pav'd, whence it comes, that, upon the least wind, the City is fill'd with dust. It hath no other water than what is brought by aqueducts from the Mountain of *Elwend*, into Cesterns, wherein it is preserv'd. No house almost but hath a particular place for the keeping of Ice and Snow, for the Summer. We were forc'd to get into these, to avoid the excessive heat.

The antient residence of the Kings of Persia. Heretofore, the Kings of *Persia* had their ordinary residence at this place, at least, ever after *Schach-Tamas* transferr'd the Seat of the Empire from *Tauris* to this City. Some attribute that translation to *Schach-Ismael*, though the continual Wars he was engag'd in, suffered him not to stay long in any one place. But it is not question'd but that he built the noble Palace which stands near the *Maidan*, which hath belonging to it a fair Garden, adorn'd as well without as within, with Guilding, Painting, and such other embellishments as are in use among the *Persians*.

Its Palace. There was another Garden opposite to this Palace, which was above half a league in compass, and had several little Structures within it. This was one of the most pleasant Gardens that I ever saw, not only by reason of the great number of all sorts of Trees, as Apples, Pears, Peaches, Apricocks, Pomegranates, Almonds, and other Fruit-trees, but also by reason of the fair walks of Cypress, and the Trees called *Tzinnar*, which gave us a very pleasant Prospect.

This

This City hath two great Market-places. *Cartwright* names the bigger of the two *Atmaidan*, and says, that, in the *Persian* Language, it signifies a *Horse-market*. I could never find, that in any part of *Persia*, there was a Market, purposely for the buying and selling of Horses: whereupon, considering with my self that the *Persians*, who call, by the general name of *Maidan*, all those Markets, where all things are indifferently sold, I imagine, that Author's mistake proceeded hence, that, being ignorant of the *Arabick*, he read *Atmaydan*, for *Almaidan*, *al*, being the Article, without which the *Persians* and *Arabians* never pronounce the word *Maidan*. The greater of these *Maidans*, or Market-places, is somewhat longer, but not so broad as that of *Ardebil*, and hath, on the South-side, several great places, built by some of the *Chans* and *Persian* Lords. The most magnificent amongst them are those of *Allawerdi-Chan*, Governour of *Schiras*; that of *Aliculi-Chan*, President of Justice; that of *Mahomet-Chan*, *Chan*, or Governour of *Kenize*; and that of *Schich-Achmed-Chan*, who was great Provost in the reign of *Schach-Abas*. The other Market-place is called *Senke-Maidan*, and is towards the West part of the City. In both the Market-places, as also in the *Bazars*, or Shops and Store-houses, which are in the cover'd streets, there may be seen a great number of Merchants, and abundance of Commodities, which are to be bought there at a very reasonable rate. 1637. *Markets.*

I my self bought Turqueses there, which they call *Firuse*, and are found in great quantities near *Nisabur*, and *Firusku*, of about the bigness of a Pea, nay, some as big as little Beans, for two shillings, or two and six pence at the most. Rubies and Granates were also very cheap there. *Turqueses and Rubies very cheap.*

In the Evening, after the shops are shut, there is, on the East-side, another kind of Commodity exposed to sale, to wit, a considerable number of the *Cahbeha*, or common Traders, who there prostitute themselves to any that will take them up. They all sit in a row, having their faces cover'd with a Veil, and behind them there stands a Bawd, whom they call *Delal*, who hath by her a bed, and a quilted coverlet, and holds in her hand a Candle unlighted, which, when any Customer comes, she presently lights, that he may look the Wench in the face, and order her to follow him, whom he likes best among them.

On the East-side of the City lies the Church-yard, where there is to be seen, in a fair *Mosquey*, the Sepulchre of *Schahesade Hossein*, one of the sons of *Hossein*, at which the Oaths taken in Law-sutes are administred; a custom which is also observed in all other parts of *Persia*, at the places where there are any Sepulchres of Saints, or those of any of their kinred. Whence it comes, that the *Persians*, when they make some difficulty of crediting what is said to them, immediately ask, *Scahe Sade Hossein, pile Musef*; that is, *dar'st thou affirm that upon the Saints Sepulchre, or upon the Alchoran?* Besides this *Mosquey* or *Metzit*, there are about fifty more, the chiefest whereof is that which they call *Tzaine Metzid*, where they assemble on *Fridays* to say their prayers. *The Sepulchre of Hossein's Son.*

There are also in the City of *Caswin* many *Caravanseras*, for the convenience of foreign Merchants, and a great number of publick Baths. There is one behind the Garden belonging to the King's Palace, which they call *Haman Charabe*. It is now half destroy'd, and there is a story told of it, which I conceive pleasant enough to deserve insertion into this Relation. They say, that there lived heretofore at *Caswin* a very famous Physician, named *Lokman*, a black *Arabian*, who had acquired so great reputation, not only by the Books he had written in Medicine, but also by many other excellent productions of his understanding, that the Inhabitants have still a very great Veneration for his memory. Nay it is to be found in their *Kulusthan*, that they gave him the surname of *Wise*, when in the 2. Book, ch. 16. they say, *Lokman hakimra kuftendi Ædebeski amuchti? Kust, es biedbahn. Herstze ischan kerdend, men pertis Kerdem.* That is, *that the wise* Lokman, *being asked one day by what means he had attain'd so great Learning and Knowledge, he made answer, it was by means of the ignorant and uncivil, for he had always done what was contrary to what he had seen them do.* This *Lokman* having attain'd a great age, and being upon his death-bed, sent for his Son, and told him, that he would leave him an inestimable Treasure, and having commanded to be brought him three Glasses, full of certain Medicinal waters, he said they had the vertue to raise up a Dead man to Life, if they were apply'd before the body began to corrupt. That, casting upon the Deceas'd the water which was in the first Glass, the Soul would return into the Body, that, upon the pouring of the second, the Body would stand upright; and that upon the third, the Person would be absolutely alive, and should do all things as before; that however he had very seldome made use of this Experiment, out of a fear of committing a sin, by undertaking to intermeddle with that which is reserv'd to God alone; and that out of the same Consideration, he exhorted him to be very careful how he made use of it, as being a secret rather to be admir'd, than put often to experience. With these exhortations *Lokman* dying, his Son was very mindful of the advice he had given him, and pretending the same tenderness of Conscience as his Father had express'd before him, he reserv'd the Glasses till he might have occasion to make tryal of them upon himself. Accordingly being at the point of Death, he commanded a man that waited on him, *Caravanseras.* *The fabulous story of Lokman.*

1637. him, to make use of those Glasses, as his Father had taught him. The man having caus'd his Master's Body to be brought into the Bath we spoke of before, poured upon it the two first Glasses, which wrought the effect, which *Lokman* had promised they should; insomuch that the Master sitting up, and impatient to return to Life, cries out, *bris, bris*, that is to say, *pour, pour*; at which words the fellow was so frightned, that he let the third Glass fall down to the ground; so that the unfortunate *Lokman Sade* was forc'd to lye down again, and take the Journey which all other Mortals do. The *Persians* confidently affirm, that, near this ruinous Bath, that Voice af *bris, bris*, is still many times heard. They relate several other stories of this *Lokman*, but I shall forbear any account of them, thinking it enough to have produced one, to shew the vanity of all the rest.

Risa a false Prophet.

Some years since, in the time of King *Abas*, a certain man named *Risa*, began to take upon him the quality of *Schich*, or Prophet, and to broach a new Doctrine, imagining he might in time, acquire the same credit and authority, as had before rais'd *Schich-Sefi* to so great reputation. The humour of the *Persians*, who are extremely addicted to novelty, brought after him, in a short time, above thirty thousand men, who, cajoll'd by the apparent sanctity of this new Prophet, were become followers of him. *Schach-Abas*, fearing this novelty might disturb the quiet of his Country, sent for *Risa*, making him believe, that he was desirous to be instructed in the particulars of his Doctrine: but when he was come, the King commanded him to confirm it by miracles, which *Risa* not able to do, he put him to death as an Impostor.

The History of the Indian Prince

It will not be amiss here to give some accompt how the *Indian* Prince came to live at *Caswin*, when we came into those parts. The great *Mogul*, who liv'd in the time of *Schach-Abas*, left, at his Death, two Sons: The elder, who succeeded the Father, soon after died, leaving behind him only that *Myrsa Polagi*, whom we found at *Caswin*, who was but very young when his Father died. *Choram*, youngest Son of that *Mogul*, and Uncle to young *Polagi*, took his advantage of that Conjuncture, to usurp the Crown, and accordingly he was King of *Indosthan* at the time of our Travels into *Persia*. The cruelty of *Choram*'s reign, and the mild nature and inclinations of *Polagi*, who in the mean time was arriv'd to a considerable age, drew upon him the affections of the People, and the hatred of his Uncle. In so much, that *Choram*, perceiving that it was the design of the *Indians* to bring his Nephew into the Throne, would prevent them, by dispatching *Polagi* out of the way, who having notice of his Uncles wicked intentions against him, retires into *Persia*, and puts himself under the *Schach*'s Protection. All the time before, his Residence had been at *Ispahan*, where the King allow'd him a pension of 12000 Crowns *per an.* but he was oblig'd then to retire to *Caswin*, by reason of a solemn Embassy, which the *Mogul* sent to the King of *Persia*, purposely to demand him; though that during the space of three years that the said Ambassador had been there, he had not prevail'd to have him delivered up.

The Kings of *Persia* live in perpetual jealousie of the *Indians*, with whom they never have any assured peace, by reason of the Frontiers of *Candahar*, which finds Exercise for both sides, as those of *Babylon* do on the *Turks* side: insomuch that the *Persians* take their advantage of any occasion, to foment the discontents of the Grandees, as they do any other distractions tending to Civil War. Whence it comes, that they never deny their Protection to the *Indian* Princes, who are willing to retire into *Persia*, to oblige by that means the *Mogul* to assist them against the *Turk*, and to continue the Commerce, which the *Persians* have with the *Indians*, from which *Persia* derives so great advantages, that the obstruction thereof would be an infinite loss to it. There are several instances of these Protections under *Schach-Ismael*, and *Schach-Tamas*. Under the reign of the latter it happened, that *Selim*, who, as eldest of the House, had succeeded his Father, died soon after, leaving only one Son, very young, named *Humajun*. *Tzelaledin Ekber*, younger Brother to the Deceas'd, who slighting the infancy of his Nephew, takes possession of the Scepter, and the more to assure himself thereof, he had a design to murther the right heir of the Crown. *Humajun* had notice of it, and got to *Persia*. *Tzelaledin* hearing of it, sent to demand him, with this message to the King of *Persia*, that if he sent him not back, he would come and fetch him away with all the forces of his Kingdom. *Schach-Tamas*, who was then engag'd in an open War against the *Turks*, not thinking it prudence to disoblige so powerful an Enemy, caus'd *Humajun* to be hidden, and that he might not make a false Oath, when he was to give an answer to the Embassy of *Tzelaledin*, he put him into a Cage, and caus'd that to be hung in a Tree, while he was to give Audience to the Ambassador, to whom he protested, that, *Humajun nist der chakimen*; Humajun *is not upon my Lands*, and dismiss'd the Ambassador with that answer. But having, afterwards, made a Peace with the *Turk*, he sent *Humajun* with a powerful Army, commanded by *Mehediculi Sulthan*, against *Tzelaledin*, who was so startled to find himself set upon by so strong an Enemy, that he was forc'd to run away. *Humajun* desirous to requite the services of *Mehediculi*, bestow'd on him Lordships and great wealth in the Province of *Kulkende*, where he settled himself, with the consent of *Schach-Tamas*, and where his Posterity still live in much credit and authority.

Schach-Tamas's evasion.

The

The Ambaſſadors ſent ſome of the retinue to viſit the Prince *Polagi*, who receiv'd them, ſitting on a cuſhion of Velvet, near a Fountain, about the border of whoſe Baſin there was caſt pieces of Tapiſtry, the ground-work Gold and Silver, and he had about him a great number of Servants and Domeſticks. He took this for ſo great a civility and kindneſs from the Ambaſſadors, that he thought it not enough to expreſs how ſenſible he was thereof in words, but would needs treat thoſe that had been ſent to him with a Collation of Wine and Fruits, and told them, that being not in a condition to entertain them, as he wiſh'd, out of his own Eſtate, he was forc'd to borrow of the Kings favours to make them that treatment. The Ambaſſadors intended to have given him a perſonal viſit, but the *Perſians* would by no means permit it, alleging it was againſt the cuſtom of the Country; where Ambaſſadors are not permitted to make any Viſits before they have had audience of the King. 1627. *The Ambaſſadors ſend to viſit the Indian Prince.*

July 2. the *Daruga* invited the Ambaſſadors to a Divertiſement, which he had appointed to be made on purpoſe for them. It was to be ſeen in the great *Maidan*, or Market-place, where he had cauſed Tents to be pitch'd, to keep off the heat of the Sun, and ſome part of it to be ſprinkled with water, to avoid the inconvenience of the duſt. Having diſpos'd the people into a ring all about the place, and ſeated the Ambaſſadors on high ſeats, there came in, firſt, certain perſons who were excellent at Vaulting and ſhewing feats of Activity. After them came in three pair of Wraſtlers, moſt naked, having nothing cover'd about them, but what nature would have to be ſo. Only two among them had Leathern drawers on, done over with Oyl, who diſcover'd a miraculous activity and ſtrength of Body. After theſe had ſhewn all could be expected from perſons of their quality, there were brought in two Rams, which run very furiouſly one at the other; as alſo two Birds, ſomewhat bigger than Parrots, which fought with great animoſity. After theſe, there came in, with the noiſe of Timbrels, eight Wolves of extraorginary bigneſs, faſten'd to long Ropes, which they let out five or ſix times one after another among the people, but drew them back ere they did any hurt. And at laſt came in a man cover'd with a thick Mattreſs, who went boldly to one of the Wolves, took him up by the Body, and carried him away. JULY *The Governour gives the Ambaſſadors a Divertiſement.*

The Prince *Polagi* would have given us the Divertiſement of his Elephant, which he ſent for to be brought thither; but he being then at Graſs, it was ſo long ere they could bring him, that the Ambaſſadors, who were already weary of a Divertiſement, which had laſted but too long, and found themſelves prejudic'd by the heat, went home to their Quarters. Some dayes afterwards, we had a ſight of that Elephant, at the Prince's Lodgings, and we were not a little aſtoniſh'd at his monſtrous bulk, which exceeded the height of any two men, as being indeed without compariſon much bigger than any of thoſe we afterwards ſaw at *Iſpahan*, where there was a great number of them. His leggs were bigger than any man about the waſte, and his ears came down along his head, half an ell in length, or better. He could do many tricks, and was govern'd by a little Boy, who by touching him in the fore-head with a little pole-axe, very ſharp at the point, guided him, and made him lye down and riſe up as he pleas'd. Whence may be corrected the Errour of the antients, who were of opinion, that the Elephant could not lye down, as having no joynts in his Legs, and that that natural defect was the occaſion of his taking, when coming to reſt himſelf againſt Trees half ſawn aſunder, his weight forc'd them down, and that falling with them, he was not able to riſe again. Thoſe, who have writteu of the affairs of the *Indies*, have given an accompt of the manner how they are taken, and therefore we ſhall forbear troubling the Reader with it here. *Elephant.* *An error of the Antients.*

The City of *Caſwin* hath, towards the South-South-weſt, the Mountain of *Elwend*, which is a branch of Mount *Taurus*, and the moſt conſiderable Mountain of any in *Perſia*, for its vaſt and noble quarries, out of which white Marble is gotten, whereof there is ſuch abundance, that there is enough to ſupply the whole Kingdome. The *Perſians* relate a pleaſant ſtory of a thing, which, were it true, would be very remarkable; but admitting it is not, we ſhall nevertheleſs inſert it here, as we have it from them, upon occaſion of this Mountain. *The Mountain of Elwend.*

They ſay then, that, heretofore, a certain King of *Perſia* named *Suhak Maran*, who was much pleas'd in taking journeys up and down, would needs once find out ſome means to have made in the open fields, ſome *Fauchas*, which is a kind of baked paſte, uſed by the *Perſians* inſtead of Napkins. The Devil, deſirous to make his advantage of this irregular deſire of the Kings, preſented himſelf to him in the ſhape of a man, made him an Oven, which a Camel might eaſily carry, and deſir'd of him no other reward, than that he might kiſs the King's ſhoulder. There was no difficulty made to grant him a thing of ſo little conſequence; but the Devil, inſtead of kiſſing the King's ſhoulder, apply'd his teeth thereto, takes away a piece of it, and immediately vaniſhes. Out of the wound, there came two Serpents, which were perpetually biting at the head and ears of that miſerable Prince, to get out his brains; and though they were often cut off, yet there immediately ſtarted up others in their room. The Devil, who had done all the miſchief, having diſguis'd himſelf like a *Hakim*, or Phyſician, went and made proffer of his ſervice at the Court, and preſcrib'd a remedy, which was as bad, if not worſe, than the evil it ſelf. He ſaid, that ſince thoſe Serpents were ſo deſirous to feed on the brains of a man, *A pleaſant ſtory.*

1637. a man, and that, as it should seem, it was their only sustenance, the best course were, every day, to kill two men, and to feed them with their brains. One of the chiefest Grandees about the Court, moved with compassion, to see daily so much innocent Blood spilt, and considering, that by the means of so many murthers, the number of the King's Subjects would be infinitely diminish'd, ordered that there should be two men brought to the Stake, as they were wont before, but that only one should be kill'd, and that with the mans brains, those of a Sheep, then also new kill'd, should be mixt, and that that should be the allowance of the Serpents. Which project took so successfully, that the said Lord perceiving, that the Serpents were not sensible thereof, he, at last, caus'd the two men to be convey'd out of the way, and made use only of sheeps brain. Among those who had most contributed to the nourishment of these Beasts, a Black-Smith, named *Churdek*, was one, by which means almost all his Children had been upon that accompt destroy'd; so that, of seventy six Sons, that he had had, only two were left. Growing desperate upon so great a loss, he represented to the other Inhabitants of the City, that it was impossible for them to endure that Tyranny long; that there was no likelyhood nature should have brought them all into the world, to be sacrifiz'd to the appetite of one particular man; that it were better to rid themselves of the Tyrant, and in regard the State could not be without a Governour, that it was his advice, they should bring in *Kechosrow ben Fridun*, who had been put out by *Suhak*, and was then Living, in the Deserts of the Mountain of *Elwend*. This Counsell was approv'd by the people, who desirous to have it put in Execution by the person who had given it, entrusted the Black-Smith with the management of that great enterprize, who, having fasten'd his Leathern apron to an Iron hook, led on the rest of the Malecontents, and seiz'd the Person of *Suhak*. They went afterwards to the Mountain of *Elwend*, where they found *Kechosrow* among the wild Beasts, and restor'd him to his Throne. The first request that *Kechosrow* made to the people was, that *Suhak* might not be put to death; which was granted, but they carried him to the Mountain of *Demawend*, which reaches from that of *Elwend*, towards *Teheran*, where they made him go into a Cave, and hung him up by the feet. They say, he is there Living to this day, and that the place of his punishment is known by a sulphureous stink that comes out of it. Whereto they add, that when a stone is cast into the Cave, there comes out a voice, which sayes *Tzira miseni mera?* that is, *Why dost thou fling stones at me*? They say also, that *Kechosrow* so regulated his expences, during the whole time of his Reign, that he gather'd vast Treasures together, and that he put it up in the Mountain *Bakru* in the Province of *Kilan*, hiding it so safely, by the means of a *Thelesmat* or *Talisman*, that, till there happen a Conjuncture of the same Stars, it will never be discover'd. They say the place is known, but that when any come near it, there arise certain winds, which not only blow out the lights, but also overturn the men who bring them.

But the truth of all this story, is, that there are many Sulphureous Mines in those Mountains, and that the winds, which reign there, are very natural, and ordinary, as well there as in several other Provinces of *Persia*; as we had observ'd before at *Ardebil*. Nor is it unlikely that there may be a mystical sense of this relation, and that the *Persians*, who are much addicted to teach their Morality under Fables, would, by this fabulous History, condemn those Princes, who, to satisfie their irregular passions, are apt to hear flatterers, who being ever guilty of wicked intentions, never give any good advice, and, to prevent the inconveniences arising thereby, apply remedies that are much more dangerous than the evil it self, and such as not only are destructive to the people, but also putting them into despair, animate them into rebellion against their Princes, who are, by that means, brought to great misfortunes.

The Ambassadors leave Caswin.

July 13. we left *Caswin*; the sick persons and the Baggage were sent away in the evening, the Ambassadors follow'd the same night. The next day, the 14. having travell'd through a Plain of three Leagues, we came to the Village of *Membre*, whereof all the Houses were cover'd like Vaults, so that looking on it at a distance, the whole Village seem'd to consist of so many Ovens. The Ambassador *Crusius*, the principal person of the Embassy, began, at this place, to complain of some indisposition: insomuch that, not being able any longer to ride on Horse-back, he was for some dayes following carried in a Litter. Our Minister was grown so weak, that, not able to endure the jolting of the Horse, he alighted ever and anon, and lay upon the ground, thinking by that means to get some ease. Monsieur *Mandelslo* was the only person, who had no touch of any sickness all along our Travels; whence it came, that he had the more convenience of observing all the particulars thereof; which he hath done with so much exactness, that his Notes might make a considerable Volume.

We travell'd that night seven Leagues, and were got the next day, being the 15. very betimes in the morning, to a fair Village, named *Arasseng*. We found there, in a Garden which was seated on the right side of a Torrent, good store of Pomegranates and Almonds, which were a great refreshment to us. In the evening, we prosecuted our travels, and got six Leagues further, over a very smooth Mountain, and Lodg'd the 16. in the morning, at a *Caravansera*, named *Choskeru*. It was all built of Free-stone, and had several Vaults and Chambers, dispos'd all about a spacious Court, in the midst whereof there was a Well, compass'd by an Iron-rail. Upon the

the Walls of several Rooms, were to be seen the names and devises of several persons of most Nations, who, it seems, had been desirous to leave there behind them some marks of their passage that way. We departed thence about four in the afternoon, and travell'd, that night, nine leagues. 1637.

The 17, we came betimes in the morning, in sight of *Saba*, but in regard the Sun was not yet up, we made a halt at some distance from the City, to give them time to come out and receive us.

The *Persians* put this City at 85 degrees Longitude, and 35 Latitude; but I found it at 34 degrees, 56 minutes. It is seated in a spacious Plain, within sight of the Mountain of *Elwende*, which may be discover'd thence, by reason of its height, which reaches in a manner to the Clouds. The ruins of the City of *Rhei* are under the same parallel with that of *Saba*, from which it is a good days journey distant, towards the East. The ground thereabouts is of a reddish colour, and brings forth neither grass nor fruit. *The situation of Saba.*

The cause of that barrenness they attribute to the Malediction, which was pronounc'd against it, upon the account of *Omar Saad*, who was one of the principal Military Commanders, in the time of *Hossein*. This *Omar*, who had, at first, profess'd friendship to *Hossein*, prov'd the only person who would serve *Jesid Peser* against him; upon this score, that *Hossein*, being of the blood of *Mahomet*, and having acquir'd a great reputation of Sanctity, not one Captain of *Medina* would take up Arms against him, but only this *Omar*, who engag'd in a war against him, upon promise, that there should be bestow'd on him the City of *Rhei*, with the Territories belonging thereto, which, long before, he had been very desirous of. But the death of *Hossein*, who was kill'd in that War, brought upon the Countrey, the Curse, which, according to their saying, is still visible there, in the colour and barrenness of the ground.

The City of *Saba* is of no great bigness, though it be numbred among those, which make a fair shew on the out-side, by reason of its Towers, and other publick structures. The Walls of it are but of earth, and its houses in a manner all destroy'd: but it hath, in requital, very fair Gardens, and rare and excellent Fruits, especially Pomegranates, and Almonds. Near the City, at the foot of the Mountain, there grows abundance of Cotton and Rice, which are the greatest Commodities they have to Trade in. We stay'd there only that one day, and departed thence in the evening, travelling the night following six Leagues or better, so that, the 18. by Sun-rising, we were got to a *Caravansera*, called *Schach Ferabath*. The heat was so excessive that day, that though we were all in our Drawers, yet could we not possibly avoid the inconveniences thereof. *Excellent fruits at Saba.*

We ordered our Tents to be pitch'd abroad, so to have the advantage of the coolness, and the wind, which came from the adjoyning Mountain; but, about noon, the Sun so heated the Wind it self, that the hot blasts which come out of an Oven could not be hotter; insomuch that we were forc'd to retire into the *Caravansera*, where the heat was somewhat more moderate. Nay, the ground it self, which, in those parts, is only Sand and Heath, was so hot, that a man could not go five or six steps, without burning his feet. About this time, both the Ambassadors were very sick: but their indisposition giving them alternately a little ease, the weaker of the two made use of the Litter, and the other rode on Horse-back. *Excessive heats.*

The 19. we travell'd five Leagues, and got in the morning before the City of *Kom*. The *Daruga* receiv'd us within five or six hundred paces of the City, accompany'd by fifty Gentlemen on Horse-back, and certain Tumblers, among whom there were some, who went upon Stilts before the Ambassador *Brugman*, whose chance it was that day to be alone on Horse-back, and shew'd a thousand tricks of activity, all the way to the Ambassadors Lodgings. As we pass'd through the Market-place, we found a great number of Timbrels, Hawboyes and Fifes, which made a kind of Musick after their way, and their Inhabitants had water'd the streets, which being not pav'd no more than those of *Caswin* and several other Cities of *Persia*, the dust had otherwise troubled and annoy'd us very much. *The City of Kom.*

The *Persians* place this City at 85 degrees, 40 minutes Longitude, and at 34 degrees, 45 minuts Latitude; but after I had made a more exact observation thereof, I found on the 20. of *July*, precisely at noon, that the Sun was 74 degrees, 8 minutes above the Horizon, and that the Declination, taken upon the same Meridian, was 18 degrees, 35 minutes; so that the elevation of the Pole, could be but 34 degrees 17 minutes. *Its situation.*

The City of *Kom* is very antient. *Ptolomy* calls it *Guriana*, and heretofore it was of a great extent, as may be seen by the ruins of its Walls, and other buildings, which are a great way without its present compass. *Is Ptolomy's Guriana.*

It lies in a Plain, on the right hand of the Mountain of *Elwend*, which is discover'd at a great distance by the whiteness of its Sand, and by the extraordinary height of its points. In this Mountain, there rises, from two several Springs, a little River, which making but one Chanel at the entrance of the City, runs through some part of it, and is one of the chiefest conveniences belonging thereto: but about three years before our Travels that way, the little River,

1637. over-flowing by reaſon of the Snow, which the precedent heat of the Spring had melted, broke down and carried away above a thouſand Houſes.

Its fruits. There are in the Gardens, whereof there is a great number, as well within as without the City, all ſorts of excellent fruits; among others, a kind of Melons, which they call *Scammame*, much about the bigneſs of an Orenge. There are upon the rind ſpots of ſeveral colours, and they have an admirable ſcent: but they are more luſhious in taſte than the other Melons, which in ſweetneſs exceed all thoſe I ever eat any where elſe.

Melons. There are alſo ſome of theſe Melons at *Ardebil*, where, by reaſon of their ſcent, they commonly carry them in their hands; but they told us, that they were brought from the Village of *Alaru*, where there grows abundance of them. The learned *Golius*, Profeſſor of the Oriental Languages in the Univerſity of *Leyden*, gives a large account of them in his *Arabick Lexicon*, pag. 1309. There is alſo in the ſame place a kind of Cowcumbers of extraordinary largeneſs, being above two foot long, and as thick as a mans Arm, which they call *Chunchiar* that is, crooked Cowcumbers, as having the form of a bended Arm.

Theſe the *Perſians* pickle with Vinegar, without any Salt, but the taſte of them is not very pleaſant, eſpecially to thoſe that are not accuſtomed thereto. The ground about theſe parts is very fit for Tillage, and produces all ſorts of Grain, as alſo Cotton in abundance: but the principal Trading of the Inhabitants conſiſts in earthen Pots, and Sword-blades. Thoſe blades which are made in this City are accounted the beſt in the whole Country, and are ſold ſometimes at twenty Crowns a piece. The Steel, of which they are made, comes from the City of *Niris*, within four days journey of *Iſpahan*, where there are found in the Mountain of *Demawend* very rich Mines of Iron and Steel. The Pots alſo made in the City of *Kom*, are very much eſteem'd, eſpecially the Steans, or great Pitchars; as well by reaſon of the excellency of the workmanſhip, as for this reaſon, that it is conceiv'd, they will keep water freſh and ſweet, even in the greateſt heats of Summer.

Its Traffick.

The Inhabitants inclin'd to theft. The Inhabitants of this City are ſomewhat light-finger'd, and apt to find any thing lies in their way. We had hardly alighted, but our Piſtols were taken away, and what was not lock'd up immediately vaniſh'd. In this City ſome of our people began to be troubled with bloody fluxes, occaſion'd by their exceſſive eating of Melons and other ſorts of fruits, and drinking water after fruit, and in the greateſt heats.

They leave Kom. *July* 21. we left *Kom*, an hour after Sun-ſet, and travell'd that night five Leagues. The next, the 22. We ſtay'd in a great Village, called *Kaſmabath*, where all the Houſes of one whole ſtreet were built ſo as that they made altogether but one continued Vault, or kind of Cloiſter.

The 23. we got ſeven Leagues, to the Village of *Senſen*, where we found abundance of Proviſions and fruits, which the *Mehemander* had appointed to be brought thither from *Katſchan*, a place five Leagues diſtant thence. In this Village died one of our Interpreters for the *Perſian* Language, whoſe name was *Gregory*. He was by birth a *Muſcovite*, but had been Circumciſed; upon which ſcore, we left the body to thoſe of his own Religion, to be buried after their manner.

The 23. in the evening we departed thence, and the night following, we loſt a *Muſcovian* ſervant, who dy'd of the bloody Flux by the way. We kept the Body to have it buried at *Katſchan*, with that of another *Muſcovian* Servant, who died two hours after the former.

Come to Katſchan. We got thither the 24. but ſo betimes in the morning, that we were forc'd to ſtay above two hours, before the *Daruga* could come to meet us, in order to our reception. He was accompany'd by fifty Gentlemen on Horſ back, and had appointed to be led ſeveral excellent Horſes cover'd with Lynxes skins; nor was the ordinary Muſick of the Countrey wanting. At the entrance of the City, he ſhew'd us two *Indian* Oxen, very black, and of great height and bulk, which had Bells about their necks, and Plumes of Feathers in their heads, and at their Cruppers. This *Daruga* had ſome time been a Foot-man to *Schach-Seſi*, when being very young, they were forc'd to hide him from his Grand-father *Schach-Abbas*; and *Schach-Seſi* having no money to live upon, ſold the Foot-man for fifteen *Tumains*, which amount to ſeventy five French Piſtols. But coming afterwards to the Crown, he caus'd him immediately to be redeem'd, and, with the quality of *Sulthan*, beſtow'd on him the Government of *Katſchan*.

The Daruga's advancement

The ſituation of Katſchan. The *Perſians* put this City of *Katſchan* at 84 degrees longitude, and at thirty four diſtant from the Line. After an exact Obſervation of three days, I found that it is diſtant from it thirty three degrees and 51 minutes, that is, nine minutes leſs. The City is of a great length, reaching from Eaſt to Weſt, above half a *German* League. Its Walls and Baſtions are of a kind of Potters clay, and it lies in a great Plain, the ground of which is good enough for Tillage, and there may be diſcover'd from it, on the right hand Mount *Taurus*, which the *Perſians* call *Elwend*. As you come to the City, you paſs through a place appointed for tilting and running at the Ring, which hath on both ſides ſeveral Pillars, and in the midſt, a high Pole for ſhooting at the wooden Parrat. On the left hand of that place or Carriere, you leave the

Its bigneſs

King's

King's Garden, wherein there is one Summer-houſe, ſtanding in the midſt of it, and another near it upon the High-way. We were told that the former hath a thouſand Doors belonging to it, comprehending in that number the Windows, through which they paſs into the Galleries and Balconies. It is to be obſerv'd withall, that there is no Door but hath its Counter-door, in regard the Wall being above two foot thick, there is a Door on each ſide of it: ſo that the number is not ſo great, as it ſeems to be at firſt. In this Houſe, the King is Lodg'd, when he comes to *Katſchan*. 1637. *A Houſe with a 1000. Doors.*

The City, is no doubt, one of the moſt populous and moſt eminent for Trading of any in *Perſia*, and the beſt Built of any we were yet come to, whether in regard of its private Houſes, or its Palaces and *Caravanſera's*: but the *Baſar* and *Maidan*, and the other publick ſtructures, which have all their Store-houſes, Galleries, and Rooms for the Merchants, as well ſuch as live within the Kingdom, as Foreiners, are the nobleſt I met with in all my Travells into thoſe parts. There is, in this City, at all times, a great number of forein Merchants, and above all, *Indians*, who are aſſigned there a particular place for their Habitation and Traffick; as are alſo all the other Merchants. Tradeſmen, eſpecially ſuch as make Silk-ſtuffs, and Weavers of Gold and Silver Brocadoes, work in open places, where all the World may ſee them.

The Valleys are very fruitfull in Wheat, Wine and Fruits, which grow in ſuch abundance there, that I find no difficulty to acknowledge, what *Cartwright* ſayes of theſe parts, to wit, that the pooreſt, and moſt indigent of the Inhabitants, have not only what is requiſite for their ſubſiſtence, but alſo ſomewhat of delicacy, and that what they moſt ſtand in need of is freſh water. For there is not any to be had without digging very deep into the Earth, and what there was ſo got we thought very diſtaſtfull to the Palat, and ſo corrupt, that had there not been an extraordinary neceſſity, we ſhould have been much troubled to ſwallow it. I muſt withall confeſs, that I could not obſerve that excellent order and commendable policy, which *Cartwright* ſayes he had ſeen there in the Inſtitution of Youth, nor that they are more carefull there than in other places, to accuſtom it timely to pains-taking, ſo to avoid idleneſs, and the inconveniences conſequent thereto. True it is, that the great number of Children, which are ordinarily to be found there in Families, which by reaſon of Polygamy are very numerous, obliges the Parents to be the more carefull for their ſubſiſtence; but the *Perſians*, for the moſt part are ſo little inclin'd to pains-taking, that, commonly, you ſhall either ſee them walking in the *Maidan*, or diſcourſing in the Shops, while they leave moſt of their work to be done by their ſlaves. Which happens hence, that being themſelves very temperate, and content with little, and on the other ſide, Proviſions being very cheap, they conceive they ought not to take much pains for what is ſuperfluous, and thoſe things whereof there is no great neceſſity. So that there are even in theſe parts idle Perſons, and Beggers, as well as in other places.

What the ſame *Cartwright* ſayes concerning the Scorpions, and other venemous Creatures, is very true. For of theſe, there are, about *Katſchan*, more than at any other place of *Perſia*, and ſuch as are ſo dangerous, that they have occaſion'd that Malediction, *Akrab-Kaſchan be deſtet ſenet: may the Scorpion of Kaſchan pinch thee by the hand.* We found ſome of them in our Lodging, as black as cole, about the length and compaſs of a man's finger, and we were told, that theſe were the moſt dangerous of any ſort of them. *Venemous Creatures.*

They are ſomewhat like our Crabs or Creviſſes, ſave that their Bodies are ſhorter, they go faſter, and they have their tails alwayes ſticking up. Whence it comes that the Inhabitants never lay their Mattreſſes, or Beds, upon the ground, as they do in other places; but they ſet them upon a kind of Trevets, or Frames, which they call *Tzarpay*. They affirm alſo, that theſe Beaſts have a certain reſpect for ſtrangers, and that to prevent their ſtinging, they are only to pronounce theſe words, *Men karibem*, I am a ſtranger. But for my part, I am of opinion, that ſtrangers, who ſtand more in fear of them than the Inhabitants, are only the more oblig'd to themſelves for the care they have of their own ſafety; though I never could hear, that thoſe who are ſtung by them dye of it. For they have a preſent and eaſie remedy againſt this kind of poiſon, by applying a piece of Copper to the place affected; for which Cure they ordinarily make uſe of that Money, which they call *Pul*, and thence it comes, that they carry ſome of it alwayes about them; and having left that piece, for the ſpace of 24. hours upon the part ſtung, they take it off, and put on the Wound a Plaiſter made of Honey and Vineger. *A remedy againſt Scorpions.*

It was my misfortune to be the only man of all our retinue that had occaſion to make triall how venemous this Creature is. For lying down upon my Bed at *Scamachie*, in our return from *Iſpahan*, a Scorpion ſtung me in the throat, where it made immediately a ſwelling about the length of my finger, which was attended with inſupportable pain. As good fortune would have it, our Phyſician, who lay in the ſame Chamber, immediately apply'd thereto the Oyl of Scorpion, gave me ſome Treacle, and put me into a ſweat: which deliver'd me from the greateſt of my pains at the end of three hours, but I had ſtill ſome pain for the two dayes following, but by intervals, and it was as if I had been prick'd with a Needle: nay indeed for many years *The Author ſtung by a Scorpion.*

1637. afterwards I have been troubled with the same pains at certain times, especially in *Autumn*, much about the Sun's entrance into *Scorpio*.

Another venemous insect. There is also in these parts another sort of insect of a making much like a Spider, about two inches in compass, and mark'd with several spots. This insect is commonly found lodg'd in stony places, under a kind of Herb, which the *Persians* call *Tremne*, and the *Turks*, *Fauchschan*, which is like Worm-wood, or *Absynthium*, but the leaves are much larger, and the smell much stronger. The *Persians* call this insect *Enkurek*; and it is that animal which, in Latin, is called *Stellio*, and a kind of insect, which the *Italians* and *Spaniards* call *Tarantola*. This Creature, *Its venom, and the effect of it.* instead of stinging or biting, lets fall its venom like a drop of water, which immediately causes insufferable pain in the part where it fastens, and suddenly making its way to the Stomack, sends up Vapours into the Head, and these put all the Members of the sick party into such a profound sleep, that it is impossible to awake him, save by this only remedy, which is, to *The remedy.* crush one of these Creatures upon the wound; out of which all the venom is by that means drawn out.

But if there cannot any of the same Creature be found; there is another remedy may be used. The sick person is laid upon his back, that he may swallow down as much Milk as may be. Then he is put upon a thing made like a bier, which, by cords fasten'd to the four corners, is hung up to a beam, and having turn'd the bier about, till the cords are all twisted, they let it go of a sudden, that the cords coming to untwist by a violent Motion, may make his head turn, and force out of his stomack all the Milk he had swallow'd. It comes from him all Greenish, as is also the cruds which come forth at his yard, but with great violence and extreme pain. This remedy does in some measure Cure the sick person; yet so as that it hinders not, but that, at certain times, especially at the same season of the year, he must expect to feel much pain. This Creature is to be found only in the Country, so that those who live in Cities fear it not, *Sheep eat these insects.* there being none there, unless they are, through negligence, brought in the stubble, wherewith they cover their Houses. But what's most to be admir'd in this animal, is, that the Sheep seek after it, and feed on it.

The Fable of Schutza Adin. The Inhabitants of *Katschan* relate, that *Omar ben Alchitabi*, the third Successor of *Mahomet*, being very desirous, one day, to go and see his Mill at *Medina*, the Miller, whose name was *Schutza Adin*, intreated him to bless his Labour, and his Mill, by putting both his hands under one of the Mill-stones which was rais'd up; which *Omar* having done, the Miller let it fall and set the Mill a going, by which means having crush'd his hands to pieces, he afterwards kill'd him. Whereupon going to *Aly*, who by that Death was to succeed in the Empire, he desir'd a reward for the Murther he had committed. *Aly* gave him a Letter directed to the *Casi* of *Kaschan*, ordering the *Casi* to give him his Daughter in Marriage. The Miller, though well satisfy'd with the recompence, yet thought it too much to take so great a Journey a-foot; so that *Aly*, to make a further acknowledgement of the service he had done him, lent him his Horse *Duldul*, which carried him in one night from *Medina* to *Kaschan*, which places are above two hundred Leagues distant, and immediately vanish'd. The Miller Married the *Casi*'s Daughter, but died soon after, and was buried without the City, at a place where now there are several banks of Sand, which the story sayes, were brought thither by the Wind, since the Millar's Death; lest the Friends and Kinred of *Omar* should take him up to be burnt. *Molla Hassan Kaschi*, who hath left this story in Writing, hath made a Proverb of it, which, with several other spiritual adages, he hath inserted into the *Kullusthan*, where he sayes, *Men besamen, ohn schahemsia, Kickscheh dulduleseh es Medine Ajcabani bekaschan aured:* that is, *I serve the King of Kings, whose* (Horse) *Duldul, in one night, carried the Miller from Medina to Kaschan.* *Tzurzei Elmakin*, or *George Elmacini*, another *Arabian* Historian sayes, lib. 1. ch. 3. of his *History*, that *Omar* was kill'd, as he was saying his Prayers, by *Abululu*, the servant of *Mukir*, who hated him for his Tyranny.

Hassan Kaschi *an* Arabian *Author.* Elmacini *another* Arabian *Author.*

The Ambassadors leave Caschan. The heats were indeed excessive at *Kaschan*; however, that the sick persons might not be put too hard to it, we continued there for some dayes, and departed not thence till the 26. of *July*, as soon as the Moon was up, which was then at the full. That Night we travell'd six Leagues and came the next morning to *Caravansera*, called *Chotza Kassim*: but in regard it was very narrow, and withall very nasty, we lodg'd our selves in a Garden not far from it, in the shade of abundance of Cypress Trees and Pomegranate-Trees, upon the side of a pleasant Rivulet, which, making a gentle murmuring noise, contributed much to the repose, which, after the precedent night's Travel, was but necessary to us. In the Evening, we continu'd our Journey, and travell'd that night six Leagues or better, through Deserts and Barren grounds, and came, the 28. about four in the morning, to a little City, called by the Inhabitants of the Country *Natens*, and by *Contarini*, in his Travels, *Nethas*. We took up our lodging in a *Caravansera*, within the City, which is handsome enough, furnish'd with several Springs of fresh water, and well stor'd with all sorts of Fruits. As you come into the City, you leave on the right hand two very high and picked Mountains, one whereof hath on the top of it a great Tower, built by *Schach Abas*, in memory of the advantage, which one of his Falcons had in that place

Come to Natens.

over

over an Eagle, which he set upon, overcame, and kill'd, after a very sharp engagement. All of our Retinue being either sick or overcome with weariness, only Monsieur *Mandelslo* had the curiosity to get up the said Mountain with his two servants, and to take a view of that structure. He found it built of Brick, and that towards the foundation it was in an Octogonal form, being about eight paces Diameter; but that as it went higher and higher, it by degrees lost that form and bigness, and that above, near the top, it had so many windows, that the light came in of all sides. The greatest Miracle of all is, how they could carry so many materials up to so high a place, to get to which, that Gentleman had spent above three hours, and at least as much to get down again, with great pains and hazard. 1637.

The 29. we got four Leagues further, passing over a great Mountain, and lodg'd in a *Caravansera*, called *Dombi*, whither some of the Inhabitants of *Ispahan* came to visit us, as they said, from the Chancellor. There came thither also certain *Dutch* Merchants, cloath'd in *Persian* habits; but they made no discovery of themselves. *Continue their journey.*

The night between the last of *July* and the first of *August*, we travell'd four leagues further, and came the next day to a Village called *Kuk*. We were lodg'd in the house of the *Kaucha*, or Judge of the place, where we continu'd all that day, and the night following. AUG.

August 2. we departed thence two hours before day, the Moon shining bright, and got but two leagues further, to one of the Kings houses, where we took up our quarters in a very fair Garden, which was our last nights Lodging in our passage to the City of *Ispahan*. For, very betimes the next morning being the third of *August*, horses were sent us, to make our entrance into the Metropolis of the Kingdom. Within a quarter of a League of the City, we found one of the principal Officers of the Court, named *Isachan-beg*, in the head of 200 horse, and some paces thence, two great *Armenian* Lords, named *Sefaras-beg*, and *Elias-beg*, who conducted the Ambassadors to their Lodgings. The dust, which the horse, and the people who came to meet us, had rais'd, was so thick, that we were got to the Gates, before we imagin'd we could have seen the City. Not only the streets and windows were full of people, who out of curiosity were come to see our entrance into the City, but also the tops of the houses were covered with them.

We were conducted through several streets, through the *Maidan*, and before the Kings Palace, to that part of the Suburbs which is called *Tzulifa*, where we were lodg'd in the Quarter of the chiefest of the *Armenian* Merchants, who are *Christians*, and have their habitations there. We had hardly alighted, ere there were brought us from the King's Kitchin the ordinary Presents of Provisions, for our welcome thither. They laid upon the floor of the Ambassadors Room a fine silk Cloath, on which were set one and thirty Dishes of Silver, fill'd with several sorts of Conserves, dry and liquid, and raw fruits, as Melons, Citrons, Quinces, Pears, and some others, not known in *Europe*. Some time after, that Cloath was taken away, that another might be laid in the room of it; and upon this was set Rice of all sorts of colours, and all sorts of Meat, boyl'd and roasted, to wit, Mutton, tame Fowl, Fish, Eggs, and Pyes, in above fifty Dishes of the same metal, besides the Sallet-dishes, great Porrengers, and other lesser Vessels. Presently after Dinner, the Commissary or Factor for the *Dutch* Commerce, whose name was *Nicholas Jacobs Overschle*, who was afterwards Governour of *Zeilan*, for the *East-India* Company, came to visit the Ambassadors, who being then looking upon the unlading of the Baggage (though that should have been the employment of their Steward or some other Officer) would have wav'd the visit upon that pretence. But the *Dutchman* would not be put off his visit, wherein he ingenuously acknowledg'd, that he had received Orders from his Superiours to oppose our Negotiation; but that nevertheless, as to what concern'd the Ambassadors themselves, he should do them all the civilities they could expect from him. He seem'd desirous to drink, and we had the Complyance to give him his load ere he went away. *Are lodg'd among the Armenians.* *Are visited by the Dutch Factor.*

The joy we conceiv'd at our having, at last, arriv'd to a place, where we hoped to put a period to our Negotiation, was soon disturbed by a most unhappy accident, and the Divertisements intended us, were within a few days after our coming thither, changed into a bloudy Contestation with the *Indians*, occasion'd by the insolence of one of the Domesticks belonging to the *Mogul*'s Ambassador, who was Lodg'd not far from our Quarters, with a Retinue of three hundred persons, most of them *Usbeques*. One of their Domesticks standing by, and looking on our people unloading and putting up the Baggage, our *Mehemanders* servant, named *Willichan*, said to him jesting, that it would speak more good nature in him, to come and help them, than to stand as he did with his Arms a-cross; whereto the other making answer somewhat too snappishly, as he conceiv'd, the *Persian* struck him over the pate with his Cane. The *Indian* incens'd at the affront, ran to some of his Camerades, who were lying hard by under the shade of a Tree, and made his complaints to them of the injury he had receiv'd; upon which they all got up, and fell upon *Willichan*, whom they wounded in the head with stones. *A quarrel with the Indian Ambassadors Domesticks.*

Our

1637. Our Domeſticks perceiving this tumult, brought our Steward notice of it, who taking along with him five or ſix Soldiers, and ſome others of our ſervants, charg'd the *Indians* (whoſe number was augmented to near thirty) ſo home, that they mortally wounded one, and purſu'd the reſt to their Quarters: but what moſt troubled the *Indians*, was, that, in this engagement, they had loſt a Sword and a Poniard, whereto a little Purſe was faſten'd, in which there was ſome ſmall money, which our People brought home as a ſign of their Victory. The *Induſthans*, at that time, thought it enough to threaten how highly they ſhould reſent that affront, and that they ſhould take occaſion to revenge their Camerade. Nor indeed were they unmindful of their threats; for the Ambaſſadors having reſolv'd to change their Lodgings, by reaſon of the great inconvenience it was to them, that their Domeſticks were ſcatter'd up and down the Suburbs, and quarter'd at a great diſtance from them, and having appointed the ſeventh of *Auguſt* for their removal, the *Indians* took their advantage of that occaſion, to be ſatisfy'd for the affront they imagin'd they had received.

We had ſent before a Lacquey belonging to our Steward, and ſome of our Seamen with part of the Baggage, to be, by them, conducted to the Lodgings we had taken up, which were within the City, a quarter of a League or better diſtant from the former. Certain *Indians* who were lying under Tents to keep their Maſter's Horſes, which were then feeding between the City and Suburbs, knew him, as having ſeen him in the former engagement, ſet upon him, and, though he gallantly defended himſelf with his Sword and Piſtol, at laſt kill'd him with their Arrows; which done, they cut off his head, toſs'd it up and down in the Air, and bound his body to his Horſe-tayl; which dragg'd it to a certain place, where the Dogs devour'd it. The news brought us of this Murther was enough to aſſure us, that the *Induſthans* would not think that revenge enough, but that they were reſolv'd to ſet upon us with all their forces. Whereupon the Ambaſſadors ſent out Orders, that all of their Retinue ſhould ſtand upon their Guard, and come with all expedition to their Lodgings. But, before this Order could be put in Execution, the *Indians* had already poſſeſs'd themſelves of all the Avenues of their Quarters, which they had in a manner block'd up: in ſo much that none could get in, without running the hazard of being kill'd. However, reflecting on the imminent and inevitable danger it was to lie ſcatter'd up and down in ſeveral quarters, moſt of the Domeſticks thought it their ſafeſt courſe, though with ſome danger, to make their way to the Houſe where the Ambaſſadors were, which was in the corner of a narrow ſtreet. Moſt of them eſcap'd the fury of the *Indians*, but ſome were mortally wounded, and I my ſelf came very near it, for I was no ſooner got within the door, but an Arrow came grazing through my hair, and was ſhot into one of the Poſts. All their Arrows were made of Canes, having a ſharp and cutting piece of Iron at the end, and ſo light, that the leaſt ſtrength ſent them away with incredible ſwiftneſs, and they pierc'd where they lighted, as dangerouſly as a Bullet from a Fire-lock. Which is the more to be obſerv'd, in oppoſition to that paſſage of *Quintus Curtius*, where he ſayes in the eighth book of his Hiſtory, *Binum cubitorum ſunt ſagittæ (Indis) quas emittunt majore niſu quam effectu; quippe telum, cujus in levitate vis omnis eſt, inhabili pondere oneratur.* But beſides theſe Arms, they had alſo Muskets, and Arquebuſes, according to the *Perſian* way, which are of a very ſmall bore, wherewith they ſhot very exactly.

Our Lieutenants did all that could be expected from perſons of courage and conduct, ſetting their Soldiers in Order at the Door of the Ambaſſadors Lodgings, and cauſing ſeveral Volleys of Musket-ſhot to be diſcharg'd at the *Indians*. But the *Indians* made their advantage of a Wall, which ſerv'd them for a Parapet; and they had made ſeveral holes in it, that they might ſhoot with leſs danger to themſelves, and more annoyance to us. On the contrary, our people, inſtead of following their example (whom ſome would have accounted *Barbarians*, but who will not be found ſuch) and making their advantage of the Cheſts, and the Baggage, which were in the ſtreet, had no other Parapet, than their own Breaſts, which were expos'd to all their Volleys. One of our Canoneers, as he was going to level a ſmall Piece at the *Indians*, was kill'd.

Sergeant *Morrhoy*, a *Scotchman*, ſeeing the Canoneer fall at his feet, took up his Musket, and ſet himſelf in a poſture of revenging his Camerades death. He was ſo fortunate as to kill five or ſix *Indians*, but at laſt an Arrow takes him juſt in the breaſt, which, not at all troubled at, he pluck'd it out, and, having charg'd his Musket once more, kill'd another man, and then fell down dead upon the place,

The *Armenians* living thereabouts, who were Spectators of this engagement, could help us no otherwiſe than with their tears, whereby they expreſs'd the affliction it was to them to ſee the death of ſo many poor *Chriſtians*. At laſt, the number of the *Indians* increaſing ſtill, the Muskets play'd ſo faſt, that the Ambaſſadors were forc'd to command their people to come into the houſe, and, remaining in the Court, to keep the *Indians* from getting into the houſe. But they making their advantage of our retreat, fell upon the Baggage, and ranſack'd it, and not content with that, they forc'd their way into the next houſe to us, and becauſe the Maſter of it would have kept them from coming in, they cut off one of his hands, and afterwards kill'd him.

him. By which means getting up to the top of it, they could look into our Court, and so forc'd our people to abandon it. Some of ours got up to the top of our house, and making their advantage of the Parapet, no *Indian* appear'd but they shot at him, and no shot but did execution. M. *Mandelslo*, who had an excellent faculty in the handling of Fire-arms, kill'd the Leader of the *Indian* party with a Pistol-shot. His death made them all fury, insomuch that they got out of the place where they were, with a design to force our Gates: which resolution of theirs oblig'd the Ambassadors to think of some retreat, and to break down the Walls of the adjoyning houses, where the *Armenians*, who lived in them, joyfully receiv'd us, and brought us Ladders to get down into a fair Garden. We all got down into it, but the pleasantness of the place, took us no more than a delicious Dish of Meat would do a Malefactor, that were going to his execution, in regard we expected death there every moment. 1637.

The Indian Leader kill'd.

While we were thus out of all hope of escape, one of the Marshals of the Court came to us from the King, to bring us news of a Peace. He was come some time before, with the same orders, but the heat of the engagement had hindred us, as well as the *Indians* from hearing what message he brought: for, the Inhabitants of *Ispahan*, perceiving the noise increased, and fearing a greater disorder, which might be of dangerous consequence among a people who had never seen any thing of that nature, the King sent thither a hundred Souldiers well arm'd, in the Head of a good number of the Inhabitants, but as soon as the *Indians* perceiv'd that Body coming towards them, they dispers'd themselves. We were told, that the King hearing of the Murther, which was the Prologue to all this Tragedy, and withall that the *Indian* Ambassador had Conniv'd thereat, had Commanded his Head to be brought him; but that the Chancellor had moderated that fally of his Passion, by representing to him, that both the Ambassadors were Strangers, and his Guests, and that it belong'd to their Masters, and not to him, to punish them.

The King interposes his Authority.

This peace brought us also the liberty to go into the Streets, where we found our Chests broke open, and all the Baggage plunder'd, unless it were certain Sawcidges, Neats-Tongues, and Gammons of Bacon, which the *Indians*, as being *Mahumetanes*, had thrown by. Our loss upon this occasion amounted to above four thousand Crowns. The King demanded a particular of it, and would have defray'd us; but that kindness of his had not its effect, for reasons but too well known to all the the Retinue.

In the fore-said engagement, which lasted above four hours, we lost five men, and had ten wounded. The *Indians*, according to the Informations we receiv'd from the *Persians*, lost therein about four and twenty men, and had many more hurt: but the *Indian* Ambassador had, some few dayes after, orders sent him to be gone. This was the most unhappy accident we met with in all our Travells: for, after we had escap'd all the dangers, which we might well have fallen into by the way, and the injuries might have been done us by the most Cruel and Barbarous people, through whose Territories we pass'd, this sad accident happen'd to us in the chief City of the Kingdome, where we thought to find rest after all the hardships we had endured.

The Indian Ambassador dismiss'd.

As to this *Indian* Ambassador, he was a *Myrsa*, or *Indian* Prince, and had been sent to the Court of *Persia*, by *Choramscha*, King of the *Indies*, whom they call the *Great Mogul*, and not, as he is commonly called, *Mogor*. He had a very noble Retinue, and was ordinarily carried in a Litter, according to the *Indian* making, more fit to lye down in, than to sit, which was carried by several Slaves, it being hang'd at a great Iron-barr made crooked in the middle. The King of *Persia*, who knew on what occasion he was sent Ambassador to him, made him stay three whole years, before he gave him audience, ordering him in the mean time to be magnificently treated, insomuch that some few dayes before our arrival, the King had sent him, besides many before, a Present of three thousand *Tumains*, which amount to fifty thousand Crowns; the Ambassador himself, it seems, defraying the expence of his House-keeping.

His aboad at Ispahan

The Ambassador, on the othe other side, demean'd himself suitably to this magnificence; for he spent the three first dayes after his audience in bestowing the Presents he had brought along with him. Those he made the first day, were in the name of the *Great Mogul*: those made the second, in the name of the Prince his Son; what he did, the third, was upon his own accompt. We were credibly inform'd, that the Presents made by him amounted to above a hundred thousand Crowns. His business was, to intreat the King of *Persia*, to put into his hands the *Myrsa Polagi*, Prince of the Blood, and Nephew to the *Mogul*, who had been forc'd to retire into *Persia* to save his Life, which he was in danger to lose, as he had done his Kingdome. The King excus'd himself, and generously made answer, that it were a breach of the Laws of Hospitality, to deliver up a Prince, who, out of an assurance of his friendship, had taken refuge in his Kingdome; that he was oblig'd in honour to treat him as a Friend, and a Guest, and to give him entertainment as long as he should think fit to stay in his Countrey.

His presents.

The occasion of the Embassy.

This was all the Answer the Ambassador could get, in relation to the Embassy; but that he might be assur'd, they had no great kindness for himself in particular, secret orders were sent

He departs.

to

1637. to *Haſſan-Chan* Governour of *Herath*, which is the moſt conſiderable of any place towards the Frontiers of the *Indies*, that he ſhould ſtop, in their paſſage, four or five hundred Horſes, which the Ambaſſador had bought, and ſent away by ſmall parties, that, at his coming, he might find them ready upon the Frontiers: for the *Indian* Horſes are ſmall and ill-ſhap'd, whence it comes, that the *Indians* are ſo deſirous to have ſome of the *Perſian* breed. The Ambaſſador ſtorm'd, alleg'd his quality, and urg'd it as an affront done his Maſter in his perſon, and, that the King of *Perſia*, who knew he had bought them, and had permitted him to do ſo, was, no doubt, willing he ſhould take them along with him. But *Haſſan-Chan* made anſwer, that he was King in his own Province, that if he did ought prejudicial to the King's ſervice, his Life ſhould anſwer for it, and that he would not ſuffer any Horſes to go out of the Country, it being to be fear'd they might afterwards be brought to ſerve in the Warrs againſt his Majeſty, to whom he was to give a ſtrict accompt of all his actions. So that the Ambaſſador was forc'd to leave the Horſes behind him, and to ſell them at ſuch rates as the *Perſians* would give him for them. As for the *Indians* in general, they are good Natur'd, Civil, Friendly, and their Converſation not unpleaſant, provided they be not injur'd; but ſo apt to reſent any thing of affront, that they are never ſatisfy'd without their Blood, by whom they are offended, We know it otherwiſe than by hear-ſay.

The next day after this unhappy engagement, to wit, the 8. of *Auguſt*, we chang'd our Lodgings, and, to prevent any diſorder that might happen, eſpecially upon the accompt of the *Indians*, the King caus'd prohibitions to be made, that not only any of the Ambaſſadors Retinue, but alſo, of the other *Indians*, nay even the Merchants of that Nation, whereof there are above twelve thouſand in *Iſpahan*, ſhould, upon pain of Death, be ſeen in the ſtreets, till we were gotten within the City. And that we might be the more ſecure, we found attending near our Lodgings, ſome of the Guard, who went along with us to our new Quarters, which we were permitted to fortifie at the weakeſt places, againſt any attempt might be made by the *Indians*, who might eaſily and with advantage have aſſaulted us in our Quarters, by reaſon it was of a vaſt extent, they having openly threatned to do it.

The Ambaſſadors change their quarters.

The Structure comprehended four great Courts, through two whereof there ran a Rivulet twenty five foot in breadth, planted on both ſides with that delightfull Tree called *Tzinnar*, which made two very pleaſant walks. The ſame Rivulet ran through ſome of the Halls and Galleries, and went under ground, under the main part of the Lodging; which was deſign'd for the appartment of the Ambaſſadors. There was in the midſt of it, and below, a ſpacious Hall, built eight ſquare, with a fair Fountain, and at every ſide of the Octagone a Door, which led into ſeveral Chambers. The firſt Story had the ſame appartments, but this over and above, that the Windows ſerv'd for Doors, ſome whereof led into Galleries and Balconies that look'd into the Garden, ſome towards the Hall; ſo that a man might, out of any Chamber, ſee what was done in the Hall. In the midſt of the Hall, there was a Fountain, the Baſin whereof was of Freeſtone.

The King treats them ſtill.

During our aboad at *Iſpahan*, we were ſupply'd with all things upon the King's accompt, being allow'd, every day, ſixteen Sheep, a hundred of all ſorts of tame Fowl, two hundred Eggs, and a hundred *Batmans* of Wine, with Fruit and ſpice in ſuch abundance, that we might have made very good Cheer, had it not been for their ill management thereof, who had the diſpoſal of them, and who ſquander'd away the Proviſions, not only by Connivence, but alſo by the expreſs order of one of the Ambaſſadors, I mean him of *Hamborough*, who ſent them to the *Armenians*, and, many times, to common proſtitutes. Whence it came, that ſome times our people made but one meal a day, nay ſome dayes, the ſervants and others had no cloath laid at all.

Aug. 10. the Ambaſſadors ſent ſome of the Retinue to *Alexis Savinouits*, Ambaſſador from the Duke of *Muſcovy*, to treat with him concerning their common affairs; and in regard the *Perſians* were not well pleas'd to ſee us in our own Cloaths, we put our ſelves into the *Muſcovian* faſhion, as coming ſomewhat nearer their mode. About this time, dyed ſome of our people, who had been Wounded, in the Engagement with the *Indians*, and, among others, one of our Guard, who had been hurt in the knee, with a poiſoned Arrow. Our *Harbinger* died alſo the ſame day, but it was of a Bloody-flux, which took him after he had been ſufficiently ſhaken by a *Tertian* Ague, and diſpatch'd him in a few dayes. We buried them both in the Church-yard of the *Armenians*, in that part of the Suburbs, which is called *Tzulfa*.

They go into Muſcovian habits

Auguſt the 16. the Ambaſſadors had their firſt audience of the King, who ſent them word, that they ſhould alſo have the honour to dine with him, and to that end, ſent them forty gallant Horſes out of his own Stables, the Saddles and Harneſſes whereof were adorn'd with great plates of Gold.

Their firſt audience.

The Preſents made in the Prince's name.

The Ambaſſadors made uſe only of two, and alſo ordered the Gentlemen and the principal Officers to ride on Horſe-back, but the reſt went a-foot, in the following order.

Firſt, march'd three men or Horſe-back, two whereof were in compleat arms, having Flowers

Flowers, and other Workmanſhip of Gold. The third was arm'd only as a Horſe-man, with Back, Breaſt, and Pot, yet all very rich. 1637.

After him march'd forty Perſons, having every one a Caſe of Piſtols, the beſt that could be had in the Low Countries, with their Holſters, the laps whereof were Embroider'd.

Next, four men, carrying two rich Cymitars, the ſheaths whereof were of yellow Amber, garniſh'd with Gold, in very rich Caſes.

Next, two men, with Walking ſtaves, done about with Amber, which the *Perſians* eſteem above Gold, in very rich Caſes.

Four men, carrying ſo many great Candleſticks of Amber.

Two others, carrying a Cabinet of white and yellow Amber.

Four others, carrying a Cabinet of Ebony, garniſh'd with Silver, having within it, in Golden Boxes, ſeveral Druggs, Eſſences and Magiſteries, and the coverings thereof beſet with fine ſtones, which ſignify'd what Magiſtery there was in every Box.

The Ambaſſadors Preſents.

And whereas it is the cuſtom of the Country, that Ambaſſadors are oblig'd to make ſome Preſents from themſelves, and upon their own accompt, the Ambaſſador *Cruſius* ſent in an Arquebuſs, the ſtock whereof was of Ebony, which cock'd it ſelf by letting down the Cock; A veſſel of Rock Chryſtal, done about with Gold, and beſet with Rubies and Turqueſes; a Cabinet of Amber, and a ſmall ſtriking Clock. The Ambaſſador *Brugman* preſented the King with a gilt braſs Candleſtick, that had thirty branches, having a ſtriking Watch within the body of it; a pair of gilt Piſtols, in very rich Holſters; a very fair Hour-glaſs; a Watch in a Topaze caſe; a Bracelet of Diamonds and Rubies; and, a Writing, whereby were preſented the two pieces of Canon, which we had left at *Ardebil*.

The Perſians obſerve no Order in their Ceremonies.

Every one had his place aſſign'd him, to the end that all things might be preſented to the King with the obſervance of ſome Order; but the *Perſians* never obſerve it in any Ceremony: inſomuch, that they were no ſooner got into the ſtreet, but they were all in diſorder, and march'd with ſuch confuſion, that the Ambaſſadors Retinue could not make the Proceſſion they expected.

Firſt, there ſhould have march'd three Serge ants with Halberds, in the Head of fifteen Musketiers. After them the Maſhal, or Steward, alone, in the Head of the Gentlemen, who march'd three a breaſt. Then, three Trumpeters, with ſilver Trumpets, and after them march'd the Guards, four a-breaſt, immediately before the Ambaſſadors, who had on both ſides eight Halberteers, and behind them the two Interpreters. The eight Pages follow'd, on horſe-back, in very rich Liveries, and after them the reſt of our people, marching three a-breaſt, and eight deep.

The reception of the Ambaſſadors.

The Ambaſſadors being come in this order, attended by a great number of *Kiſibachs*, and *Perſian* Gentlemen on Horſe-back, whom the King had ſent to them, through the *Maidan*, to the Gates of the Palace-Royal, they were there received by *Jeſaul Senhobet*, who is as it were the Introductor, or Maſter of the Ceremonies. He commanded thoſe who carried the Preſents to make way for the Ambaſſadors, whom he conducted into a Hall, where the *Divanbeki*, or Judges, are wont to meet, for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and intreated them to reſt themſelves, till he had acquainted the King with their arrival. About half an hour after, ſeveral great Lords came to give the Ambaſſadors notice, that the King expected them. We were brought through a ſpacious Court, which was of greater length than breadth, and in which there was on both ſides, about ſix paces diſtance from one Wall, another lower Wall, built cloſe to a row of *Tzinnar*-Trees; and all along that lower Wall, ſtood the Musketiers, and the other Guards, in a file on both ſides.

The Guards were diſtinguiſh'd from the Musketiers, by the Coiffure they wore about their heads, which was pointed, and ſet out with plumes of Feathers, of ſeveral Colours. They call this kind of Courts or Walks, *Cheywan*, and they afford a very delightful proſpect. At the end of this Court, there was a great Hall, having light coming in of all ſides, which was the place deſign'd for our audience. It is called *Diwan Chane*, as being the place, where the King adminiſters Juſtice in Perſon: there being a great difference between the Cuſtom of *Perſia*, and that of *Muſcovy*; where the Great Duke hath a particular Hall, wherein he gives audience to Ambaſſadors; whereas the King of *Perſia* does it in thoſe places where he accidentally is, either about other buſineſs, or for his Divertiſement. Near the ſaid Hall, and under thoſe Trees, between the two Walls, there were to be ſeen fifty excellent Horſes, with their covering-Cloaths of Brocado, or Embroider'd with Gold and Silver, and among thoſe ſome *Arabian* Horſes, ready to be back'd, with their Saddles and Harneſs, cover'd all over with plates of Gold, and beſet with abundance of precious ſtones. All the Horſes ſtood in the open Air, faſten'd by one of the hinder feet to a ſtake ſtruck in the ground, and they were moſt of them of an *Iſabella* Colour, about the Belly and Legs. There ſtood hard by Pails of Vermilion Gilt, for the watering of them. Not far thence, there were two great Ciſterns four foot ſquare, for the cooling of Wine.

The Hall for audience.

Silver Pails to water Horſes.

1637. This Hall was rais'd three ſteps from the ground, and was eight fathom broad, and twelve in length. There was at the entrance into it a Partition, like an *Alcove*, with Curtains drawn before it, of red Cotton, which were taken up and let down with ſilk ſtrings. When they were drawn up, they reſted upon the Chapters of certain wooden Pillars, made Cylinder-wiſe, Embelliſh'd with Branch-work, Painted, and Gilt, as were alſo the Walls. On the left hand, as you came in, there were ſome pieces of Painting, done in *Europe*, and repreſenting certain Hiſtories. The floor was cover'd all over with Tapiſtry, whereof the ground-work was of Gold and Silver, and in the midſt of the Hall, there was a Fountain, and in the Baſin of it abundance of Flowers, Citrons, Orenges, Apples, and other Fruits, which ſwom upon the water. About the ſides of the Baſin, there were a great number of Gold and Silver Flaggons, and Bottles, which either had Garlands or Flowers about them, or poſies in their Mouths.

The King's age. The King ſate upon the ground, having a ſatin Cuſhion under him, behind the Fountain, with his back to the VVall. He was about ſeven and twenty years of Age, handſome Bodied, having a gracefull Aſpect, and of a clear and ſmooth Complexion, ſomewhat Hawk-Nos'd, as moſt of the *Perſians* are, and he had a little black Hair upon the upper lip. There was nothing extraordinary in his Habit, ſave that his Cloaths were of Brocadoe, and that, at his Coiffure, there was a Plume of Heron-Feathers, faſten'd with a bracelet of Diamonds. He had alſo upon his *Kurdi*, that is, a kind of Coat without Sleeves, which the *Perſians* wear upon their Garments, two Sable Skins hanging at the Neck: but for ought we ſaw afterwards, other *Perſian* Lords wore the like. The Cymitar he had by his ſide glitter'd with Gold and Precious Stones; and behind him, upon the ground, there lay a Bow and Arrows.

On his right hand there ſtood twenty Pages, who were, moſt of them, as we were told, the ſons of *Chans*, and *Sulthans*, Governours of Provinces, among whom there were ſome *Eunuchs*.

They were all very handſome, as to their Perſons, but it ſeems, they had made choice of the handſomeſt among them, to hold the Fan, wherewith he inceſſantly gave the King air. Theſe Fanns are made of a certain Sea-Creature, which they call *Maheri kutas*, and it is like a Horſe-tail. Near the Pages ſtood the *Meheter*, or Groom of the Chamber, who hath the overſight of them. Before the King ſtood *Elſchick agaſi baſchi*, or the Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold, having in his hand a Staff cover'd all over with Gold, as was alſo the great Button or Apple at the top of it. VVithin four paces of the King, and on his left hand, ſat the Chancellor whom they call *Ethemad Dowlet*, and about him, the *Chans*, and great Lords of the Privy Counſell. At the entrance of the Hall, on the left hand, ſat the Ambaſſadors of an *Arabian* Prince, who had been ſent to deſire the King's Protection againſt the Turk; and the *Poſtanick* of *Muſcovy*, *Alexei Savinouits*; and ſomewhat lower were placed the King's Muſick.

The Ambaſſadors brought in to audience The Ambaſſadors were receiv'd at the entrance of the Hall, by the Prince *Tzani-Chan*, *Kurtzi Baſchi*, of whom we ſpoke before, and by *Aliculi-bek*, *Divanbeki*, who took them under the Arms, one after the other, and brought them to the King. Theſe Conductors, as they led the Ambaſſadors along, laid ſuch faſt hold on their hands, that they had not the uſe of them themſelves.

This Ceremony is very neceſſary, and muſt now be look'd on as a particular honour done the Ambaſſadors, though it be ſaid, and that very probably, that with the ſame labour, they ſecure the Prince's Life, againſt the attempts there might be made againſt it. But I would not have any to credit what ſome affirm, to wit, that this Ceremony hath not been obſerv'd in *Perſia* but ſince the Reign of *Schach-Abas*, and that it was occaſion'd by the deſign which ſome *Turkiſh* Ambaſſadors had to kill him. For this cuſtom is alſo obſerv'd in the *Grand Seignor*'s Court, as well as in *Perſia*; nay it is my opinion, that it is for the ſame reaſon, that the King does not give his Hand, but his Knee to ſtrangers to kiſs, to his own Subjects thinking it enough to preſent his foot.

The Ambaſſadors, as they came near the King, made a low Reverence, which he civilly anſwered with a little Inclination of the Head, and a ſmiling and obliging Countenance. They were immediately led away, and intreated to ſit down, on low Seats, which had been plac'd near the Lords of the Councel. The ſame honour was done to fifteen of the Retinue, but they were forc'd to ſit down a little more on the left hand, and upon the ground. The Pages, and the reſt of the Retinue, were conducted into the Court, where they were ſeated, near thirteen VVomen-Dancers, who were very handſome VVomen, and very richly Cloath'd, and ſate upon Tapiſtry, whereof the ground-work was Gold and Silver.

Some of our people were perſwaded they were the ordinary Dancing-women belonging to the Court, and gave that accompt of them in the Relations they have made of their Travells; but it is certain, they were ſome of the handſomeſt Curtezans of the City, who, beſides the Tribute they yearly pay the King, are oblig'd to come to Court, to divert the Prince, when ever he ſends for them. VVe were told, that a man might have had his choice of them for a *Tumain*.

The

The Ambaſſadors having reſted themſelves a little, the King ſent the Lord Chamberlain to them, to know the Prince's name, by whom they were ſent, and the occaſion of their Embaſſy. Which meſſage oblig'd them to riſe up, and to go near the King, with their Interpreter, to deliver their Credentials, which they accompany'd with a Complement, which was ſo much the ſhorter, in regard the *Perſians*, who are no Lovers of long Speeches, would have thoſe that approach their King to do it with reſpect, and to expreſs that reſpect by a Diſcourſe of few words. The Chancellor receiv'd the Credentials, and after the Ambaſſadors were ſeated again, the *Wakie nus*, or Secretary of the Chamber, came and told them, that the *Schach* would order their Credential Letters to be Tranſlated; that as ſoon as it were done, his Majeſty would give them a ſecond audience, for their affairs, and that in the mean time, he deſir'd them to Divert themſelves as much as might be. This done, the Preſents were brought in, which were carried, cloſe by the King, into an appartment deſign'd for the Treaſury, on one ſide of the Hall, at the entrance of the Palace. 1637.

While the Preſents were carried in, the Cloath was laid, that is, all the floor of the Hall was cover'd with one piece of Cotton Cloath, on which were ſet all ſorts of Fruits and Conſerves, all in great Baſins of Gold, whereof there was ſo great a number, that there was hardly place left for three hundred great Flaggons of the ſame Metal, which were diſpers'd here and there, only for Oſtentation ſake: ſo that which way ſoever a man look'd, there was nothing to be ſeen but Gold. All the Plate was plain and ſmooth, ſave only the Flaggon and Cup out of which the King himſelf drunk, which two pieces the *Perſians* call *Surhahi*, and *Piali*, which were beſet with Rubies and Turqueſes. With theſe conſerves, we had excellent *Schiras*-wine, and they gave us the Divertiſement of a fellow that ſhew'd tricks of Legerdemain, who did beyond any thing I ever ſaw of that kind before. About an hour after, the Conſerves were taken away, that the Meat might be brought in. The floor was laid with another Cloath, which was of a Gold Brocado, and there came in ten men loaden with Meat in great Veſſels of Gold, made like the Milk-pails in *France*, which ſome carried upon their Heads, ſome upon a kind of Barrows, which were alſo cover'd with plates of Gold. *Gold Plate.* *Schiras-wine.*

The *Suffretzi*, that is, the Carver, having plac'd the Meat, ſate down in the midſt of the Table, or floor of the Hall, took the Meat out of thoſe Veſſels, and diſpos'd it into Diſhes, and ſent them, firſt to the King, then to the Ambaſſadors, and afterwards to the Lords, and the reſt of the Company. They underſtand not what it is to entertain with ſeveral Courſes, but ſet down all upon the Table at once, and think they treat their Gueſts very well. All the Diſhes were fill'd with Rice of all ſorts of Colours, and the Carver put the Meat upon the Rice, to wit, Mutton, boyl'd and roaſted, tame and wild Fowl, Omelets, Pies, Spinage, Sowr-cruds, &c. inſomuch, that many times, there was five or ſix ſorts of Meat in the ſame Diſh. This is done by deſign, and for their own convenience; in regard, that, not ſitting at a Table oppoſite one to another, but all of a ſide, as the *Monks* do, and conſequently one man being not able to reach to ſeveral Diſhes, they are ſerved ſeveral ſorts of Meat in the ſame Diſh. *The Carver.* *Their manner of ſitting at meat.*

But as we imitated the *Monks* in our manner of ſitting, ſo were we as ſilent as they are at Meals: for there was not a word ſpoken all the time we were at Meat; unleſs it were that the King himſelf whiſper'd twice or thrice to the Chancellor. But there was not that ſilence obſerv'd at two or three other Entertainments we had at the Court afterwards: for then, the King was pleas'd to fall into ſome diſcourſe with the Ambaſſadors, concerning the affairs of *Europe*, and particularly concerning the Warrs of *Germany*. *Silence at meats.*

We had alſo, while we were at Dinner, the Divertiſement of their Muſick, and the Activity of thoſe *Curtezans*. The Muſick conſiſted of Lutes, Violins, Flageolets, Hawboies, and Timbrels, which he who play'd upon the Timbrel, accompany'd with a wretched inharmonious Voice, which diſorder'd the little Conſort there was in their pretended Conſort. The Dancing of the Women was more regular, and though it was not conſonant to the Muſick, nor the way of Dancing among the *Europæans*, yet was it not undelightfull, but had its cadences and exactneſs as well as ours. *Muſick.*

While we were at Dinner, there lay hid, in a Door which was cover'd by the Hangings, over againſt the place where the Ambaſſadors ſat, a *Perſian*, who underſtood the *Portuguez* and *Italian*, to obſerve their Demeanour, as alſo what diſcourſe they might have with their Interter, that he might give an accompt of what they ſaid concerning the faſhions and manners of that Court. The relation he gave in to the King of what the Ambaſſador *Brugman* had ſaid of the Pictures, and the Entertainments, and the manner of Life of the *Perſians*, prov'd to his diſadvantage and Prejudice. Our Interpreter was a *Portuguez*, an *Auguſtine* Frier, about forty years of age. His name was Father *Joſeph, of the Roſary*, a good natur'd man, obliging, and complaiſant, and a perſon that underſtood himſelf very well; inaſmuch, as, having liv'd four and twenty years in *Perſia*, he was excellently well skill'd in the Language, and throughly acquainted with the humour and cuſtoms of that Nation. In his diſcourſe with the Ambaſſador *Cruſius*, he made uſe of the Latin Tongue, and ſpoke *Portuguez* to the Ambaſſador *Brugman*.

1637. They sat at Dinner about an hour and a half, and then the Cloath being taken away, there was warm water brought to wash their hands. Which done, the Lord Chamberlain cry'd aloud, *Suffre Hakine, Scahe douletine, Kasiler Kuwetine, alla dielum*; that is, *Make us thankful for this repast, prosper the King's affairs, give his Soldiers and Servants courage; this we pray thee, O God:* whereto all the rest answer their *Alla, Alla.* Grace being thus said, they rose up, and went out of the room one after another, without speaking a word, according to the custom of the Country. Our *Mehemander* came also to tell us that we might withdraw when we pleas'd; as we immediately did, making a low Reverence to the King.

After this first audience, we were permitted to receive the Visits of all other Nations, who have any Commerce at *Ispahan*, as the *French, Spaniards, Italians, English* and *Dutch.* They came often to see us, and contributed much to our Divertisement, during the aboad we made in that City, The *English* were the first that gave us a Visit. Their Factor, whose name was *Francis Honywood*, came to our Quarters the 18 of *August*, accompany'd by a considerable number of Merchants, who, to express the affection they bore us, had all put themselves into the *German* fashion, though otherwise they went according to the mode of their own Country. The Factor was an excellent good natur'd man, and excessively civil. He immediately made proffers of his service to us, and afterwards made them good upon all occasions, and kept us company most part of that day.

The 22. The King sent the Ambassadors a Present of Fruits, as Melons, Apples, Pears, Grapes, Quinces, and others, and, along with it, thirty great Flaggons of most excellent *Schiras*-Wine.

The first private Audience. The 24. the Ambassadors had their first private audience, concerning their Negotiation, at which was the King himself in Person, attended by the Chancellor, and a great number of the Lords of the Councel. This conference was not had in the *Divan-Chane*, but in another apartment, into which we were brought, through a spacious Gallery, and afterwards through a fair Garden, where those of our Retinue found their Divertisement, while the Ambassadors, with their Interpreter, were employ'd about their affairs. The King had the patience to stay there two hours and better, and as we came out thence, Dinner was going in, whereto all the Company was invited, all being placed, and treated in the same manner as we had been before.

Celebrate the Festival of St. Augustine. *Aug.* the 28. the *Augustine* Friers came to intreat the Ambassadors to honour them with their Presence the next day, at the Celebration of the Festival of their Patron St. *Augustine.* They desired the same favour of the *Muscovian Poslanick, Alexei Savinouits*, , as also of an *Armenian* Bishop, and the *English* Merchants, who, though of a different Religion, and that in *Europe* they would have made some difficulty to be present at the Ceremonies of the *Roman-Catholick* Church, live like Brethren and true Christians, among their common Enemies.

There were in the Monastery in all, but six *Spanish Monks*, and yet they had built a very vast Structure, with a very fair Church belonging to it, which had two Steeples, but somewhat low, a stately Cloister, several Cells, and a large Garden.

The Ambassadors went thither on Horseback, in regard that, though the Monastery were within the City, yet was it above a League from our quarters; and the Religious men, who receiv'd them at the entrance of the Monastery, conducted them straight to the Church, which was adorn'd with abundance of Pictures, and Gilt in several places. They presently began Mass, during which we had pretty good Musick, for one of their Monks had some skill upon the Organ, and our Musicians had brought thither their Lutes and Violins. After Mass, we were carried into the Garden, near a Fountain, and under the shade of a Tree, the branches whereof were so full of Leaves, and so woven one within another, that they compass'd the Fountain, and in several places reaching down to the ground, they made convenient seats. The Clock striking twelve, we were brought into a fair Hall, where we were seated at three several Tables, which were plac'd all along the Walls, after the same manner as may be seen in the Monasteries of Religious men in *Europe.*

Dine in the Monastery.

The Tables were cover'd with all sorts of Fruits, in dishes of Porcelane, and the Cloath was all strew'd with Flowers. Every one had his dish of Meat by himself, plenty of all things, and all very well dress'd, yet not without some respect to frugality. After Dinner, which lasted not so long as we had been at the entertainments of the *Persians*, or those we were invited to by some forein Merchants, we return'd into the Garden, where we pass'd away the remainder of the day, under the shade of the same Tree.

SEPT. VVith the beginning of *September*, we began to be sensible of a change of the weather. The great heats were so much abated, that the Nights began to be tedious and troublesome, especially to those who had not been carefull to provide themselves good Coverlets.

Two Armenian Lords visit the Ambassadors. About this time *Seferas-beg*, Governour of *Armenia*, accompany'd by his two Brothers, came to see the Ambassadors, with a design to make acquaintance, and contract Friendship

with

with them. They were all three persons of an excellent good disposition, free in their Conver- 1637.
sation and Civil, which gain'd so much upon the nature of the Ambassador *Brugman*, who lov'd people of that Kidney, and was himself of a free Humour, that he presented the two Elder, each of them, with a handsome Fowling-piece, and the younger with a Case of Pistols. They took those Presents so kindly, that, to express their gratitude, they resolv'd to make an Entertainment for the Ambassadors, for which they appointed the 18 of *September*, and entreated them to bring all their Retinue along with them. They sent us Horses to bring us, and some of the *Armenian* Merchants to accompany us.

We brought along with us two *Portuguez* Monks, the Prior of the *Augustines*, and our ordinary Interpreter. *Seferas-beg* receiv'd the Ambassadors at the entrance of the Church, in the Suburbs called *Tzulfa*, where he had the service said by the Patriarch of the place, who had about him a Cope of Cloath of Silver, with flowers of Gold, beset with great Pearls, and a Mitre of the same Stuff, cover'd all over with round Pearls. The Body of the Church was adorn'd with several large Pictures, the floor was cover'd with the Tapistry of the Country, and they had placed benches all along the walls for our more convenient sitting. They had also a kind of wretched Musick. Having done our Devotions, we got on horse-back again to goe to the place where the entertainment was prepared for us. *Seferas-beg*, having receiv'd the Ambassadors with much respect, and done his civilities to the chiefest of the Retinue, conducted them, through a spacious arched Gallery, into a great Garden, at the end whereof we found an open hall, according to the fashion of the Country, where we were intreated to sit down on the ground. The Cloath, which was of Gold and Silver Brocado, was cover'd with all sorts of Fruits and Conserves, and we drank of a certain prepar'd water, much like *Ros Solis*, but incomparably more delicate, and more precious. Having taken away the Fruits, they laid an *Indian* Cotton cloath, and the Meat was brought up, in silver Dishes. It was excellently well dress'd, according to the *Persian* way of dressing, with this difference only, that at this entertainment there was brought in Pork, and some other sorts of flesh, for which the *Persians* have an aversion. We had hardly eaten so much as allay'd our first hunger, ere we were forc'd to rise from the Table, to be conducted through a very noble apartment, into another hall, which look'd into the Garden. It was arched all about, and there were on the Walls certain Pictures representing the Women of most Nations in the World, dress'd according to the mode of their several Countries. The floor was cover'd with rich Tapistry, on which were laid Cushions of flower'd Satin, the ground-work thereof Gold and Silver. In the midst of the hall, there was a Fountain, the Basin whereof was of white Marble; the water was cover'd with Flowers; and it was beset all about with Flaggons, and Bottles of Wine.

We were invited to sit down, and to eat of the Fruit and Conserves, which were brought in, during which we had the Divertisement of Musick and Dancing. And as a further honour to us, the Patriarch was sent for, who came in immediately, having about him a Cassock of water'd Chamlet of a Violet Colour, and attended by two Priests clad in black, with Caps on their Heads. He was no ill Company: but the second of the two Brethren, whose name was *Elias-beg*, made the best sport of any in the company. For, to heighten the Divertisement of the Ambassadors, he would needs play on the *Tamera*, which is an Instrument used by the *Persians* instead of the Lute: and then he call'd for seven Porcelane Cups, full of water, and striking them with two little sticks, he accorded them with the Lute. While we were hearkning to this Musick, *Seferas-beg* told us, that he would give us a kind of Musick, which should be as delightful as the other; and thereupon rising up, he ordered to be brought him, by two Pages, in two great wooden Dishes, several Chrystal Glasses, which he distributed among the Company, to whom he began the King of *Persia's* health. The whole day was spent in these divertisements, till that the Ambassadors perceiving night approach, took leave of their Hosts; but these, pretending to conduct us out of the house, brought us to the other side of the Garden, into a Gallery, where we found the Cloath laid, and cover'd with all sorts of Meat, Flesh, Fish, Pies, Fruits and Conserves, for the Collation. We sat down again, but it was only out of compliance, for it is not to be imagin'd we could have eaten ought. Nor indeed can I believe, that he by whom we were entertain'd had any other design therein than to shew his Magnificence, and the Gallantry and Freedome of his Nature, especially in his Conversion of the darkest Night to bright Day. The Hall was all full of Lamps, which hung by a string fasten'd to the Roof, there being so great a number of them, and those so near one the other, that their Lights were so confounded, as that they made but one. There was also in the Garden, a great number of Torches and Candles, which wrought the same effect there.

Musick.

Porcelane Musick.

The magnificence of an Armenian Lord.

Having, with much ado and many Complements, taken our leave, we could not by any means put off the second Brother out of a humour had taken him to accompany us to our Lodgings, where he made a shift to get perfectly drunk, with *Aquavitæ* and *Ros Solis*. And thus we concluded that day, which I confess was one of the most pleasant we had had in all our Travels, having been better treated, than we had been by the King himself.

The

1637. *The ſecond private Audience.*

The 19. The Ambaſſadors had their ſecond private audience, which the King gave them in another apartment, at the end of a Garden, and which laſted not above half an hour; in regard the Council took time to conſider of the Memorials they receiv'd in writing from them. It is ordinary to ſtay and Dine at the Court after the Conferences; therefore I ſhall forbear repeating the Circumſtances, unleſs ſomething in particular oblige me thereto: as it happen'd this day, in that the King having heard that the Ambaſſadors had Muſicians in their Retinue, he ſent them word, that he would gladly hear their Muſick. It conſiſted of a baſe Viol, a Tenor, and a Violin, which play'd about half an hour, till the King ſent us word, that that Muſick was not ill, but that he thought that of the Country as good as it.

The Ambaſſadors treated by the Engliſh.

The 25. of *September*, the *Engliſh* made an entertainment for the Ambaſſadors and all their Retinue, which, in Magnificence, ſurpaſs'd all the reſt. Their Houſe or Lodge, was in the *Baſar*, near the *Maidan*. The Structure was of great extent, divided into ſeveral appartments, and had a very fair Garden. We were at firſt brought into a Gallery, where we found Fruits and Conſerves laid upon the floor, which was cover'd with Tapiſtry, according to the cuſtom of the Country; and having done there, we paſs'd into a great Hall, where we found the Table furniſh'd and ſerv'd after the *Engliſh* faſhion.

They forgot not to drink the healths of moſt of the Kings and Princes of *Europe*, and we had the Divertiſement of Muſick upon the Virginals. After Dinner, we were brought into an open Hall, which look'd into the Garden, where we found a Collation of Conſerves, with the beſt Wine the Countrey could afford, And whereas we had often ſeen the Dancing-women of the Country, they ſent for ſome *Indian* Women of the ſame profeſſion. There were brought ſix yo ung Women, whereof ſome had their Husbands with them, who alſo either Danc'd or Play'd upon Violins; ſome came in alone. They were all ſomewhat of an Olive-colour, but had excellent good Features, a delicate ſmooth Skin, and very handſome Bodies. They had about their Necks much Gold and Pearls, and in their Ears Pendants of Gold or Silver, glittering with Jewels and Spangles.

Indian *Dancing-Women.*

Handſome and well ſhap'd.

Some of them had Bracelets of Pearl, others of Silver, but they had all Rings on their Fingers, and among the reſt, they had upon the Thumb, upon which, in the place where the Stone ſhould be, there was a piece of Steel, about the bigneſs of a Crown-piece of Silver, and ſo well poliſh'd, that it ſerv'd them for a Looking-glaſs. They were Cloath'd after a particular manner, having on a kind of Stuff, which was ſo thin, that there was not any part of the Body but might be ſeen by the Company, ſave only what was hidden by the Drawers which they wore under their Petticoats. Some wore Caps on their Heads, others had themdreſs'd in Tiffany, and ſome had ſilk Skarfs, wrought with Gold and Silver, which croſſing their ſhoulders reach'd down to the ground. Some were bare-foot, others were ſhod after a very ſtrange manner. They had above the inſtap of the foot a ſtring ty'd, with little Bells faſtened thereto, whereby they diſcover'd the exactneſs of their Cadence, and ſometimes corrected the Muſick it ſelf; as they did alſo by the *Tzarpanes*, or *Caſtagnetts*, which they had in their hands, in the managing whereof they were very expert. Their Muſick conſiſted of Timbrels, according to the *Indian* way of Playing on them, Tabors, and Pipes.

Their habit

The *Indian* Timbrels are two foot long, but broader in the middle than at the extremities, much after the faſhion of our Barrels. They hang them about their Necks, and play on them with their fingers. The poſtures of theſe *Indian* VVomen in their Dancing are admirable. Their hands and feet are alwayes in action, as is alſo their whole Body: and many times, they addreſs themſelves to ſome particular perſon of the Company, either by an inclination of the Body, or to get the little Preſent they expect, which they very handſomely beg, either by ſtretching out their hands, yet ſo as that it ſeems to be done without any affectation, but as a neceſſary conſequence of the Dance. They are much more pleaſant in their Converſation than the Women of the Countrey. All theſe Dancing-women are common proſtitutes, and very free to ſhew all their poſtures for money, nay to do beyond what might be expected from them. It was far-night ere we got away, which oblig'd the *Engliſh* to bring us home to our Lodgings.

The *French* Merchants made alſo an entertainment for the principal perſons of our Retinue, and treated them, with ſome of the *Engliſh* Merchants, at a *Caravanſera*, very handſomely.

OCTOB. *The Ambaſſadors make a feaſt.*

The firſt of *October*, the Ambaſſadors made a great Feaſt, whereto were invited the *Muſcovian* Ambaſſador, the Governour of *Armenia*, and his two Brothers, the chiefeſt of the *Engliſh* and *French* Merchants, the *Spaniſh* Monks of the order of St. *Auguſtine*, and ſome *Italian* Carmelites. They treated them after the *German* way, with three ſeveral Courſes, each conſiſting of forty Diſhes. The Muſick conſiſted of Violins, Trumpets, and Timbrels, which made a goodly Noiſe, as did alſo our Cannon, when any Prince's health was drunk.

The Prince of *Armenia*, was taken, above all things, with certain ſervices of Paſte and Sugar, according to the *German* faſhion, which were brought to the Table, rather to divert the Eye, than to ſharpen the Appetite: and thought them ſo good, that having ſpoken of them at

Court,

Court, the King would needs see some. Whence it came that the Ambassadors ordered some of them to be made by our Cook; as also some Florentines, and other pieces of Pastry of that kind, which he took very kindly, and presented them to some Ladies about the Court, who thought them excellent good Meat. 1637.

In the afternoon they had the Divertisement of seeing some run at the Ring, at which M. *Mandelslo* got the prize, which was a great Silver Goblet, and the Ambassador *Brugman* did the best next him, and got a drinking Cup Vermilion gilt. Every time any one put into the Ring, one of the Brass pieces was fired. *Running at a Ring.*

The next day the Prior of the *Augustines* came to the Secretary of the Embassy, to complain to him of the debauch'd Lives of some of our Retinue, nay one of the chiefest among us, naming particularly the Ambassador *Brugman*, and discover'd that there were some among us, who, after the example of the *Armenians*, had married Women of the Country. He told him, that they had conceived a great joy and comfort, at the first news of our Embassy's coming thither, out of a hope, that our Lives would be an example to the *Christians* of the Country, who living among *Mahumetans*, were apt to fall into their vices and filthiness; but that, to his great regret, he found the contrary: entreating the Secretary, to speak of it to those in whose power it was to take some course therein, so to prevent the scandal which was given to others, the injury done to the name of *Christ*, and the infamy which must fall on the Prince, from whom the Embassy was sent. The Secretary went, with a resolution to give the Ambassador *Brugman* an accompt of these Remonstrances of the Priors, and to intreat him that some course might be taken, that the Domesticks might reform their Lives; but it was his misfortune, that coming into the Ambassador's Chamber, he found him in the company of an *Armenian* Woman, named *Tulla*. But the Ambassador *Brugman* imagining the Secretary's design had been to surprize him, was so incens'd thereat, that having sworn he would resent that affront, the Secretary, who had experience of his Revengeful and Irreconcilable disposition, retir'd to the Monastery of the *Augustines*, with an intention absolutely to quit his Relation to the Embassy, and to accept of the proffer which the *Carmelites* made him, to give him directions how to go for *Babylon*, and so by *Aleppo* into *Italy*, and thence into *Germany*. But the Ambassador coming to hear of the course he intended to take, sent him word, that if he did prosecute it, he would have him kill'd where-ever he were met: which he might the more easily have effected, in that the *Caravans* having their appointed places for Lodging, he might have found out a *Persian*, who, for a small matter, would have murther'd him. This apprehension, and the advice of some friends oblig'd the Secretary to intreat the Prior of the *Augustines*, to intercede for him, and to make his peace with *Brugman*; whereupon he return'd to the Ambassadors quarters, after he had staid thirteen dayes in the *Monastery*. *The scandalous Life of one of the Ambassadors.*

About this time, I went to the Suburbs of *Tzulfa*, with an intention to visit some *Armenian* Merchants, with whom I had had occasion to make acquaintance at the entertainments which had been made us. Coming near their Church, I saw going thither one that was to be Married, whom I had the curiosity to follow, purposely to see the Ceremonies of the Marriage. In the front of the Procession march'd their ordinary Musick, consisting of Timbrels, and Tabors, and after them went a Youth of about twelve or fifteen years of age, who had a wax Candle in his hand. The Bride-groom, who immediately follow'd the youth, was on Horse-back, clad in flower'd Satin, of several colours, and had on both sides of him two Men, handsome Persons, and very richly Cloath'd, as were also the other four who follow'd them, in two ranks. After them were carried two dishes of Meat, two pitchers of Wine, and so many dishes of Apples. The Bride-groom being come to the Church, sate down with those who were come along with him, and call'd for the Meat and Fruit to be brought and set before him; but did not eat of either. Those who had accompany'd him fell to it, but eat not much, and the rest was sav'd for the Priest, who was to bless the Marriage, save only the Wine, which was all drunk off. The Bride-groom having taken notice of me, rose up, and taking, on his right hand, a young Lad, and, on the left, one of those Men, who had accompany'd him thither, came straight to me, saluted me, pour'd out himself of the Wine into an earthen Cup, and intreated me to drink, but he himself would not taste of it. In the mean time, the Bride came into the Church, having, on the right hand a young Maid, and, on the left, a Married Woman; all three with their faces cover'd with a thin Lawn. The Priest, having brought them near the Altar, read several Prayers, and blest the Marriage, by holding a wooden Cross over the Married couple, who in the mean time gave one another their hands, and joyn'd their heads together, yet so, as that the Bride's head touch the Bride-groom's breast, to whom, by that action, she acknowledg'd her self bound to submit, mutually promising fidelity and loyalty one to the other, under the Cross, that is, in misfortunes and afflictions. That done, the Priest gave them the Communion, delivering to each of them a piece of the *Consecrated Hoast* steep'd in Wine. *Ceremonies of Marriage among the Armenians.*

I say, of the *Hoast*, inasmuch as the bread of the *Eucharist* is not here leavened as in *Muscovy*, and other places, in the *Greek* Church, but is made of a paste without Leaven, about the bigness and thickness of a Crown piece of Silver. While the Communion was administred,

they

1637. they ſung, and play'd on certain great Cymbals, which the *Armenians* call *Hambarzon*. They never communicate without that kind of Muſick, which they believe to be ſo much the more neceſſary, in that they ſay our Saviour, when he was to feed four thouſand men with ſeven Loaves, went firſt up into the Mountain, where he offered his Prayers in Sacrifice to God, and that while he pray'd, two Angels came down from Heaven; and play'd upon that kind of Cymbals. After the Communion, they caſt Roſe-water upon the new-Married couple, and all the company, and ty'd a Scarf about the Bride's right hand, by which the Bridegroom draws her after him to the Church door, where all the company get on Horſe-back, to goe to the place where there is a Feaſt prepared for them. For the three firſt nights after the Marriage, the Married couple touch not one another.

The Baptiſm of the Armenians.

Coming out of this Church, I paſs'd by another, where hearing a great noiſe, I went into it. The noiſe was made by ſtriking with a great ſtick upon a deal board that was hung up, which the *Armenians* are forc'd to make uſe of inſtead of Bells, the *Perſians*, it ſeems, not permitting them to make uſe of any. I found that this Ceremony was perform'd in order to the Chriſtning of a Child. There were in the Church, only the Prieſt and his Clark, an aged Woman who had brought the Child thither: and ſtood in a corner of the Church, and a young man, about eighteen years of age, who preſented the Child to be Baptiz'd. After the Prieſt had ſaid certain Prayers, and made ſeveral Queſtions to the God-father, this latter carry'd the Child to the Woman, who unſwath'd it, and then the Prieſt, Clark and the God-father went into the Sacriſty, where the Font ſtood within the Wall, being made like a little Trough, half an ell in length, and a quarter in breadth. The Prieſt, having conſecrated the Water, and put into it ſome conſecrated Oyl, put the Child, naked, into the Font, and Baptiz'd him, *in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt*, pouring water three ſeveral times upon his Head. Then he poured water all over the Body, and made the ſign of the Croſs in his Forehead, with conſecrated Oyl. The *Armenians* Chriſten not their Children, till they are full eight days old, unleſs they be weak; for in that caſe, they do it before, out of a belief, that the children, who dye without Baptiſm, are damned; whence it alſo comes, that they bury them not in the Church-yard, no more than they do thoſe aged perſons, who have not communicated once within a year.

The Tragical Hiſtory of a Clock-maker.

The 3. of *October*, there was put into Priſon a *German* Clock-maker, a menial Servant of the King of *Perſia's*. His name was *John Rodolph Stadler*, born at *Zurich* in *Switzerland*. He was aged about 38 years, and had Married the ſiſter of that *Tulla*; whom we ſpoke of before. He had been five years in the King's ſervice, and growing weary of being ſo long among Infidels, he was deſirous to take the opportunity of our Embaſſy to return into his own Country. He had, to that end, deſired his Majeſties leave, to depart the Kingdom, and the King, who had an affection for him, had promis'd him a Preſent of four hundred Crowns, to oblige him to ſtay two years longer in *Perſia*: but that was ſo far from prevailing with him, that, on the contrary, he continu'd his importunities for his departure, and, to that end, got the Ambaſſadors to intercede for him. In the mean time, a Houſe-breaker coming one night into his houſe, out of a hope to find there the four hundred Crowns, the Clock-maker, who perceiv'd him, fell upon him, got him down, and having hurt him in ſeveral places, thruſt him out of Doors. Afterwards, upon ſecond thoughts, repenting himſelf, that he had ſuffered him to eſcape ſo, he took a Piſtol, run after him, and kill'd him. The friends of the Deceas'd went immediately to the Eccleſiaſtical Judge, and made complaints of the Murther, committed by a Stranger and an Infidel, upon one of the Faithful, demanded Juſtice of him, and deſir'd, that the Murtherer might be put into their hands, in order to his Execution. The Clock-maker who little thought he ſhould be troubled for the death of a Robber, got on horſe-back the next day to go to the Court; but he was taken in the ſtreet, and immediately put into the *Palenk*, which is a wooden Inſtrument, which comes about the Arms and the Neck, and very cruelly handled. The Ambaſſadors us'd much ſolicitation on his behalf, but the animoſity of the Relations, and the authority of the Spiritual Judge, whom they call *Mufti*, carried it againſt him, ſo that he was condemn'd to dye; with this Proviſo nevertheleſs, that if he would be circumcis'd, and embrace the Religion of the *Muſſulmans*, it ſhould be in the King's power to pardon him.

Moſt of the Lords, who had a great reſpect for him upon the account of his Profeſſion, wherein he was Excellent, preſs'd him very much to change his Religion, at leaſt in outward ſhew, and for a time, promiſing him thoſe advantages which he could not expect in *Germany*. He was two ſeveral times conducted to the place of execution, in the *Maidan*, before the Palace-Gate, that he might ſee the horrour of death before his eyes, out of an imagination, that would oblige him to renounce: but he equally ſlighted both promiſes and threats, his conſtancy could not be ſhaken, and he wav'd all they ſaid to him, with ſo reſolute a courage, that it is not to be doubted but it was ſupernatural, and that his death was a kind of Martyrdom. He told them, that the King's favour ſhould never make him loſe that which *Jeſus Chriſt* had done him, by redeeming him from eternal death, by his blood: That being entertain'd into the

King's

King's service, his Majesty might dispose of his body, but that he would render up his Soul to him by whom it was created, that he might be therein glorify'd both in this World and the next. The *Augustin* Monks, and the *Carmelites*, endeavour'd all they could, to oblige him to make profession of the *Roman Catholick* Religion; but he continu'd firm to his former resolution, and would die in the *Reform'd* Religion, which he profes's'd, and wherein he was perfectly well instructed. 1637.

At last, the *Persians*, finding it impossible to overcome his courage, either by fair or foul means, left him to the Relations of the deceas'd, who had the execution of him. He among them who went out to give him the first blow with the Cimitar, miss'd him, and wounded his next neighbour the Leg; the second struck into the *Palenk*, which they had left about his neck; the third struck him upon the neck, and smote down that Martyr of *Christ*, who afterwards receiv'd three other blows, ere he expir'd; the first in the head, and the other two, in the face. *Is executed*

The Ambassador *Brugman*, who, as I said before, had a great kindness for this *German*'s sister-in-law, was so enrag'd at this execution, that being at a loss of all judgement, and not knowing what to do for madness, he would needs divert himself by running at the Ring, in the presence of two or three Gentlemen, and the Canonier, causing, in the mean time, the great Guns to be fired above a hundred times. The body lay all that day expos'd to the sight of those that pass'd by, in the place where the execution had been done; till that in the evening, the Ambassador *Brugman*, with the King's permission, caus'd it to be brought to our Lodgings, with an intention to have it buried the next day. But the King having appointed that day to go a-hunting, and invited the Ambassadors to that Divertisement; it was put off; so that the Ceremonies of the enterment could not be performed till the 22. The *Muscovian* Ambassador, the Governour of *Armenia* and his brothers, most of the *Armenians*, and those of the Sect of *Nessera*, of which the Widdow of the deceas'd made profession (and whereof we shall discourse hereafter, as also of the other *European* Christians) honour'd his Funeral with their presence. *His enterment.*

The Hunting, we spoke of before, began the 17. The night before, the *Mehemandar* came to acquaint the Ambassadors, that his Majesty had, for their sakes, appointed a Hunting, that should last several dayes, and that it was his pleasure, they should have notice of it, that they might be ready against the next morning. It was imagin'd this was done out of design, that the Ambassadors might not be in person at the interment of the Clock-maker, but that hindred not the Ambassador *Brugman* from giving order that the body should be kept till his return. *The King takes the Ambassadors along with him a-hunting*

The 17. betimes in the morning, there were Horses brought for the Persons, and Camels for the Baggage. The Ambassadors got on Horse-back, with Father *Joseph*, and about thirty persons of their Retinue. The *Mehemandar* conducted them into a spacious Plain, whither the King came soon after, attended by above three hundred Lords, all excellently well mounted, and sumptuously cloath'd. The King himself was in a Vestment of Silver Brocado, with a Turbant adorn'd with most noble Heron's Feathers, and having led after him four Horses, whereof the Saddles, Harness, and covering Cloaths were beset with Gold and precious Stones. The King at his coming up very civilly saluted the Ambassadors, and ordered them to march near him on his left hand.

The other *Chans* and great Lords march'd after the King, with so little observance of order, that many times the Servants were shuffled in among their Masters. There was, among the rest, in the King's Retinue, an Astrologer, who alwayes kept very close to him, and ever and anon observ'd the position of the Heavens, that he might prognosticate what good or ill fortune should happen. These are believ'd as Oracles. We rode up and down that day above three Leagues, the King taking occasion often to change his Horse and upper Garments, which he did every day while the Hunting lasted. The morning was spent in Hawking, the Hawks were let out at Herns, Cranes, Drakes, nay sometimes at Crows, which they either met with by chance, or were set purposely upon. About noon, we came to an *Armenian* Village, where we found a great number of Tents of divers colours, pitch'd after an odd kind of way; which yet made a very pleasant Prospect. After the King had been brought by his Grandees into his Tent, they came for the Ambassadors, who with some of their Gentlemen and Officers Dined with him. There was nothing extraordinary; Fruits and Conserves were brought in first, and afterwards the Meat, upon a kind of Bier, or Barrow, which was cover'd all over with plates of Gold, and it was serv'd in Dishes of the same metal. *An Astrologer.*

In the after-noon, the *Mehemandar* carried the Ambassadors to be Lodg'd in another Village, about a quarter of a League from the place where the King had his Tents. The Inhabitants of those Villages are *Armenians*, and they are called *Desach*, and *Werende*, from the Countrey, where they liv'd before, near *Iruan*, whence they were heretofore translated by *Schach-Abas*, to the end, that, living near *Ispahan*, they might be employ'd about the Vines. When they understood we were *Christians*, they entertain'd us much more kindly, and made us several

1637. Presents of Fruits and Wine. *Seferas-beg*, and some other Lords gave the Ambassadors a Visit, to be merry, and participate of a Collation with them. They brought along with them two of those fallow Deer, which the *Persians* call *Ahu*'s and some Herns, which we sent to *Ispahan*. The King coming to hear that the *Mehemandar* had Lodg'd us in another Village, was very much displeas'd at it, and commanded that we should be brought the same night, to be Quarter'd in the next house to that where he was Lodg'd himself; which was accordingly done, and our Supper was brought us out of the Kings Kitchin, in Dishes of Gold.

Crane-hunting. The 18. betimes in the morning, the King sent the Ambassadors word, that he would go with very few persons about him, a Crane-Hunting, intreating them that they would bring along with them only their Interpreter, out of this respect, that the Cranes might not be frightned, by the great number of people, and that the pleasure of the Hunting might not be disturb'd by too much noise. The Ambassadors took only Father *Joseph* along with them: but the sport was no sooner begun with the day, ere they sent for all the Retinue. They had made a great secret way under-ground, at the end whereof there was a field. about which they had scatter'd some Wheat. The Cranes came thither in great numbers, and there were above fourscore taken. The King took some of their feathers, to put into his *Mendil*, or *Turbant*, and gave two to each of the Ambassadors, who put them into their Hats. That done, they rode up and down the fields, and spent the time in Hawking, till that drawing towards noon, the King went to take his repast in the same house, where he had Dined the day before, and was in a very good humour. They had sent for his Musick thither.

Drake, and Wild-goose-hunting. At night, he sent to entreat the Ambassadors to come only with six persons along with them, to the hunting of the Drake and Wild-Goose, at a place, half a League from the Village. They all alighted within two hundred paces of the place where they expected the sport, and went into a great Hut built of Earth, near which they had hidden the Nets upon the side of a small Brook, where there is abundance of fresh-water Fowl. The King caus'd us to sit down all about the walls of the Hut, and oblig'd us to help him off with some Bottles of excellent Wine, which was all the Divertisement we had that day. For, not so much as one Bird appearing, we return'd to our quarters, where the King sent us cold Mutton, boyl'd and roasted, sowr Sheeps milk, which they account a great delicacy, Cheese, and several Vessels full of Citrons, and other Fruits, raw and preserv'd.

Leopards. The next day was our greatest day for sport, the King having ordered to be brought to the field, a great nnmber of Hawks, and three Leopards taught to hunt: but very few Dogs. Having spent some time in beating the bushes up and down, and found nothing, the King carried us into a great Park, which was above two Leagues about. The *Persians* call it *Hazartzirib*, that is, a place where a thousand bushels of Wheat may be sown. It was compass'd with a very high Wall, and divided into three Partitions. In the first were kept Harts, Wild-Goats, Deer, Hares, and Foxes. In the second were kept that kind of Deer, which they call *Ahu*'s; and in the third, Wild Asses, which they call *Kouhrhan*. The King first commanded the Leopards to be let in among the *Ahu*'s, and they took each of them one, Thence we went to the wild Asses, and the King seeing one of them at a stand, spoke to the Ambassador *Brugman* to fire his Pistol at it, and perceiving that he miss'd it, he took an Arrow, and though he Rid in full speed, shot it directly into the breast of the Beast. Another he took just in the Fore-head, and afterwards he wounded others in several places. He never fail'd, though he alwayes shot Riding in full speed. *He* was as well skill'd at his Sword as at his Bow; for perceiving one of the wild Asses could hardly go, he alights, and going directly to the Beast, gave it a blow with his Sword over the Back, with which single blow he cleft it down to the Belly. *He* struck another with his Cymitar over the Neck, with so much strength and slight, that there wanted not an inch of his having cut it clear off. One of the *Chans* took the King's Sword, wip'd it clean, and put it into the Scabbard. Then we all went to another small Partition, that was in the middle of the Park.

At the entrance of this enclosed place, the King commanded one of the two Huntsmen who carried his Fowling-piece after him, to shoot at a wild Ass, which had before been wounded with an Arrow. The antienter man of the two thinking it a disparagement to him, that the command was directed to the younger, would needs prevent him, shot at the Beast, and miss'd. The company laugh'd at him, which put him into such madness, that suffering the King to go on, he returns to his Camerade, drew his Sword upon him, and cut off the Thumb of his right hand. The wounded party makes his complaints to the King, who immediately commanded the others head to be brought him: but upon the Mediation of several of the Grandees, his punishment was changed, and he had only his Ears cut off. The Executioner, I know not upon what inducement, cut off but some part of the Ear; which the Grand-Master, *Mortuzaculi-Chan* perceiving, and thinking the man had foul play done him to have ought of his Ears left, alighted, took out his own knife, and cut off what the Executioner had left; to the great astonishment of all us, who were not accustomed to see Persons of that quality turn common Executioners.

A Persian Lord turns Executioner.

Within

Within the enclosed place I spoke of, there was a little building much after the fashion of a Theatre, into which the King brought us, to a Collation of Fruits and Conserves. That done, there were driven into the place thirty two wild Asses, at which the King discharg'd some shots with the Fowling-pieces, and shot some Arrows, and afterwards permitted the Ambassadors, and the other Lords to shoot at them. 1637.

It was pretty sport to see those Asses run, having sometimes ten or more Arrows shot into their Bodies, wherewith they incommodated and wounded the others when they got in among them, so that they fell a biting one another, and running one at another after a strange manner. Having knock'd down all those that were wounded, there were let in thirty wild Asses more, which they also kill'd and laid them all in a row before the King, to be sent to *Ispahan*, to the Court Kitchin. The *Persians* so highly esteem the flesh of these wild Asses, that they have brought it into a Proverb in their *Kulusthan*. *Wild-Asses flesh much esteem'd in* Persia.

This kind of Hunting being over, Dinner was brought in at the same place. Here it was, that the Ambassador *Brugman* was pleas'd, upon his own account, to present the King of *Persia*, with his Highness the Duke of *Holstein*'s Picture, in a Box all beset with Diamonds, as also with a very fair Steel Looking-Glass, polish'd on both sides, and embellish'd with several Figures, grav'd by that famous Artist, *John Dresde*, and done after an Excellent way, whereof he himself had been the Inventor. *Presents from one of the Ambassadors to the King*

After Dinner, we retir'd into some houses thereabouts, to take our Mid-dayes repose. The King sent us thither ten *Ahues*, and a very fair Stagg, the horns whereof had twelve brow-aucklers: but ere we were well laid down, word was brought us, that the King was got on Horse-back, in order to some further sport. We immediately follow'd, and found him a Hawking. He soon gave over that sport, and taking along with him nine persons of his own Retinue, and six of ours, he went into a spacious low Walk, at the end whereof there was a place for the keeping of wild-Ducks: but instead of hunting, he must needs fall a Drinking, and was so dispos'd to mirth, that the noise we made, kept the Ducks and Geese from coming near the place. The King did Monsieur *Mandelslo* the favour, to permit him to present him with a Glass of Wine, and after he had drunk, and that *Mandelslo* had kiss'd his knee, he presented him with an Apple, which is an expression of so particular a kindness, that the whole Court began to look on him, from that time, as a Person very much in the King's favour.

The *Kerek jerak*, or ordinary Steward of his Majesties Houshold, whose name was *Mahumed Aly-beg*, who had fill'd the King his drink during this Debauch, and had not forgot to take off his own, was grown so drunk, that, sitting at the entrance of the Walk, he made such a noise, that the King sent one to bid him get thence, and perceiving no intreaties would prevail with him, he commanded him to be dragg'd thence, and set on horse-back.

Aly-beg could not hinder their dragging of him thence, but they were not able to set him on horse-back, nay he abus'd and struck those that should have done it. The King goes out of the Gallery, and would have perswaded him to get on horse-back, but he was no better treated than the rest, so that laying his hand on his Sword, he made as if he would have cut off his head. The fright which that put the Steward into, made him cry out so loud, that the whole company concern'd themselves in the fear he was in.

He was very much in his Prince's favour, but knew him to be a person not to be jeasted withall, and he had so many sad examples of it before his Eyes, that the terrors of Death did, in a moment, disperse the Vapours, which had unsetled his Brain, and bestow'd wings on those Feet, which the Wine had made unable to go. *He* immediately got on horse-back, and rid away as fast as his horse could carry him, and so made a shift to escape that time. The king who was got into a pleasant humour, only Laugh'd at it; he came very merrily in to us; but withdrew soon after, and we went and were lodg'd in our own quarters.

The 20. there was no hunting at all. We dined with the king, who was that day serv'd by a hundred young Men, very handsome Persons, and richly Clad, who alwayes stood before him. Many of our Retinue would rather have kept those Gentlemen company, and waited, than have been among the Guests, by reason of the trouble it was to them to sit according to the manner of the Country. This entertainment was made in a pleasant Summer-house that stood in the midst of a Garden, upon the water-side. In the afternoon, we went to another Village, about a League and a half from the City, and, in our way, took a white *Heron*.

The 21. the king sent betimes in the Morning to invite us to go a Pidgeon-hunting. We were carried up to the top of a great Tower, within which there were above a thousand Nests. We were plac'd all without, having in our hands little sticks forked at the ends. The king commanded our Trumpets to sound a charge, and immediately there were driven out of the Tower or Pidgeon-house, great numbers of Pidgeons, which were most of them kill'd by the king and those of his Company. This was the end of that kind of hunting, after which we took our way towards the City: but ere we got into it, the king carried us into one of his Gardens, called *Tzarbach*, which is no doubt the fairest of any we have seen in *Persia*, where we had another Manificent treatment. As soon as we were got to our Lodgings, there were brought us, *Pidgeon-Hunting.*

1637. from the King, twelve wild Drakes, and as many Pidgeons; but they were provided, it ſeems, only for the Ambaſſador *Brugman* and his Ladies.

Somes days afterwards it was publiſh'd by the *Tzartzi* or publick Crier, all over the City, that all ſhould keep within their houſes, and that none ſhould preſume to come into the ſtreet; the King being to goe that way abroad, to give the Court Ladies the Divertiſement of Hunting.

The cuſtom of the Country is, that the King's Wives and Concubines ſhould not go abroad, unleſs it be in certain Cheſts or Cabinets, which are covered all over, and carried by Camels. All which notwithſtanding, they permit not, that, while they are paſſing by, there ſhou'd be any one in the Streets, or that any men ſhould come within Musket-ſhot of the field where they are, upon pain of preſent Death. The King goes before, and the Ladies follow about half an hour after, accompany'd by their Women, and a great number of Eunuchs. When they are come into the field, they get on Horſe-back, carry Hawks on their fiſts, and uſe their Bows and Arrows as well as the men.

Only the King and the Eunuchs ſtay among the Women; all the reſt of the men are about half a League from them, and when the ſport is begun, no man is to come within two Leagues of them, unleſs the King ſend for him by an Eunuch. The Lords of the Court in the mean time hunt ſome other way. The King return'd from this Hunting, *Nov.* 26. ſo Drunk, as were alſo moſt of his Lords, that they could hardly ſit their horſes. They made a halt at the ſaid houſe called *Tzarbach*, and had engag'd themſelves into that Debauch, upon a great Bridge which is at the entrance of the Park, where the great Lords had danc'd in his Preſence, and found him ſuch excellent ſport, that thoſe who did beſt, had great Preſents beſtow'd on them. It was obſerv'd to be his particular Humour, that he was very liberal in his Debauches, and many times gave away ſo much, that the next day he repented him of it.

The King liberal in his Debauches.

Some eight days after this great Hunting-match we had an example of his Liberality in that kind. For, one day, being deſirous to drink in the after-noon, and moſt of the company having left him, there being with him only the *Eahtemad dowlet*, and ſome Eunuchs, he caus'd a great Cup to be fill'd, which he ordered to be preſented to the Chancellor, with a command, that he ſhould drink his health. The Chancellor, who was not given to thoſe Exceſſes, would have excus'd himſelf, but the King drew out his Sword, ſet it by the Cup, and bid him take his choice, either Drink, or Dye.

The Chancellor finding he had the Woolf by the Ears, and not knowing how to avoid drinking, takes the Cup in his hand, and was going to drink; but perceiving the King a little turn'd about, he riſes and gets away. The King was extremely incens'd thereat, and ſent for him, but upon anſwer brought, that he was not to be found, he gave the Cup to an *Achta* or Eunuch. He would alſo have excus'd himſelf, pretending he had not Drunk any Wine for a good while before, and that if he took off that Cup, it would infallibly be the Death of him; but the King was not ſatisfy'd with thoſe excuſes, and taking up his Sword would have kill'd him, if a *Mehater*, or Gentleman belonging to his Chamber had not prevented him, yet did he not do it ſo clearly, but that he himſelf was hurt in the Leg, and the Eunuch in the hand. The King, who would have his will, finding all had left him, addreſs'd himſelf to one of his Pages, the Son of *Alymerdan-Chan*, Governour of *Candahar*, who was a very handſom young Lad, and ask'd him, whether he had the courage to venture at the drinking off of that Cup. The young Lad made anſwer, that he knew not what he might be able to do, and that he would do his endeavour, whereupon kneeling down before the King, he took ſeveral draughts of it. At laſt, thinking it too great a task to go through, and finding himſelf animated by the Wine, and the King's obliging expreſſions, who ſtill egg'd him on to Drink, he riſes, caſt his arms about the King's neck, kiſſes him, and ſays, *Patſcha humſe alla, taala menum itzun d' Jſchock jaſch werſun*; that is, *I pray God grant the King a long and happy Life*: and the Prince was ſo much taken with the action, that he ſent to the Treaſury for a Sword, whereof the *Hi*ndle, Scabard, and Belt, were beſet with precious ſtones, and preſented him with it; and beſtow'd on another Page, who had help'd off with ſome of the Wine, another very rich Sword, and a great Golden Cup. But the next day, he was ſo caſt down, and ſo Melancholy, that Riding abroad into the Country, he was not able to hold his Bridle. They put him into a better humour, by getting from the Pages the beſt Sword and the Golden cup, giving them ſome *Tumans* in ready Money.

The Chancellor treats the Ambaſſadors.

A Hall ſet all about with Looking-Glaſſes

The 19. of *November*, the *Eahtemad Dowlet*, or Chancellor, made a great Feaſt for the Ambaſſadors, in a moſt fair *Hall*, which as ſoon as a man came to the entrance of it, wonderfully charm'd the Eye. For in the midſt of the *Veſtibulum*, there was a great Fountain, out of which came ſeveral ſpouts of water. The *Hall* it ſelf had on the upper part of it, towards the Roof, ſeveral Pourtractures of Women, cloath'd in ſeveral Modes, all done after ſome *Europæan* Copies; and under them the Walls were ſet all about with Looking-Glaſſes, to the number of above two hundred, of all ſizes. So that when a man ſtood in the midſt of the *Hall*, he might ſee himſelf of all ſides.

We

We were told, that in the King's Palace, in the appartment of his Wives, there is also a Hall, done all about with Looking-Glasses, but far greater and much fairer than this. The entertainment which the Chancellor made us was very Magnificent, all the meat being serv'd in silver Dishes. We had the Divertisement of the King's Musick and Dancing-women all the time we were at Dinner, during which they behav'd not themselves with the same respect and reserv'dness as they had done in the King's presence, when we din'd at Court, but shew'd tricks much beyond any thing they had done before, one whereof I observ'd, which I think almost Miraculous. One of these Women having plac'd in the midst of the Hall a Vessel of Porcelane two foot high, and taken several turns about it, took it up between her Leggs, with such slight, that not any one of us perceiv'd it, and kept on the Dance with the same ease, and with the same slight return'd it to the same place, not making one wrong step all the time. 1637.

These Women are callled *Kachbcha*'s, and they are employ'd not only in this Divertisement, but in any other that may be expected from Women. Those who entertain their Friends, what quality soever they be of, will not have them want any Diversion they can desire; and the *Persians*, who are great Lovers of Women, will not omit at their treatments that sport which they most delight in. Whence it comes, that there is no great Feast made in *Persia*, at which these Dancing-women are not brought in, as a necessary part of it. The Master of the Entertainment proffers them to his Guests, and he who hath a mind to any one of them, rises from the Table, goes into a private room with her whom he most fancies, and having done his work, comes to his place again, and the Woman goes to the Dance, without any shame on the one side, or notice taken of it on the other. Those who make some difficulty to venture themselves with such common Ware, refuse the Master's kindness with a Complement, and thank him for the honour he does them. There is but one City in all *Persia*, to wit, that of *Ardebil*, where this custom is not suffered; which is done upon the accompt of the Sanctity of the place, which is so great, that *Schach-Abas* thought himself oblig'd to banish thence all the publick VVomen. *The Persian treatments have all Diversions*

Dinner being ended, the Musick and the Dancers withdrew, and the Ambassadors with the Chancellor, made some Progress in their Negotiation, and in the mean time we were carried a walking into the Garden, where they treated us with Fruit and Conserves.

As to this *Eahtemad dowlet*; his name was *Tagge*, and he was about sixty years of age, having one eye black, the other blew, a fall face; but yellowish or inclining to an Olive, and very high colour'd; whence it came, that he was ordinarily called *Saru Tagge*. He wore no beard, as being an Eunuch; and upon that occasion we shall here give a short account of him and his fortunes, which we think may deserve insertion in this place, though there are various relations thereof. *The Chancellors name, age, and fortune.*

Some affirm, that *Saru Tagge*, being yet very young, and his employment being to Copy out Writings in the City of *Keintze*, he fell in love with a young Boy, and not prevailing with him to consent to his brutality, he forc'd him. The Boy's Father made his complaints to *Schach-Abas*, then King of *Persia*, who commanded that *Saru Tagge* should have his *Sjk*, (so they call the privy parts) with all its dependences, cut off. Others relate, that *Schach-Abas* condemn'd him to die, and that *Tagge* coming to hear of it, cut off, himself, those parts with a Rasour, sent them to the King, with this request, that having himself punish'd the Members which had offended, his Majesty would be pleas'd to let his head alone, which had done no more harm, and might, one time or other, be serviceable to him; and that the King astonish'd at the strange resolution of the man, conceiv'd an affection for him, and finding him an understanding person, made him Secretary in his Court of Chancery. *Schach-Sefi* having with his own hands kill'd *Taleb-Chan*, this man's Predecessor, sent *Tagge* the Golden Ink-horn, which is the Badge of the Dignity of Chancellor.

The 21. following, the Chancellor invited the Ambassadors to a second entertainment, by expres order from the King, that they might make some further progres in their Affairs. They had a very long conference together, after which we were treated at dinner, but not with the same Magnificence as the time before. *A second conference with the Chancellor.*

The 29. the two Brothers, *Seferas*, and *Elias-beg*, came to visit the Ambassadors, who would needs have them stay Dinner; *Elias-beg* endeavour'd all he could to be merry himself, and to make others so, but we easily found it was done with some violence, and that his heart answer'd not his outward demeanour. The reason of it we understood from his elder brother, who told us, that the King had a great kindness for them, and did them very great favours; but that it was a dangerous thing to jeast with him, and that he had a very sad assurance of it in his brother, who being much respected at the Court, for the freedom of his humour, and his divertive conversation, the King told him one day, that he wanted not any thing, save that he was not of the *Mussulman*'s Religion, and that he could not do him a greater pleasure, than to suffer Circumcision. Whereto *Elias-beg*, reply'd smiling, that that might happen one time or other, intreating his Majesty not to speak any further of serious affairs, but to prosecute his Divertisements. There was no more said to him of it for a good while, but upon occasion of the *Clock-*

makers

1637. *makers* constancy, the king sent him word, that he should remember the promise he had made to be Circumcis'd. He would have excus'd himself, pretending what he had spoken was in jeast; but those whom the king had sent to him, would not be shuffled off with that answer, took him, and Circumcis'd him by force. *Elias-beg* confirm'd what his elder brother had told us; but with this protestation, that he was nevertheless a *Christian* in his Soul, and that he would die in the profession he had ever made of that Religion.

DECEM. *The King's Presents to the Ambassadors.* *December* the second, *Abasculi Beg*, our *Mehemandar*, came, and brought us the Presents from the king; to wit, to each of the Ambassadors a Horse, with the Saddles cover'd all over with plates of Gold, and the Bridles having great buckles of the same Metal: Two Garments, according to the *Persian* wearing, together with the *Mendils* and *Mianbends*, that is, the Turbant and Girdle, of Gold Brocado, according to the mode of the Countrey. Moreover, to be divided between them both, two hundred and five pieces of fifteen sorts of silk stuffs, Satin, Damask, *Darai*, Taffata, Cotton, &c. and two hundred *Tumains* in money, which amont to just three thousand, three hundred and seventy *Piastres*, or a thousand French Pistols, towards the expences of their travel in their return. The five principal persons of the Retinue had each of them a Satin Vestment, and another of Taffata, with Flowers of Gold and Silk. The other Gentlemen had each of them one of Taby, with Flowers of Gold; but the rest of the Retinue had not any thing sent them. The Ambassador *Brugman* seiz'd the money, bestow'd some of it among those of our Company, who stood in need thereof, to buy things necessary for their journey, and distributed the rest among some of his *Armenian* friends.

The Ambassadors last treatment at Court. The next day, *Decemb.* 3. the King sent to invite the Ambassadors to Dine with him once more, which was to be the last Treatment we were to have at Court. The *Mahemandar* told them, it was the custom, that they should have, upon their own cloaths, the best of those Garments, which the King had sent them. The Ambassadors, at first, made some difficulty to have that complyance; but when they were told it was a custom observ'd by all Ambassadors, and that no doubt the King would take it very ill at their hands, if they presented themselves before him, without the marks of his Liberality, they at last resolv'd to do it, and, after their example, all the rest of the Retinue. We Dined in the Hall of the *Divan Chane*, and all things were performed with the same Ceremonies as at the first time. Only this happened more than ordinary, that, while the fruits were yet upon the Table, the Chancellor ordered to pass before the King, the Present, which he is wont to make every year once, and sometimes twice, for reasons whereof we shall give some account hereafter. This Present consisted in twelve excellent Horses, very richly cover'd, forty nine Camels loaden with *Turkie* Tapistry, and other fine stuffs of Wool, fifteen Mules, a thousand *Tumains*, or fifty thousand Livers in money, forty pieces of Gold and Silver Brocado, and several other stuffs and Commodities, whereof there was such abundance, that it took up an hour and a half ere all were pass'd by, to be dispos'd into the Treasury: in as much as for every *Tumain*, there was a several person, who carried it in his hand, in a silken Purse of several colours.

The Chancellors Present to the King.

The Ambassadors take leave of the King After Dinner, the *Kurtzibachi*, or Lord high Chamberlain, came and conducted the Ambassadors to the King, of whom they took their leave. The King delivered them himself the Answer he made to the Letters they had brought him, with recommendations to his Highness our Master, and promis'd that he would send to Visit him by an expres Embassy. The Ambassadors answer'd the Complement, and thank'd the King for the honour he had done them, and the noble Treatments they had received from him, during the stay they had made in his kingdom; and return'd to their lodgings, observing the same order in their going from the Court as had been done at their going thither.

The Muscovian Poslanick dismiss'd. *Decemb.* 4. the *Poslanick*, or *Muscovian* Ambassador, *Alexei Savinowits* went to see the Chancellor, who dismiss'd him in the Kings name, that he might return in our Company. The dayes following, those Lords, who had receiv'd any Presents from our Ambassadors, sent theirs to them.

Decemb. 5. *Chosru Sulthan* sent the Ambassadors two Horses.

The Presents from some Persian Lords to the Ambassadors. The next day, *Tzanichan*, the *Kurtzibaschi*, sent his Present to the Ambassadors; but in regard he had done it, by the *Persian* fugitive, *Rustan*, who had so basely left the Ambassadors, to change his Religion, they would not accept of it, and sent him word, that they much wondred, that, it being, as they conceiv'd, his design to do them an honour, and to oblige them by the Present he made them, he would send it by a person, for whom they must needs have an aversion, and one they could not endure to see. Three dayes after, he sent them, by another Man, two Horses, a Mule, and eighteen pieces of Stuff, which they accepted, and gave the person who brought the Present, five Pistols.

The

The 10. the Chamberlain ſent them two Horſes ; the Chancellor , two Horſes , a Mule , and forty five pieces of ſtuffs , among which there were ſeveral , whereof the ground-work was Gold. 1637.

The ſame day , the *Mehemander* came to give us notice , that the King intended within eight days to goe for *Kaſchan* , and that if we could be ready againſt that time , we might make our advantage of the convenience, as far as that City. Which oblig'd us to put all things in readineſs for our journey ; and the 12. we made an entertainment , in order to our departure , whereto were invited the ſame perſons who had been at the firſt , ſave that the acquaintances , which the Ambaſſador *Brugman* had made in the Suburbs of *Tzulfa* , occaſion'd his invitation of ſeveral *Armenians* to this , who had not been at the former.

In the afternoon , there was running at the Ring , at which Divertiſement was preſent alſo the *Portuguez* Agent , who manag'd the Viceroy's affairs at the Court , and a rich *Jew* , who drove a great trade between the *Indies* and *Conſtantinople*. The Walls, Windows , and tops of the neighbouring houſes were full of *Perſians* and *Armenians* , who came thither to ſee that Divertiſement.

The noiſe of the Trumpets and Tymbrels continu'd all the time , as did alſo that of our Artillery , which the Ambaſſador *Brugman* ordered to be diſcharg'd at all the healths that were drunk , and that ſo often , that Father *Joſeph* , our Interpreter , who knew that they might hear every ſhot at the Kings Palace , fearing his Majeſty ſhould take it ill , was forc'd to repreſent to him the Tyrannical humour of that Prince , and the danger, whereto he expos'd not only his own perſon , after the Ambaſſadors were departed , but alſo all that belong'd to the Embaſſy. He told him , that it was no extraordinary thing to ſee that Prince exerciſe his cruelties upon all ſorts of perſons , without any regard of their Quality or Character , and intreated him to command that there ſhould be no more ſhooting. But all theſe Remonſtrances prevail'd nothing with the Ambaſſador , who ordered the Trumpets to ſound , and the Guns to be fir'd as much as at any time before. We underſtood ſince, that the King was ſo incens'd againſt the ſaid Ambaſſador , as well for this action, as another , whereof I ſhall preſently give an account, that he was upon the point of ordering him to be cut in pieces , and it may be all of us with him , if the prudence and moderation of the Chancellor had not prevail'd with him to forbear , by repreſenting to him , that the Prince his Maſter , who, no doubt approv'd not the inſolences of that Ambaſſador , would be ſure to puniſh them, as ſoon as he were advertiſed thereof. *Brugmans impru-dence.*

But what moſt incens'd the King was this following adventure. *Lion Bernoldi* , who had the Quality of a Gentleman , in the Retinue of the Ambaſſadors , was put into Irons by order of the Ambaſſador *Brugman* ; upon this account , that being born at *Antwerp* , whence he retir'd into *Holland* , there were ſome jealouſies conceiv'd of him, upon the frequent Viſits he made to the *Dutch* Agent , from whom he receiv'd many little kindneſſes. However , that the Agent might not take ought amiſs , and the more to ſmother the jealouſie had of him , it was given out that he had rob'd the Ambaſſadors. *He* found means to make his eſcape, and caſt himſelf into the Sanctuary of the *Perſians* , which they call *Alla-Capi* , which is part of the *King's* Palace. The Ambaſſadors ſent to intreat the *King* to return their Domeſtick into their hands ; but anſwer was brought , that if what he was charg'd to have ſtolen were found about him , it ſhould be reſtor'd , but that as to his perſon , it was not in his power to force him out of the Sanctuary , though he had committed ſome Crime againſt his Royal Dignity. The Ambaſſador *Brugman* was ſo tranſported with paſſion at this anſwer , that he ſaid aloud, that he would have him, and would kill him , though he took refuge and were found within the *King's* arms. Nay, not content to betray this ſally of his paſſion , he ſuborn'd an *Armenian* , who was to perſwade *Bernoldi* , to get out of the Sanctuary in the night , and to hide himſelf ſome where elſe, while he ſent above twenty perſons a-foot and on horſe-back , Arm'd with Fire-locks , and Muskets with match lighted, to the Palace-Gate , with expreſs Order to kill him , if he came out , or to get him thence by force. *His* Collegue endeavour'd all he could to prevent that violence , and the *Kings* Guard oppos'd it ; but the inſolence of the party he had ſent out upon this deſign, who did more than they were commanded to do , was ſo great, that, making head againſt the Guard, who would have thruſt them back , the *King* awak'd at the noiſe , and, deſirous to prevent further diſorder , commanded that Gate , through which there was an entrance into the Sanctuary , to be ſhut , which was more than had been ſeen in the memory of Man ; it being the deſign of the Foundation , that thoſe unfortunate perſons who are forc'd thither , ſhould find their way in at any hour. *One of the Gentlemen of the retinue takes Sanctuary* *Brugmans inſolence.* *The King's patience.*

The *King* was ſo incens'd at theſe proceedings , that as ſoon as he got up the next morning , he told the Lords of his Councel , that being not ſafe , even within his own Palace , by reaſon of the *Germans* , who would not ſuffer him to take his reſt in the night , there was a neceſſity , either he or they ſhould leave the City.

The

1637. The ſame Ambaſſador engag'd himſelf in another unhandſom buſineſs, which was of ſo much the more dangerous conſequence, that all the *Chriſtians* of the Suburbs were concern'd in it. The *King* commands every year, a ſearch to be made among the *Armenians*, for all the handſom Maids, and makes choice of thoſe whom he likes beſt. Our Interpreter for the *Armenian* Language, whoſe name was *Seran*, a perſon of a leud life, addreſſing himſelf to the Ambaſſador *Brugman*, told him, that, in that ſearch, he was like to loſe a Daughter, a beautiful Laſs, whom he tenderly lov'd, and deſir'd his advice and protection in that caſe. *Brugman* advis'd him to oppoſe the Searchers, and to call to his aſſiſtance the Domeſticks of the Embaſſy, and aſſur'd him, they ſhould be ready to relieve him. This proceedure of his, and ſeveral other imprudent actions, had, at laſt, forc'd the *King* to a more ſevere reſolution againſt the ſaid Ambaſſador, nay, haply againſt the whole Company, if the Chancellor had not moderated his paſſion.

THE

THE

TRAVELS

OF THE

AMBASSADORS

FROM THE

DUKE of HOLSTEIN

INTO

MUSCOVY, TARTARY, and PERSIA.

The Sixth Book.

HERE we leave the City of *Ispahan*, which is now the Metropolis of the whole Kingdom of *Persia*, it will not be amiss, I gave the Reader an account of what I found therein, worthy my Observation; during our aboad there, for the space of five moneths, and to give here such a Description thereof, as he must expect to be so much the more full and particular, inasmuch as there is not any Author, who hath hitherto written of it, hath done it with exactness enough, to satisfie, even, a mean Curiosity. 1637.

They say, that the City of *Ispahan* is the same which was heretofore called *Hecatonopolis*, and that before *Tamberlane*'s time, it was known by the name of *Sipahan*, as well by reason of the number of its Inhabitants, which was so great as that, out of it, a considerable Army might be rais'd, as in regard that, in that place, the Armies had their Rendezvous; from the antient *Persian* and *Usbeque* word, *Sipe*, whereof *Sipahan* is the plural, and signifies the same thing as *Lesker*, that is to say, an Army: from which is derived the word *Sipes-alar*, a term the *Persians* do yet sometimes make use of, to signifie a chief Commander, or General of an Army. *Tamberlane* was the first, who, by transporting the two first Letters of that name, call'd it *Ispahan*. *Ahmed ben Arebscha*, who hath written the Life and Actions of *Tamberlane*, calls this City in all places, *Isbahan*, writing the word with a *b*, and the Modern *Persians* always write it *Isfahan*, with an *f*, from an *Arabian* word, which signifies Rank or Batallion, though they pronounce it indifferently, sometimes *Isfahan*, sometimes *Ispahan*. *Jos. Barbaro* alwayes calls it *Spaham*; and *Ambr. Contarini*, who was sent Ambassador from the Republick of *Venice*, to *Ussum Cassan*, King of *Persia*, in the year 1473. calls it *Spaa*, *Spaam*, and *Aspacham*. But as we said before, its right name is *Ispahan*. Ispahan described.

This City lies in the Province of *Erak*, or *Hierack*, which is the antient *Parthia*, in a spacious Plain, having on all sides, at about three or four Leagues distance, a high Mountain, which compasses it like an Amphitheatre, at thirty two degrees, twenty six minutes Latitude, and eighty six degrees, forty minutes, Longitude; and I have observ'd, that the Needle declined there seventeen degrees from the North towards the West. It hath, toward the South and South-west side, the Mountain of *Demawend*; and on the North-east side, towards the Pro-

1637. vince of *Meſanderan*, the Mountain of *Jeilak-Perjan*. The Author of the French Book, intituled *Les Eſtats & Empires*, puts it in the Province of *Chuareſſen*: but he is miſtaken, for *Chuareſſen* is a Province of the *Usbeques Tartars*. at 43. degrees Latitude, and lies at a great diſtance from that of *Erak*.

Its greatneſs. If you take in all its Suburbs, it will be found that it is above eight *German* Leagues in compaſs, in ſo much that it is as much as a man can do to go about it in one day. The City hath twelve Gates, whereof there are but nine open; above eighteen thouſand Houſes, and about five hundred thouſand Inhabitants. The Walls of it are of Earth, low and weak, being, below, two fathoms, and above, but a foot thick, and its Baſtions are of Brick, but ſo poorly flanked, that they do not any way fortifie the City, no more than does the Ditch, which is ſo ruin'd, that both Summer and Winter, a man may paſs over it dry-foot. *F. Bizarro*, and ſome others affirm, that the walls are of Chalk; but I could find no ſuch thing, unleſs it were that in the Caſtle, which hath its walls diſtinct from thoſe of the City, there are ſome places, which look as if they were whitened, or done over with Chalk or Lime.

The River Senderut. The River *Senderut*, which riſes out of the adjacent Mountain of *Demawend*, runs by its walls on the South and South-weſt ſide, on which ſide is the Suburbs of *Tzulfa*. Before it comes into the City, it is divided into two branches, one whereof falls into the Park, called *Haſartzerib*, where the King keeps all ſorts of Deer, and from the other, there is drawn a current of water, which paſſes, by Chanels under ground, into the Garden of *Tzarbagh*. This River ſupplies the whole City with water, there being hardly a houſe into which it comes not by Pipes, or ſo near, as that it is no great trouble to them to fill their Ciſterns of it, which they call *Haws* and *Burke*; though beſides this convenience of the River, they have Wells, the water whereof is as good as that of the River. *Allawerdi-Chan*, ſometime Governour of *Schiras*, built, at his own charge, the fair Stone-Bridge, which is between the Garden of *Tzarbagh*, and the City, upon this River, which is as broad in that place as the *Thames* is at *London*.

Schach-Abas had a deſign to bring into the River of *Senderut* that of *Abkuren* which riſes on the other ſide of the ſame Mountain of *Demawend*; and whereas, to bring theſe two Rivers into the ſame Chanel, there was a neceſſity of cutting the Mountain, he employ'd, for the ſpace of fourteen years together, above a thouſand Pioners at that work. And though they met with extraordinary difficulties, not only in that they had to do with pure Rock, which in ſome places was above two hundred foot deep; but alſo in regard, the Mountain being cover'd with Snow for near nine Months of the year, they had but three to work in, yet had he the work conſtantly carried on with ſuch earneſtneſs, that all the *Chans* and Great Lords ſending their Work-men thereto, upon their own charges, there was in a manner no doubt made of the ſucceſſe of that great enterprize, ſince there remain'd to do but the ſpace of two hundred paces, when *Schach-Abas* died, leaving the Conſummation of that imperfect work to his Succeſſor, who hath as yet done nothing therein.

If *Aaly*, the Patron and great Saint of the *Perſians*, had liv'd in that time, he might have done *Schach-Abas* a very great kindneſs, by opening that Rock at one blow with his Sword, and ſo made way for the River, as he ſometime did, according to the Relations of the *Perſians*, in the Province of *Karabach*, where he made a paſſage for the River *Aras*, through the Mountain, which he opened with his Sword, and which, upon that occaſion, is, to this day, called *Aaly dereſſi*, that is, the ſtreights of *Aaly*.

Iſpahan deſtroy'd by Tamberlane. The City of *Iſpahan* was twice deſtroy'd by *Tamberlane*; once, when he took it from the King of *Perſia*; and the other, when the ſaid City would have revolted from him, and become Subject to its lawfull Prince. *Joſ. Barbaro*, who Travell'd into *Perſia* in the year 1471. ſayes, that about twenty years before, *Chotza*, whom he calls *Giauſa*, King of *Perſia*, deſirous to puniſh this City for its Rebellion, commanded his Soldiers not to come thence, unleſs they brought with them the Heads of ſome of the Inhabitants of *Iſpahan*; and that the Soldiers, who met not every day with Men, cut off Womens heads, ſhav'd them, and ſo brought them to *Chotza*, and that by this means the City was ſo depopulated, that there were not people enough left to fill the ſixth part of it. It began to recover it ſelf under *Schach-Iſmael* II. but indeed, it was *Schach-Abas*, by tranſlating the ſeat of his Empire from *Caſwin* to this City, brought it to the height it is now in, not only by adorning it with many fair, both publick and private Structures, but alſo by peopling it with a great number of Families, which he brought along with him out of ſeveral other Provinces of the kingdome.

But what contributes moſt to the greatneſs of this City is the *Metſchids*, or their *Moſqueies*, the Market-places, the *Baſar*, the publick Baths, and the Palaces of Great Lords that have ſome relation to the Court; but eſpecially the fair Gardens, whereof there is ſo great a number, that there are many Houſes have two or three, and hardly any, but hath at leaſt one.

Its Gardens. The expences the *Perſians* are at in their Gardens, is that wherein they make greateſt oſtentation of their Wealth. Not that they much mind the furniſhing of them with delightful Flowers,

Flowers, as we do in *Europe*; but these they slight as an excessive Liberality of Nature, by whom their common fields are strew'd with an infinite number of Tulips and other Flowers; but they are rather desirous to have their Gardens full of all sorts of Fruit-Trees, and especially to dispose them into pleasant Walks, of a kind of Plane or Poplar, a Tree not known in *Europe*, which the *Persians* call *Tzinnar*. These Trees grow up to the height of the Pine, and have very broad Leaves, not much unlike those of the Vine. Their fruit hath some resemblance to the Chestnut, while the outer coat is about it; but there is no Kernel within it, so that it is not to be eaten. The wood thereof is very brown, and full of Veins, and the *Persians* use it in Doors, and shutters for Windows, which, being rubb'd with Oyl, look incomparably better than any thing made of Wall-nut Tree, nay indeed than the Root, of it, which is now so much esteem'd. 1637.

All things in their Gardens are very delightful, but, above all, their Fountains. The Basins or Receptacles of them are very large, and most of Marble, or Free-stone. There are belonging to them many Chanels, of the same stone, which conveigh the water from one Basin to another, and serve to water the Garden. Persons of Quality, nay indeed many rich Merchants, build, in their Gardens, Summer-houses, or a kind of Gallery or Hall, which is enclos'd with a row of Pillars, whereto they add, at the four corners of the main Structure, so many with-drawing-rooms, or Pavilions, where they take the air, according to the wind then reigning. And this they take so much delight in, that, many times, these Summer-houses, are handsomer built, and better furnish'd, than those wherein they ordinarily live. 'Tis true, their Great-mens Houses and Palaces are very Magnificent within; but there is not any thing so ugly without, in regard most of their Houses are built only of Earth, or Brick, bak'd in the Sun. *Its Fountains.*

Their houses are in a manner square, and most have four stories, accounting the ground-room for one, They call the Cellar, and such places, belonging to a house, as are under ground, *Sirsemin*, the ground-rooms of the house, *Chane*, the first story *Kuschk*; the second, *Tzauffe*; and the third, *Kesser*; and they call the open Halls *Eiwan*. Their Windows are commonly as big as their Doors; and in regard their buildings are not very high, the frames ordinarily reach up to the Roof. They have not yet the use of Glass, but, in Winter, they cover the frames of their Windows, which are made like Lattices, with oyl'd Paper. *Their Houses.*

There is also little Wood in *Persia*, I mean in most of its Provinces, that, not being able to keep any great fire, they make use of Stoves, but they are otherwise made than those of *Germany*. In the midst of their low rooms, they make a hole in the ground of about the compass of an ordinary Kettle, which they fill with burning Coals or Char-coal, and put over it a plank, or little low Table, cover'd with a large Carpet. Sitting, according to their custom, upon the ground, they thrust their feet under the Table, and draw the Carpet over their Body up to the breast, so as that the heat is thereby kept in. Some pass away the nights also, thus accommodated, and so they procure a very natural heat with little fire, and they imagine it to be the more wholsom, in that it troubles not the head, which in the mean time hath the benefit of a fresh and healthy air. They call this kind of Stoves *Tenuer*; and that the brain might not be offended by Vapours, which Char-coal commonly sends up into the head, they have certain Passages and Conduits under ground, through which the air draws them away. Persons of mean Quality, and such as are saving, dress their meat with these *Tenuers*, and make use of them instead of an Oven, and bake Bread and Cakes over them. There is not a house in *Ispahan*, but hath its Court, which a man must cross ere he comes into the house. *Their stoves.*

They say, that heretofore, the streets of *Ispahan* were so broad, that twenty horse might have rid a-breast in any of them. But now, especially since the City began to be re-peopled, in the time of *Schach-Abas*, they husbanded their ground better, especially in the heart of the City, near the *Maidan* and the *Basar*; insomuch that the streets are become so narrow, that if a man meets a Mule-driver, whom they call *Charbende*, that is, a servant to look to the Asses, who many times drives twenty Mules or more before him, he must step into some shop, and stay there till they be all pass'd by. All the streets abutting upon the *Maidan* are very narrow: but the *Maidan*, or Market-place, though it hath shops all about it, is so large, that I cannot imagine there is any in *Europe* comes near it. *The streets.*

This Market-place is seven hundred foot long, and two hundred and fifty broad. All the houses about the *Maidan* are of equal heighth, and all built of Brick, having their shops vaulted: where you have, on the side towards the King's Palace, Goldsmiths, Lapidaries, and Druggists; and opposite to them, those Merchants who sell all sorts of stuffs, of Silk, Wool, and Cotton, and the Taverns where they Tiple, and sell all sorts of Provisions. All these houses are two stories high, and have all, their *Eiwans*, or open Halls. The Market-place is planted all about with a kind of Trees, called *Scimscad*, which is somewhat like Box, but they are much higher, and the branches being perpetually green, they are so cut, that the Shops are to be seen between the Trees, and make a very delightful Prospect. But it is not one of the least Ornaments of their *Maidan*, that the Rivulet which runs at the foot of these *The Maidan.*

1637. Trees, in a Chanel of Freeſtone, rais'd two foot from the ground all about the Market-place, falls into two great Baſons, at the two corners of it, and is thence carried by Chanels under ground to other places.

Tradeſ-men do not work at all themſelves, but have their Slaves and Apprentices, who do all the main work at their houſe's, while the Maſter's buſineſs is only to ſell his Commodities, in ſhops appointed for that purpoſe, at the *Maidan*, in a great Vaulted Gallery built with Arches, or in the ſtreets abutting upon it, where every Trade hath its particular quarter aſſign'd it, or haply in a ſtreet appointed for that particular Commodity, and where they permit not the ſelling of any other. The obſervance of which order, in regard the *Perſians* are very neat in all they do, makes ſo delightful a ſhew, that I have not ſeen any thing like it. At the end of his Gallery, there are two Balconies, cover'd over head, oppoſite one to the other, where their Muſick, which conſiſts in Tymbrels, Hawboyes, and other kind of Inſtruments, which they call *Kerenei*, is to be heard every night at Sun-ſet, as alſo, when the King, either going out of the City, or coming into it, paſſes through the *Maidan*. They have this kind of Muſick in all the Cities of *Perſia*, which are governed by the *Chan*, and they ſay *Tamberlane* firſt introduc'd that cuſtom, which hath been obſerved ever ſince.

The King's Palace. TheKing's Palace is upon the *Maidan*. The *Perſians* call it *Dowlet-Chane*, or *Der Chane Schach*, and there lie before the Gate ſeveral great Pieces, of all ſizes, but moſt ſuch as require 36 or 48 pound Bullet, very roughly caſt, without Carriages, and lying upon Beams, ſo as that no uſe can be made of them. *Nicholas Hem*, a *Hollander*, who travell'd into *Perſia* in the years 1623. and 1624. ſays that theſe Pieces were brought thither from *Ormus*, and that they ſecure the Avenues of the place; but, as I ſaid before, it is impoſſible they ſhould be diſcharg'd. Nay, the Palace it ſelf hath no Fortifications, and is compaſs'd only by a high Wall. In the day time, there are but three or four upon the Guard, and in the night, there are fifteen at the Gate, and about thirty within the King's apartment. Theſe laſt are all perſons of Quality,

His Guard. and ſons of *Chans*, of whom, ſome ſtand Centry, and the reſt walk the Round, and they all lye upon the ground, in the open air. This Guard hath its *Kiſchiktzi*, or particular Captain, who, every night, delivers the King a Liſt of their names who are upon the Guard, that he may know whom he may confide in, and by what perſons he is ſerved.

Over the firſt Gate, there is a great ſquare ſtructure, which hath large Windows on all ſides, and we were told, that, within, it was Carv'd all over and Gilt. The other principal apartments of this great Palace, are, the *Tab Chane*, which is a ſpacious Hall, where the King treats all the great Lords of his Court, and entertains them at Dinner, upon the day of their *Naurus*, which is their firſt day of the year; the *Divan-Chane*, which is the ordinary place where all Appeals are try'd, and where the King commonly gives Audience to the Ambaſſadors of Forein Princes, as we ſaid elſewhere; which is done, partly upon this account, that, this Edifice having a great Court adjoyning to it, into which it looks, the King may have the convenience of ſhewing the Ambaſſadors ſome of his beſt Horſes, and his other pieces of Magnificence, as he did at our firſt audience. The *Haram-Chane*, which is a Hall, wherein the *Caſſeha*, that is the King's Concubines, who are always ſhut up in ſeveral apartments, have their meetings, to Dance before him, and to divert him with their Muſicians, who are all Eunuchs: The *Deka*, or the place of the King's ordinary reſidence; where he lodges, and eats, with his lawful Wives. All theſe Halls have, belonging to them, ſeveral Chambers, Cloſets, Galleries, and other neceſſary apartments, fit for the lodging and divertiſement of ſo powerful a Prince, and ſo great a number of Ladies, who are all with him within the ſame Palace; wherein there is not any conſiderable apartment, but hath its particular Garden.

At the entrance of the Kings Palace, and about forty paces from the outer-gate, on the right hand, there is another Gate, which opens into a ſpacious Garden, in the midſt whereof there is a Chapel which gives a Privilege to the whole place, and makes the Sanctuary we ſpoke of

The Sanctuary. before, called by the *Perſians*, *Alla-Capi*, that is, God's Gate. All thoſe who ſtand in fear of impriſonment, whether upon a civil, or criminal account, find here an aſſured Sanctuary and refuge, even againſt the King's diſpleaſure, and may live there till they are reconcil'd to their Adverſaries, if they have to do with private men, or obtain'd their pardon of the King; provided they have wherewithall to ſubſiſt. Murtherers and Aſſaſſins participate of the ſame Privilege; but the *Perſians* have ſo great an averſion for Theft, as accounting it a baſe and infamous Crime, as it really is, that they permit not Thieves, if they do come in, to ſtay there many days. At the time of our Travels, we found, in this Sanctuary, a *Sulthan*, who having, either through misfortune, or his own ill conduct, loſt the Kings favour, and being in fear of loſing his life, was got in thither with all his Family, and liv'd in Tents, which he had ſet up in the Garden.

Its Citadel. Behind the Kings Palace, lies the Caſtle, which they call *Taberik Kale*. It ſerves for a Citadel, which is the ſignification of the word *Kale*, and it is fortify'd with a Rampier, and ſeveral Baſtions of earth, which being very ſharp above, *Nicholas Hem*, whom I have found in all things elſe the moſt exact of any that have written of theCity of *Iſpahan*, took them for Towers.

ers. The King doe's not live in it, but there is a Governour, who hath the command of it, and a ſtrong Garriſon within it, which is kept there for the ſecurity of the Treaſure, the Arms and Ammunition of War, that are within it; though all the Artillery conſiſts only in ſome Field-pieces. 1637.

On the other ſide of the *Maidan*, in a by-ſtreet, there is another Sanctuary, which is called *Tſchehil Sutun*. upon occaſion of the forty Beams, which under-prop the Roof of the Structure, and which all reſt upon one Pillar, which ſtands in the middle of the *Metſchid*, or *Moſquey*. Into this Sanctuary, there got a great number of the Inhabitants of *Iſpahan*, when *Tamberlane* puniſh'd the rebellion of this City. For though he had no great ſentiments of piety, yet did he diſcover a certain reſpect for the places he accounted ſacred; and accordingly he ſpar'd all thoſe who took refuge in the *Moſquey*, but ordered all the reſt to be cut in pieces, and commanded the Walls of the Court belonging to it, to be pull'd down. But *Schach-Iſmael* had them built up again, and made the place a Sanctuary. *Another Sanctuary*

Towards the South part of the *Maidan* ſtands that rich and magnificent *Moſquey*, which *Schach-Abas* began, and was almoſt finiſh'd when he died, but *Schach-Sefi* had the work carried on at the time of our being there, cauſing the Walls to be done over with Marble. It is dedicated to *Mehedi*, who is the twelfth *Iman*, or Saint, of the poſterity of *Aaly*, for whom *Schach-Abas* had ſo particular a Devotion, that he was pleas'd to build ſeveral other *Moſqueys* after the ſame Model; though much leſs, at *Tauris*, and other places, in honour of the ſame Saint, wherein he made uſe of the Marble, which he had brought from *Eruan*, which is as white as Chaulk, and ſmoother than any Looking-glaſs. But the Marble which was ſpent in the building of the great *Metſchid*, at *Iſpahan*, is brought from the Mountain of *Elwend*. The *Perſians* would have it believ'd, that *Mehedi* is not dead, but lies hid in a Grot, near *Kufa*, and that he ſhall come out thence, ſome time before the day of Judgement, and ride *Duldul*, *Aaly*'s Horſe, upon whom he is to go all over the World, to convert people to the Religion of *Mahomet*. Whence this *Moſquey* is called *Metzid Mehede Sahebeſeman*. *The chief Moſquey of the City.*

To go from the *Maidan* to this *Moſquey*, a man muſt paſs through a great Court, pav'd with Free-ſtone, at the end whereof, there is, under a Tree, a fair Ciſtern, wherein thoſe, who go to do their Devotions in the *Moſquey*, waſh and purifie themſelves. Behind this Tree, there is a pair of ſtairs, by which you go up to the ſquare place, which is much leſs than the fore-ſaid Court, and thence it is but a little further to the *Moſquey*. *John de Laet*, taking it from *Nicholas Hem*, affirms, that there is a pair of ſtairs of thirteen ſteps to get up to the *Moſquey*, and that thoſe ſtairs are cut out of one piece of Marble; but there is no ſuch thing. The Portal is of white Marble, and at leaſt as high as that of the *Meſchaick Choabende*, in *Sulthania*. The door is cover'd all over with plates of Silver, which are Gilt in ſeveral places.

As you paſs through the Door, you enter into a great Court, round about which there is a Vaulted Gallery, and, in the middle of it, a great Ciſtern of Free-ſtone, but eight ſquare, and full of water. Above this Gallery there is another, not ſo high as this, which upper Gallery hath, towards the *Hejat*, or Court, a row of Marble Pillars, which in ſome places are Gilt. A man muſt croſs this Court to go into the *Moſquey*, wherein are the *Meherab* and the *Cathib*, that is, the Altar and the Pulpit, according to their way. As you come in, you paſs under a Vault of extraordinary height, done over with glittering Stones, ſome Blew, ſome Gilt. It is a vaſt Structure, having many Neeches and Chapels, which are all upheld by Marble Pillars. But the moſt remarkable thing in all this *Emerat*, is, that all the Walls, as well thoſe of the Gallery, which is in the Court, as of the *Moſquey* it ſelf, are of Marble, about fifteen or ſixteen foot high, and that there is no piece of Marble, (which is moſt of it white and extremely well poliſh'd) but is five or ſix foot in length and breadth, and they are ſo neatly put one into another, that, the Junctures being in a manner imperceptible, a man cannot but admire the Art of the Work-man, and acknowledge that the Workmanſhip is not to be imitated. The *Meherab*, or the Altar, is all of one piece of Marble, having on each ſide, a Pillar of the ſame ſtone, which is alſo all of one piece. Beſides this *Moſquey*, which is the chiefeſt in all the City, and the moſt ſumptuous of any in the whole Kingdome, there are in *Iſpahan* many others, but they are much leſs, and there is too great a number of them, for us to undertake to give here a more particular Deſcription thereof.

In the midſt of the *Maidan* there ſtands a high Pole, much after the manner of thoſe that are ſet up in ſeveral Cities of *Europe*, to ſhoot at the Parrat, but, inſtead of a Bird, they ſet on the top of it a little Melon, an *Arpus*, or an Apple, or haply a Trencher, with money upon it; and they alwayes ſhoot at it on Horſe-back, and that Riding in full ſpeed. *The Exerciſes of the Grandees.*

The King himſelf is ſometimes pleas'd to make one, among the Inhabitants, when they are at that ſport, or ſends ſome of his chiefeſt Lords to do it; and commonly, there are very conſiderable ſumms layd. The Money which falls down with the Trencher, belongs to the King's foot-men, and he who carries away the Prize, is oblig'd to make a Feaſt for all the Company; nay for the King himſelf, if ſo be he hath ſhot among them. They play there alſo at a certain Game, which the *Perſians* call *Knitskaukan*, which is a kind of *Mall*, or *Cricket*; but they play

1637. at this alſo on Horſe-back, and ſtrike the Bowl to the end, Riding in full ſpeed. They alſo often Exerciſe themſelves at the *Tzirid*, or *Javelin*; their way we have deſcribed elſewhere. And in regard *Perſia* hath the beſt Horſes of any in the World, and that the *Perſians* are very curious about them, they many times lay wagers on their ſwiftneſs, and Ride them between the two Pillars, which are at both ends of the *Maidan*. When the King is onely a Spectator of the ſport, he ſits in a little wooden Lodge, called *Scaneſcin*, which is at one end of the *Maidan*; ſet on four Wheels, for the more convenient removal of it from one place to another.

Taverns. On the other ſide of the *Maidan*, over againſt the great *Moſquey*, are the Wine-Taverns, and other Drinking-Houſes, whereof we ſpoke before. There are ſeveral kinds of them. In the *Scire Chanes*, they ſell Wine; but thoſe who have the leaſt tenderneſs for their Reputation, will not come into thoſe places, which are infamous, and the common receptacles of a ſort of people, who divert themſelves there with Muſick, and the Dancing of ſome of their common Drabbs, who having, by their obſcene geſtures, excited the brutalities of the Spectators, get them into ſome corner of the Houſe, or draw them along into ſome publick places, where they permit the commiſſion of theſe abhominations, as freely as they do that of ordinary ſins.

Places where The *is drunk.* In the *Tſal Chattai Chane*, they drink *The*, or *Tea*, which the *Perſians* call *Tzai*, though the *Tzai*, or the *Cha* are properly but a kind of *The*, and *Chattai*, in as much as it is brought them from *Chattai*: we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more of it hereafter. They are only perſons of good repute who Drink of this, and frequent theſe Houſes, where, in the intervals of their drinking, they ſpend the time at a certain Game ſomewhat like our *Tick-Tack*. But they commonly play at Cheſſe, at which they are excellent, and go beyond the *Muſcovites*, whom I dare affirm to be the beſt Gameſters at Cheſſe of any in *Europe*. The *Perſians* call this Game *Sedrentz*, that is, *Hundred-cares*, in regard thoſe who play at it, are to apply all their thoughts thereto; and they are great Lovers of it, in as much as from the word *Schach*, whence it hath its name, they would have it believ'd, it is of their Invention. Some years ſince, there was publiſh'd in *Germany*, a great Volume, upon the Game of Cheſſe, wherein the Author, too eaſily crediting *Olaus Magnus*, would have it believ'd, that the antient *Goths* and *Swedes*, put thoſe to play at Cheſſe who were Suters to their Daughters, that, by their management of that Game, which hath no dependence on Fortune, they might diſcover the judgement and diſpoſition of their pretended Sons in Law. But theſe are only Fables, as is alſo what is related of one *Elmaradab*, King of *Babylon*. The Government of this Prince was ſo Tyrannical, as the ſtory at leaſt would have it, that no Body thinking it ſafe, to repreſent to him the dangers, whereto his cruelties expos'd the State and his own Perſon, one of the Lords of his Council, named *Philometer*, invented the Game of Cheſſe, which, inſtead of openly oppoſing the ſentiments of the Tyrant, diſcover'd to him the duty of a Prince towards his Family and Subjects, by ſhewing him the removals of the ſeveral pieces, by the repreſentation of two Kings, encamp'd one againſt the other, with their Queens, their Officers and Soldiers; and that this wrought a greater impreſſion on the King, than all the other remonſtrances that could have been made to him.

Cheſſe.

Places for Tobacco *and* Cahwa, *or* Coffee. The *Cahwa Chane* are thoſe places, where they take *Tobacco*, and drink of a certain black water, which they call *Cahwa*: but we ſhall treat of both hereafter in this very Book, when we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of the *Perſians* manner of Life. Their Poets and Hiſtorians are great frequenters of theſe places, and contribute much to the Divertiſement of the Company. Theſe are ſeated in a high Chair, in the midſt of the Hall, whence they entertain their Auditors with Speeches, and tell them Satyrical ſtories, playing in the mean time with a little ſtick, with the ſame geſtures, and after the ſame manner, as thoſe do who ſhew tricks of Leger-demain among us.

Barbars and Surgeons. Near theſe Taverns or Drinking-Houſes, are the ſhops of Surgeons and Barbers, between which Trades there is a great difference in *Perſia*, as there is, within theſe few years, in *France*. The former, whom they call *Tzerrach*, only dreſs Wounds and Hurts; and the others, named *Dellak*, only Trim, unleſs they ſometimes are employ'd about Circumciſion. Theſe Barbers are much taken up, for there is not a man, but is ſhav'd, as ſoon as any Hair begins to appear; but there is not, on the other ſide, any who carries not his Raſour about him, for fear of getting the Pox, which they are extremely afraid of, becauſe it is very common among them, and very contagious.

The Baſar. As you go out of the *Maidan*, on the ſame ſide, and turning on the right hand, you come to the *Baſar*, or true Market-place, and, in the midſt of the Market-place, the *Kaiſerie*, or kind of open Cloiſter, where are ſold all the richeſt Stuffs and Commodities that the Kingdome affords. Over the Gate of this Structure, there is a ſtriking-Clock, made by an *Engliſh-man* named *Feſty*, in the time of *Schacſi-Abas*: and in regard, that then there were few Lords that had Watches, the *Perſians* look'd on the Motions of that work as a thing Miraculous and Supernatural. This *Engliſh* Clock-maker had met with the ſame fate as *Rodolf Stadler*, and had been

been cut to pieces by the friends of a *Perſian*, whom he had kill'd, and the Clock had been out of Order ever ſince his Death. 1637.

This Market-place conſiſts of ſeveral Streets, cover'd over head, and is ſo full of Shops, and thoſe ſhops ſo full of all ſorts of Merchandizes, that there is nothing, though ever ſo rare in World, which is not to be had here, and at a very reaſonable rate. For indeed, there is nothing dear at *Iſpahan*, but Wood and Proviſions, inaſmuch as there is no Forreſt near it, nor Meadows for the feeding of Cattel.

Of all the ſhops I ſaw at *Iſpahan*, I was not pleas'd ſo much with any as that of a Druggiſt, who liv'd in the *Maidan*, on the left hand as you go to the *Metzid*, by reaſon of the abundance of the rareſt Herbs, Seeds, Roots and Minerals it was furniſh'd with. The Root *Tzinæ*, or *Chinæ*, which the *Perſians* call *Bich Tzini*, and Rhubarb, which they call *Rawentzini*, and is brought thither from *China* and great *Tartary*, were not worth here above three *Abas's*, or a Crown the pound.

There is not any Nation in all *Aſia*, nor indeed almoſt of *Europe*, who ſends not its Merchants to *Iſpahan*, whereof ſome ſell by Whole-ſale, and others by Retail, by the Pound and the Ell. There are ordinarily above twelve thouſand *Indians* in the City, who have, moſt of them, their ſhops near thoſe of the *Perſians*, in the *Maidan*, and their Merchandizes, in the *Caravanſeras*, where they have their Habitations, and their Store-Houſes. Their Stuffs are incomparably fairer, and their Commodities of greater Value than thoſe of *Perſia*; inaſmuch as beſides the Musk and Amber-greaſe, they bring thither great quantities of Pearls and Diamonds. I obſerv'd, that moſt of theſe *Indoſthans*, had upon the Noſe, a mark of Saffron about the breadth of a Man's finger; but I could never learn what that Myſtery ſignify'd. They are all *Mahumetans* or *Pagans*: they burn the bodies of their Deceas'd friends and kinred, and in that ceremony they uſe only the Wood of the *Meſch-Meſch*, or Apricock-Tree. But of theſe a particular account will be given in the Travels of *Mandelſlo* into the *Indies*. Beſides theſe *Indians*, there is, at *Iſpahan*, a great number of *Tartars*, from the Provinces of *Chuareſſem*, *Chattai* and *Buchar*, *Turks*, *Jews*, *Armenians*, *Georgians*, *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *French*, *Italians* and *Spaniards*. *Iſpahan a place of great trade*

The City is ſupply'd with Proviſions out of the other Provinces of the Kingdom. Out of that of *Kirman*, there are brought, in the Winter time, fat Sheep, and, in Summer, Lambs, which are ſold at *Iſpahan*, at nine or ten *Abas's* a piece: for the very Skin is worth five or ſix, upon the account of the Furr, which is very pretious there. The Province of *Kilan* furniſhes it with Rice; and thoſe of the *Kendeman*, *Taſum*, *Ebarku*, and *Feſchi*, though they lie at a great diſtance, with Wheat and Barly. Wood and Charcoal are ſold here, by the pound, the Wood near a half peny, and the Charcoal a peny the pound, in regard they are forc'd to bring it from *Meſanderan*, and *Jeilak-Perjan*.

The ordinary Money of *Perſia* is of Silver and Braſſe, very little of Gold. The *Abas*, the *Garem-Abas*, or half-*Abas*, which they commonly call *Chodabende*, the *Scahi* and *Biſti*, are of Silver. The former were ſo called from *Schach-Abas*, by whoſe command they were firſt made, being in Value about the third part of a *Rixdollar*; ſo that they are about 18 *d. ſterl.* though they do not amount, by weight, to above 15 *d. Schach-Chodabende* gave his name to the half-*Abas*. The *Scahi* are worth about the fourth part of an *Abas*, and two *Biſti* and a half make a *Scahi*. *Schach-Iſmael* had Coined, in his time, a kind of Money, which was called *Lari*, and it was made after the manner of a thick Latin wire, flatted in the middle, to receive the impreſſion of the Characters, which ſhew'd the value of the piece. The *Perſians* call all ſorts of Copper or Braſs money *Pul*, but there is one particular kind thereof, which they call *Kasbeki*, whereof forty make an *Abas*. When they are to name great Sums, they account by *Tumains*, each whereof is worth fifty *Abas's*. Not that there is any piece of Money amounting to that Sum, but the term is only us'd for the convenience of accounting, as in *Muſcovy*, they account by *Roubles*, and in *Flanders* by thouſands of *Livers*. They will receive from Foreiners no other money than *Rixdollars* or *Spaniſh Ryals*, which they immediately convert into *Abas's*, and gain a fourth part by the money. The King of *Perſia* farms out the Mint to private perſons, who gain moſt by it, and ſhare ſtakes with the money-changers, whom they call *Xeraffi*, who have their ſhops, or Offices, in the *Maidan*, and are oblig'd to bring all forein money to the publick-Mint, which they call *Serab-chane*. *The Perſian money.*

There is this remarkable as to the braſs money, that every City hath its particular money and mark, which is changed every year, and that ſuch money goes only in the place where it was made. So that upon their firſt day of the year, which begins with the Vernal Equinox, all the braſs-money is cry'd down, and the mark of it is chang'd. The ordinary mark of it is a Stag, a Deer, a Goat, a Satyre, a Fiſh, a Serpent, or ſome ſuch thing. At the time of our Travels, the *Kasbeki* were mark'd, at *Iſpahan*, with a Lion, at *Scamachie*, with a Devil, at *Kaſchan*, with a Cock, and in *Kilan*, with a Fiſh. The King of *Perſia*, on the one ſide, makes a great advantage by this braſs-money, in as much as he pays for a pound of this Metal, but an *abas*, which amounts to about eighteen pence, and he hath made of it ſixty four *Kasbeki*; *Their braſs money.*

and

1637. and, on the other, he, by this means, keeps the Kingdom from being too full of uncurrent and cry'd down money.

Caravanſeras or publick Inns. The great Trade of the City of *Iſpahan* hath oblig'd the King to build there a great number of *Caravanſeras*. Theſe are ſpacious Store-houſes, built four-ſquare, and enclos'd of all ſides with a high Wall, for the ſecurity of forein Merchants, who have their lodgings in them, as alſo for that of the Commodities they bring thither. They are two or three ſtories high, and have, within, many conveniences, Courts, Chambers, Halls, and Galleries.

Among other publick Structures, we may well take notice of the two Monaſteries of *Italian* and *Spaniſh* Monks, which are in the moſt Northerly quarter of the City, and about a thouſand paces diſtant one from the other, One is the Convent of the *Auguſtine* Monks, whereof we have ſpoken before; but the other is inhabited by certain *Carmelites*, who are *Italians*, and though they were but ten in all, yet I may boldly affirm, that thoſe of this Order have not a nobler Convent in any part of *Europe*. Their Prior's name was *F. Tinas*, and he was, at our being there, very antient, a good man, and of a free diſpoſition, as were alſo the other Monks; who live among the Infidels much more orderly than they do elſewhere. We are oblig'd to acknowledge their civilities, eſpecially thoſe among us, who, having the advantage of the Latine tongue, could converſe with them. We never viſited them but they treated us with a Collation, and diſmiſs'd us extremely oblig'd to them for their kindneſs, as in other things, ſo particularly, in the inſtructions they gave us how we ought to behave our ſelves during our aboad in *Perſia*. They preſented M. *Hierome Imhof*, a Senator of *Nuremberg*, and one of the chief Gentlemen belonging to the Embaſſy, (who is now in *Germany*, in a Court much different from that of *Schach-Seſi*) with a very fair *Italian* and *Perſian* Lexicon, which he promiſes to publiſh, with the *Latine*, ſince by him added to the other two Languages. They did me, in particular, the favour, to afford me refuge in their Convent, to protect me againſt the perſecutions of the Ambaſſador *Brugman*, and to get my Letters convey'd into *Germany* with much ſafety and ſpeed.

French *Capucins.* At the time of our being there, they were alſo beginning to build a Convent for certain *French* Capucins, who had bought a place, for that end, within a quarter of a League of the Monaſtery of the *Auguſtines*. They were but three in all, who ſeem'd to be very good people, and had attain'd ſome learning. They had finiſh'd the Chapel, and were then upon the Dormitory, which had adjoyning to it a Kitchin-Garden, and a Vineyard, with much likelyhood they would not give over building with that.

The King's ſtables. Between this laſt Monaſtery, and that of the *Carmelites*, are the King's ſtables, near which there is a pretty high Tower, which is all built of Earth, and the Horns of Stags and *Ahu*'s. They ſay, that *Schach-Tamas* I. having kill'd two thouſand of thoſe beaſts at one Hunting, employ'd their Horns in that building, in memory of ſo remarkable a defeat, and that he therewith made that Tower which they call *Keleminar*.

His Garden. The parts adjacent to the City, are not unſuitable to the ſumptuouſneſs of its Structures, and the greatneſs of ſo famous a Metropolis. The King's Garden, which they call *Tzarbagh*, is, no doubt one of the nobleſt in all the World. It is above half a League in a perfect ſquare, and the River *Senderut*, which hath ſpacious Walks on both ſides of it, divides it into a croſs, ſo as that it ſeems to make four Gardens of it. At one of its extremities, towards the South, there is a little Mountain, divided into ſeveral Alleys, which have on both ſides ſteep Precipices, in regard that the River, which they have brought up to the top of the Mountain, does thence continually fall down, by Chanels, into Baſins, which are cut within the Rock. The Chanels were about three foot broad; and were cut upon every ſide, ſo as that the water falling directly down, and, with a great noiſe into the Baſin, extremely delighted both the ear, and the eye. No Baſin but the water fell into it, and upon every Alley, there was a Baſin of white Marble, which forc'd the water into divers figures. All the water about the Garden fell at laſt into a Pond, which in the midſt of it, caſt up water forty foot high. This Pond, had, at the four corners of it ſo many large Pavilions, whereof the appartments were gilt within, and done with fueillage, there being a paſſage from one to another by Walks, planted with *Tzinnar*-Trees, whereof there being Millions, they made the place the moſt pleaſant and delightfull of any in the World.

Fruit-Trees. The Fruit-Trees are not to be numbred, and there are of all ſorts, which *Schach-Abas*, who began this Garden, had ſent for, not only out of all the Provinces of the Kingdom, but alſo out of *Turkie* and the *Indies*. Here you have all ſorts of Apples, Pears, Almonds, Apricocks, Peaches, Pomegranates, Citrons, Orenges, Cheſtnuts, VVallnuts, Filbeards, Goosberries, &c. beſides a great many not known in *Europe*. VVe ſaw there a kind of Grape which they call *Hallague*, of the bigneſs of a mans thumb, which had no ſtone, but the skin and meat firm, and of an admirable taſte. This Garden is kept by ten Maſter-Gardeners, who have each of them ten men to work under them; and there is this further convenience in it, that when the Fruits are fit to eat, they permit any that have a mind to go into it, and to eat what they pleaſe of the fruits, paying four *Kasbeki*, or two pence a piece; but they are forbidden to carry any away.

The

The Citie hath, on all sides, very large Suburbs, which they call *Abath*, whereof the fairest and most considerable is, that which is called *Tzulfa*, wherein there are twelve Churches, and above three thousand houses, equal, in point of building to the best in the Citie. The Inhabitants of this quarter are *Armenians*, *Christians*, and most of them Merchants, and rich men, whom *Schach-Abas* brought out of great *Armenia*, and planted in this place. They pay the King but two hundred *Tumains*, by way of Tribure, which amount to about a thousand *Livers*, which sum their *Daroga*, who, in our time, was called *Chosrou Sulthan*, and the *Calenter*, *Seferas-beg*, are oblig'd to bring into the King's Coffers. 1637. *The Suburbs of Tzulfa.*

On the other side of the River *Senderut*, lies the Suburbs of *Tabrisabath*, where live those who were translated thither out of the Province of *Tauristhan*, by *Schach-Abas*; upon which accompt, it is sometimes called *Abasabath*. Tabrisabath.

The Suburbs of *Hasenabath* is the ordinary habitation of the *Tzurtzi*, that is to say, the *Georgians*, who are also *Christians*, and most of them Merchants, and wealthy men, as the *Armenians*, as well by reason of the Trade they drive within the Kingdom, as in all other places abroad. They delight much in making Voyages, especially to the *Indies*, and into *Europe*, in so much that most of the Merchants who come to *Venice*, *Holland*, and other places, and who are there called *Armenians*, are of this Nation. Not that the *Christians*, whether *Armenians*, *Georgians*, or others, are not permitted to live within the Citie; but their living in these remote Quarters proceeds from the desire they have to settle themselves in a place, where they might live quietly, and enjoy the freedom of their conscience. For the *Persians* do not onely suffer them to inhabit any where, since they have a particular Quarter assign'd them within the Citie of *Ispahan*, behind the *Metzit Mehedi*, in a place which they call *Nessera*; but they have also an affection for them, as well upon accompt of the advantage they make by Trading with them, and the Tribute they pay, as particularly upon the score of their Vines. The *Mahumetane* Law forbids those who are subject thereto, the drinking of Wine, and consequently the cultivation of Vineyards. But the *Persians*, who are so given to Wine, that it were impossible they should forbear it, imagine they commit no great sin, in the drinking of Wine, though it be done even to excess, provided their Vineyards are dress'd by *Christians*. The *Armenians* are expert enough at all things requisite to the ordering of the Vines; but they understand nothing of the making or preserving of Wine. They are no lovers of white Wine, in so much that when it hath not stood long enough in the Vat, or is not high colour'd enough to their fancy, they put into it a little Brazil-wood, or Saffron, to heighten its colour. They do not keep it in Buts or Tuns, but either in great earthen pots, or fill therewith the whole Cellar, without using any Vessel at all. Hasenabath.

There is yet a noble part of the Suburbs towards the West-side of the Citie, named *Kebrabath*, deriving its name from a certain people called *Kebber*, that is to say, *Infidels*, from the *Turkish* word *Kiaphir*, which signifies a *Renegat*. I know not whether I may affirm they are Originally *Persians*, since they have nothing common with them but the Language. They are distinguish'd from the other *Persians* by their beards, which they wear very big, as also by their habit, which is absolutely different from that of the others. They wear, over their Wascoats, a Casaque, or Coat, which falls down to half the leg, and is open onely at the neck and shoulders, where they ty it together with Ribbons. Their Women cover not their faces, as those of the other *Persians* do, and they are seen in the streets and elsewhere, contrary to the custom of those, who pretend to live civilly; yet have they a great reputation of being very chaste. Kebrabath.

I made it my business to enquire, what Religion these *Kebbers* are of, but all the accompt I could have of them, was, that they are a sort of Pagans, who have neither Circumcision, nor Baptism, nor Priests, nor Churches, nor any books of Devotion or Morality among them. Some Authors affirm, that they have a certain Veneration for the fire, as the antient *Persians* had; but there is no such thing. They believe indeed the immortality of the Soul, and somewhat, consonant to what the antient *Pagans* writ, of Hell, and the *Elysian* fields. For when any one of them dies, they let a Cock out of the House of the party deceas'd, and follow him into the fields without the Citie, and if a Fox take him by the way, they make no doubt but that his Soul is sav'd: but if this experiment take not, they use another, which in their opinion is more certain and infallible; which is this. They put about the deceas'd person his best Cloaths, hang several Gold Chains and Jewels about his neck, and Rings, and whatsoever else he had of most value of that kind, upon his fingers and in his hands, and so dress'd, he is brought to the Church-yard, where they set him standing against the Wall, and keep him up in that Posture, by putting a Fork under his Chin. If it happen, that the Crows, or any other ravenous Birds, pick out his Right Eye, he is look'd upon as a Saint, there's no doubt of his Salvation, the Corps is buried with Ceremonies, and is very gently and orderly let down into the Grave. But if the said Birds unfortunately make at the Left Eye, 't is an infallible argument of his Damnation, they conceive a horrour at him as a Reprobate, and they cast him head-long into the Grave. *The Religion of the Kebbers.*

There are near and about *Ispahan* fourteen hundred and sixty Villages, the Inhabitants whereof are all in a manner employ'd in the making of Stuffs and Tapistry, of Wool, Cotton, Silk, and Brocado. *Villages near Ispahan.*

1637. The fields about the City lye very low, and it seems Nature was willing in that to shew an effect of her Providence, inasmuch as were it not for that convenience, the Country would not be Habitable, by reason of the excessive heats which reign there. For the convenience they derive from this situation is this, that they can make the River *Senderut* over-flow, when the Summer heats have melted the Snow on the neighbouring Mountains, and draw it all over the fields. *Johannes de Persia* saies indeed, that the River, falling again into its Chanel, leaves a slime behind it, which corrupts the Air; but he is mistaken. For it is certain, that, some Provinces only excepted, which lye upon the *Caspian* Sea, there is not any place in all *Persia*, where the Air is more healthy than at *Ispahan*.

The fields about it.

True indeed it is, that the heats there are very great, especially in *June* and *July*, but the Inhabitants are not much incommodated thereby. For as, in Winter they have their *Tenuars*, or Stoves, against the Cold, so in Summer, they have their Vaulted apartments, and their Halls and Galleries, with Windows of all sides, that the Wind and Air may find their passage in, to moderate their great heats. And though it freezes there so little, that in a Night's time it does not make an Ice as thick as a man's finger, which thaws as soon as the Sun appears over the Horizon, yet have they a way to make the Ice above two foot thick, and to keep it, to be us'd to cool their Drinks in Summer. To do this, they make choice of a commodious place, that is cool, and towards the North, pav'd with Free-stone or Marble, but uneven, and with a little descent, upon which they pour the water, and as soon as that is congeal'd, they pour on more, and by this means, in one night, they make an Ice a foot thick, which in the day time they cover, that the Sun may not shine upon it: and so continuing this exercise for two or three nights together, they provide Ice enough to serve them all Summer. Having made as much as they desire, they break it in pieces, and put it up into Snow-Houses, whereof there are so many at *Ispahan*, that, for two or three *Kasbekis*, a man may have as much as will suffice him all Summer.

The air of Persia.

The extent we have assign'd *Persia*, from the 25 degree of the Æquator, to the 37 Northward from the Æquinoctial line, discovers, that it is seated in the temperate Zone. Mount *Taurus* divides it in the middle, almost as the *Apennine* does *Italy*, thrusting forth its Branches here and there into several Provinces, where they are called by other particular names. The Provinces, which have this Mountain between them and the North, are very hot; but the others, which have it between them and the South, have a milder and more temperate Air. The Kings of *Persia* heretofore took this convenience, to change the places of their habitations, according to the Seasons, passing away the Summer at *Echatane*, which is now called *Tabris*, having the Mountain between it and the South-west, and by that means not so much expos'd to the great heats: and the Winter, at *Susa*, in the Province, which, from that name, is now called *Susistan*, where the Mountain not only keeps off the North-wind from annoying the Inhabitants, but also sends them heat, by the reflection of the Sun-beams at Noon, and makes the place so delightful, that it hath thence the name *Suse*, that is, Lilly. In Spring and Autumn, they liv'd at *Persepolis*, or at *Babylon*. The Modern Kings do still use the same convenience. *Schach-Abas*, liv'd, in the Winter, at *Ferabath*, in the Province of *Mesanderan*; and *Schach-Sefi*, sometimes at *Tabris*, and sometimes at *Ardebil*, or *Caswin*. The City of *Ispahan* is the most commodious of any, as well for Winter as Summer, inasmuch as being seated in a great Plain, at, in a manner, an equal distance of three Leagues from the Mountain, there is always some little Wind stirring, which cools the Air, and comes into all Rooms.

We had but too much experience of this change, and the inconveniences ensuing thereupon, and found, that the heats of the day, and the cold of the nights, of which *Jacob* made his complaint to *Laban* his Father-in-law, are there equally insupportable. For, being forc'd to Travel in the night, and that during the hottest season of the year, we felt there a cold, which depriv'd us of the use of our Limbs, and made us many times unable to get off our Horses, especially when there was an East or North-wind: whereas, on the contrary, the South-wind sent us sometimes such hot blasts as was ready to choak us.

Diseases.

From what we have now said, it may be deduc'd, that all the Provinces of *Persia* are not equally healthy, and that there are some, where Diseases are much more common than in others. Those of *Schirwan* and *Kilan* are very much subject to Feavers; but the Air of the City of *Tauris* is so good, that a man hears no talk of that Disease there. Nay, on the contrary, they say that those who are troubled therewith, may find their remedy in that place, even without taking any Physick. Epidemical Diseases, such as the Bloody-Flux, and the Plague, are not so ordinary here as in *Europe*. The Pox, which is called *Schemet Kaschi*, that is, the Disease of *Kaschan*, in regard it is more common there than elsewhere, or that there notice was first taken of it, (as it is called in *France*, the *Neapolitan* Disease, and in *England*, and other places, the *French*, in as much as, instead of going to *Naples* for it, where the *French* were infected in the name of *Charles* VIII. they may now have it as conveniently at *Paris*) is very common at that place. 'Tis true *Kaschan* is a place excellently well seated, but the Air must be somewhat unwholsome, when they want fresh water thereabouts, and that it is here

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the *Tarantulas* and the most dangerous Scorpions of all *Persia* are most rife. The Dropsie is not very rare in the Province of *Kilan*; but there are very few troubled with the Stone in any part of the Kingdome; and for the Gout, it is a Disease not yet known among them. The Inhabitants are Long liv'd, it being an ordinary thing to see persons of a hundred years of age. I knew a Judge in the Province of *Serab*, between *Mokan* and *Ardebil*, who was a hundred and thirty years of age; and the Father of *Hacwerdy*, who went along with us into *Holstein*, was above six score. Their temperance and sobriety contributes much to the good constitution of their Body, the continuance of their Health, and length of their Lives. 1637.

As to the soil of *Persia*, the Province of *Kilan* excepted, which is very fertil, it is sandy and barren in the Plains, every where in a manner checquer'd with little red Stones, and not bringing forth ought but Thistles and Reeds, which they use for firing in their Kitchin instead of Wood, where there is not any. The Province of *Kilan* only hath nothing of this drought. But in the uneven parts of the Country, where the Mountains make several Valleys, the ground is very good. Accordingly in these places it is, that most of their Villages are seated, inasmuch as they are very Ingenious, in conveying the water, which rises out of the Mountains, by Chanels of about four foot in breadth, which they use in their Gardens, and many times in till'd Lands, to those places where it seldome Rains. To give the earth that moisture which Heaven hath deny'd it, they raise up the ends of their Lands, which are about fifteen or twenty fathom square, a foot higher than any other part, into which they let in the water out of their Chanels over Night, and the next Morning let it out again: so that the earth, which hath been thus moisten'd, receiving the Sun-beams almost perpendicular, brings forth all sorts of fruits in great abundance. *Persia is sandy and dry.*

In the Cultivation of their grounds, they make use of Ploughs, which are so big in those places, where the soil is strong and fat, as it is in *Iruan* and *Armenia*, that many times twenty or four and twenty Buffles, or wild Oxen, are hardly able to draw them, and they require six men to drive them. The furrows are a foot deep, and two foot broad. They ordinarily sow only Rice, Wheat, and Barley. They care not for Rye, and when there chances to be any Grains of it among the Wheat, as this often degenerates into the other, they weed it out, and cast it away. Oats is a kind of Grain not known among them. They sow also Millet, Lentills, Pease and Beans. They call the Ciches, *Nagid*, and the common Pease, *Kulul*.

They sow also whole fields of *Ricinus*, or *Palma Christi*, which they call *Kuntzut*. They beat the Grain thereof, to get an Oyl out of it, which they call *Schirbach*, and it is sweet and pleasant, and very good to eat. The Peasants eat also the Grain; and mixing it with Ciches, and Currens, they make their Deserts of it.

There is in a manner no Province of *Persia* but brings forth Cotton, which they call *Pambeh*, and there are whole fields cover'd therewith, especially in *Armenia*, *Iruan*, *Nachtzuan*, *Kerabath*, near *Arasbar*, in *Adirbeitzan*, and in *Chorasan*. It grows upon a Bush, two or three foot high, having leaves like those of the Vine, but much less, and shoots forth at the extremity of its Branches a bud of about the bigness of a Nut, which, when fully ripe, opens in several places, and thrusts out the Cotton, through the clefts that are in the shell. Though there be abundance of it spent in all sorts of Stuffs made in the Country; yet do they drive a vast Trade with that which is unwrought, The Province of *Kilan* brings forth also a kind of Flax, the thread whereof is very good, and fit for Cloath. *Cotton.*

The domestick Creatures, as well such as are us'd in carriage, as others, are Sheep, Goats, Buffles, Oxen and Cows, Camels, Horses, Mules, and Asses. The ordinary Forrage for Horses is Barley, mixt with Chaff, or Rice mixt with shredded Straw. The *Persians* water not their Horses till an hour and a half after they have eaten, contrary to the ordinary custom of the *Turks*, who water theirs immediately after they have given them their allowance. There is in *Persia* a certain kind of Herb, which they call *Genschebt*, which is sown much after the same manner as we sow *Saint-foin*, once in seven years. It grows up three foot high, and brings forth blew Flowers. It is cut twice a year, and they are only Persons of quality who give it their Horses. There is very little common Hay, unless it be in the Province of *Iruan*, and *Armenia*. In some Provinces they do not make any at all, because there is Grass enough all the year long. *Domestick Creatures.*

Of all Cattel, they have most Sheep. Of these they have very great Flocks, and it is their most ordinary Food, though it be not of so pleasant a tast to those who are not accustomed thereto. They are much of the same bulk with those of *Europe*, and sometimes a little bigger; but short and flat-Nos'd with the Ears hanging down, as our Spaniels. They are but lean, in regard the Tails, which weigh ten, twenty, nay sometimes thirty pounds, draw all the fat out of them. The Tails have the bones and joynts, as our Sheep have, but the fat hangs to them in great gobbets like locks of Wool; which much hinders them from running or leaping. in *Kurdesthan*, near *Diarbeker*, and in *Sirie*, they have the Invention of putting the tails of these Creatures upon a kind of little Cart with two Wheels, which is fasten'd by a little stick to the Necks of them. The Sheep we saw among the *Tartars*, upon the *Caspian* Sea, are in all things like *Sheep.*

1637. like thoſe of *Perſia*; but thoſe of the *Tartars* of *Uſbeque* and *Buchar* have a greyiſh long Wool, curling at the ends into little white and cloſe Knots, like Pearls, which makes a pretty ſhow, whence it comes that their fleece is more eſteem'd than their fleſh, in as much as this kind of furr is the moſt precious of any us'd in *Perſia*, next to Sables. They are very tenderly kept, and for the moſt part in the ſhade, and when they are oblig'd to bring them abroad, they cover them as they do Horſes. Theſe Sheep have as little tails as ours.

Goats. The *Perſians* have alſo great flocks of Goats, and they eat the fleſh of them. Of the Suet they make Candles; and it is of their skins that they make the Leather which we call *Marroquin* or *Spaniſh* Leather, and is brought through *Moſcovy* and *Poland* into the other Provinces of *Europe*.

Buffles. They have abundance of Buffles, eſpecially towards the *Caſpian*-Sea, in *Ferab*, neer *Ardebil*, in *Eruan*, and *Surul*, where ſome Peaſants have five or ſix hundred of them. They are kept in moiſt places, and they ſay their milk is very cooling, as is alſo the butter made thereof. They have alſo Oxen like thoſe of *Europe*; but, in the Province of *Kilan*, they have a bunch of fat upon the neck, as thoſe of the *Indies* have. I have been told, that the Cows will not ſuffer themſelves to be milk'd, if their Calves be not brought before them: ſo that if a Calf chance to die, (for they never kill any to eat) they fill the skin with Straw, caſt a little Salt upon it, and they let the Cow lick it, by which means ſhe ſtands quiet to be milk'd.

They abhor Swine. The *Perſians* have an averſion for Swine; whence it comes that the *Armenians* themſelves, who live among them, ſeldom breed any, unleſs it be in thoſe places where they live apart, as in the Suburbs of *Tzulfa*, where they have ſome few. They conceive they have very good reaſon to have an averſion for this Creature, following the example of the *Jews*, and tell, to that purpoſe, a ridiculous and obſcene ſtory, which they take out of the *Alchoran*, and relate; That, one day, the Apoſtles intreated our Saviour, to tell them, after what manner *Noah* liv'd in the Ark, during the Deluge. But our Saviour, without ſaying a word to them, having taken a handfull of dirt, made the figure of a man with it, caſt it upon the ground, and ſaid to it, riſe up in the name of the Father. Immediately there ſtarted up an oldman, all white, whom our Saviour asked, Who art thou? He made anſwer, I am *Japhet*, the ſon of *Noah*. Our Saviour ask'd him, whether he were ſo white when he died; whereto he anſwered, that he was not, but that he became ſo juſt that moment, out of the fear he was in to appear before God, as believing he had been rais'd up to come to the laſt judgement. Upon that, *Jeſus Chriſt* commanded him to acquaint the Apoſtles with all that had been done in the Ark. *Japhet* obey'd, and told them, among other things, that, one day, the Ark being ſo full of durt at that place where the houſe of eaſe ſtood, that *Noah*, fearing it might take in water there, thought fit to conſult God in that extremity. The Divine anſwer was, that he ſhould ſend an Elephant to the ſaid common houſe, and that of the Dung of that Creature and mans mixt together, there was immediately engendred a Swine, which ſo turn'd up that heap of Ordure with his ſnowt, that the Ark went very even. This naſty Creature having fill'd its Noſtrils with filth, ſneez'd very violently, by means of which ſneezing, there came out a Rat, which put *Noah* into greater perplexity than before; in ſo much, that, to be deliver'd out of theſe troubles, he addreſs'd himſelf once more to God, and ask'd him what he ſhould do in that unhappy conjuncture. The anſwer was, that God commanded him, to ſtrike the Lion upon the head with a Wand, and that he, being thereby put into a fury, fell a-roaring ſo loud, that, out of his Noſtrils there came out a Cat, which immediately purſued the Rat. The *Perſian* Paraphraſt of the *Alchoran*, going on with his ſtory, ſayes, that *Noah*, knowing he was to continue forty years in the Ark, ſeparated the Males from the Females, out of a fear, that the ſeveral ſpecies multiplying, the Ark would not be able to contain them, and that they might want meat. Of all Creatures, onely the Dog had the freedom allow'd him to ſtay with the Bitch, at the bottom of the Ark. One day the Cat having obſerv'd that thoſe Creatures had the liberty to do what all the reſt were deny'd, went, and made her complaints to *Noah*, who reproching them with what they had done, the Dog would not acknowledge the fact. But word was ſo often brought to *Noah* of the Dog's tranſgreſſion, that he deſired God to make known the truth of it by an infallible proof, and that afterwards the Dog deſirous to line the Bitch became faſten'd to her; wherewith the Cat having acquainted *Noah*, they were taken in the fact, and found guilty of having lied before. Thence it comes, that, ever ſince that time, Dogs have been ſo faſten'd in the act of generation, and have an inveterate fewd againſt Cats.

Camels. They have ſeveral ſorts of Camels. Thoſe which have two bunches they call *Bughur*, and thoſe, which have but one, *Schuttur*. Of theſe laſt there are four kinds; that is, thoſe, which, by way of excellence, they call *Ner*, that is to ſay, the Male, which is engendred of a Dromedary, or Camel, with two bunches, and a Female that hath but one, which is called *Maje*, and theſe are not to be cover'd by any of another kind. Theſe are the beſt and moſt eſteem'd of all the Camels, in ſo much that ſome of them are ſold at a hundred Crowns a-piece. They carry nine hundred, or a thouſand weight, and are in a manner indefatigable. When they are hot, they eat little, foam at the mouth, are angry, and bite; ſo that to prevent their doing any injury

jury to those who govern them, they have a kind of Muzzle put over their mouths, which the *Persians* call *Agrab*. The Camels, which come of these, degenerate very much, and are heavy and slow, whence the *Turks* call them *Jurdi Kudem*, and they are not worth above thirty or forty Crowns. 1637.

The third kind is that which they call *Lohk*; but these are not so good as the *Bughurs*, nor do they foam at the mouth as the *Ners*, when they are hot: but when they go to rut, they put out under the Throat a red bladder, which they draw in with their breath, lift up their heads, and snort often. These are worth about sixty Crowns apiece. They are not neer so strong as the others, whence it is, that when the *Persians* would speak of a stout and daring man, they say he is a *Ner*, and when they would express a poor-spirited and cowardly person, they call him a *Lohk*.

The fourth kind is, by the *Persians*, called *Schutturi baad*, and by the *Turks*, *Jeldoveſi*, that is, Wind-Camels. They are much less in bulk, but more active and sprightly than the others: for whereas the ordinary Camels go but a footpace, these trot and gallop as well as Horses.

The King and the *Chans* have many Teams of them, and every Team consists in seven Camels coupled together. They use them at Magnificent Ceremonies, either to meet Ambassadors, covered with covering-cloaths of red Velvet, or Pack-saddles made of the same stuff, embroider'd with Gold and Silver, with silver-bells about their necks, or to ride poste, nay, sometimes in the Wars, in which they are thus much the more serviceable, that, in a defeat, they contribute much to the saving of the Baggage. They trot so hard, that the Boy who guides them, and to that end gets up first, is glad to be ty'd to the Pannel or Saddle by the waste. When they run, they put out their heads, and open their Nostrils, and run with such violence, that it is impossible to stay them. At our entrance into *Scamachie* and *Ardebil*, we saw a great number of them, galloping sometimes before, sometimes behind us.

This is one of the greatest conveniences that Travellers meet with in *Persia*, as well for the carrying of their own persons, as the conveyance of their Baggage and Commodities, which they may, by this means, transport from one place to another, at a very easie rate, and with little trouble. One man guides a Team, or as many as are fasten'd together: and if a man thinks it not safe to travel alone, he may joyn with the *Caravans*, which go perpetually up and down the Countrey, and with these is the safest way of travelling.

The travelling of the Camels is at a certain rate, and therefore their Stages being set, they find it no great trouble to make them reach their ordinary lodgings, which are either in Villages upon the High-way, or at *Caravanseras*, expressely built for the entertainment of the *Caravans*. Some of these *Caravanseras* have persons in them, who are as it were Hosts, and sell Provender, but in others, you have onely the bare Walls. It is no great charge to keep the Camels. Their sustenance is Thistles and Nettles and sometimes they thrust down their throats a hard Paste, made of the chaff of Barley, about three pound in weight, much after the fashion of the Loaves which the *French* Soldiers, who serve in the Low-Countreys, corruptly call *Brindestocq*. Sometimes, they put into this Paste, Cotton-seed, which is very sweet, and as big as a great Pease. They can endure thirst for two or three dayes together; wherein nature seems to have made some Provision against the extremity men are put to for want of water, when they travel over the Desarts and Heaths of those hot and dry Countreys. They onely touch the knees of their fore-legs to make them bow to receive their burthens, and being so laid with their bellies on the ground, they suffer a man to order them as he pleases. The harmonious sound of a man's voyce, or an instrument, enlivens them; whence it comes that the *Persians* tie little bells about their knees, and a pretty big one about their necks, not onely by reason of the long trains of them that go together, it being necessary they should be heard at a great distance, to give those notice who might unadvisedly come between them, but also to divert these Creatures in their travel. The *Arabians*, to the same purpose, make use of Timbrels, when they travel through the Desarts of their Countrey, in as much as whipping or beating does not make them advance; but Musick, especially a man's voyce, animates, and inspires them with a certain courage. What most troubles the Camels, is a kind of Snail, called *Mohere*, which sometimes lies within the Thistles; if these sting them in the Nostrils, it proves mortal. Caravans.

The Camels are very revengefull, and remember a long time any injury they have receiv'd: in so much, that, in *Persia*, a *Camels anger* is come into a Proverb, when they would speak of an irreconcilable enmity. As to this particular, there is a very memorable example of a Camel, which, being hot, and having not the Muzzle on, bit a servant who went along by him, in the Arm. The servant gave him a many blows about the neck with a Cudgel, which part is the tendrest about these Creatures. But the Camel had a cruel revenge of him, ere they came to their journey's end. For some time after, being got loose in the night, he went among the servants, who by reason of the cold lay near the Camels, that they might thrust their feet under their bellies, and having pitch'd upon the person that had beaten him, he trod on him so as that all his bones were crush'd and broken. The servant's Father demanded satisfaction, and had the

Camel

1637. Camel adjudg'd him, to be diſpos'd of as he pleasid. If anger proceed from Choler as its principle, a man may juſtly wonder whence it comes, that *Pliny* ſayes, that Camels, Horſes, and Aſſes, have no Gall. Nor could I ever find any reaſon why the ſame *Pliny* ſhould affirm, after *Xenophon*, that Camels have an averſion for Horſes. When I told the *Perſians* of it, they laugh'd at me, and ſaid, that it was not without reaſon Camels hated Horſes; when many times the Horſes may get into the ſtables, and have a houſe over their heads, whereas the Camels, which cannot get in by reaſon of the lowneſs of the Doors, are forc'd to lie abroad, and to ſuffer the Horſes to take up their quarters. And indeed there hardly goes any *Caravan*, but a man may ſee Camels, Horſes, and Aſſes put up together in the ſame ſtable, yet expreſs not any averſion or animoſity one againſt another.

True indeed it is, that the Females go twelve moneths, but thoſe are extremely mis-inform'd, who believe that the Male, when he covers her, turns his hinder part to her. This miſtake took its riſe hence, that the Camels, when they make water, put their yards backwards between their hinder legs; but in the work of Generation they uſe them otherwiſe. The Female lies down upon her belly, and the Male covers her, after the ſame manner as Horſes do. And though this Creature be of a great bulk, yet is not its generative member, which is at leaſt three foot in length, any thicker than a man's little finger. This animal is ſeldome eaten, as being more ſerviceable in point of work; but when they fall under their Burthens, or in caſe they be ſtung by one of the *Moheres*, they kill them, with two thruſts into the Throat, one at the place where it joyns to the Head, the other, towards the Breaſt, and then they eat them.

Horſes. There are abundance of Horſes in *Perſia*, moſt of them well made. They are very handſome about the Head, Neck, Ears, Crupper, and Leggs. *Media* bred heretofore ſuch excellent Horſes, that they were all kept for the King. The Horſes of thoſe parts are at this time very good ones, and there are of an excellent breed in the Province of *Erſcheck*, near *Ardebil*; but it is withall certain, that the *Arabian* Horſes are incomparably better, and accordingly more eſteem'd by the King, who makes them the chiefeſt Ornament of his Stables. Next thoſe, they moſt value thoſe of *Turkey*, though the King hath good breeding places in ſeveral Provinces of his Kingdome, eſpecially in *Erſcheck*, *Schirwan*, *Karabag*, and *Mokan*, where is the beſt Meadow-grounds in *Perſia*. They make uſe of them for the moſt part for men's Riding, very ſeldome for the carriage of Commodities, and never almoſt in the Cart, which, all over *Perſia*, hath but two Wheels. And whereas the main forces of the Kingdome conſiſt in their Cavallry, it thence comes, that they are great lovers of Horſes, and very tender in the keeping of them. Yet with all this care, do they not make uſe of ſtraw for Litter, but of Horſe-Dung, which they dry in the Sun, and make beds of it a foot deep, for the Horſes, which could not lye more at their eaſe upon quilts. This Litter ſerves them a long time, and when it is moiſten'd with ſtale, they put it into the Sun, dry it again, and ſo continue to make uſe of it. With their ſoft beds, they alſo cover them with a Hair-cloath, lined with a kind of ſoft coarſe cloath. They alſo faſten them by the hinder feet, to a ſtake, that, in caſe they ſhould break or ſlip their Haltars, they may not get away, or hurt the other horſes. All the manage they beſtow on them, conſiſts only in accuſtoming them to ſtart away, as Lightning, at the beginning of a Race, and they call thoſe Horſes which exceed in ſwiftneſs *Bad-pay*, that is, Windy-heel'd. If their Horſes be White or Grey, they colour the Main, and the Tail, and ſometimes alſo the Leggs, with Red or Orenge; wherein the *Polanders* and *Tartars* are wont to imitate them. They do not in any thing make ſo great oſtentation of their expence, as in what is employ'd about the harneſs of their Horſes, which they ſometimes cover with Plates of Gold or Silver, and adorn the Reins, Saddles, and covering-Cloaths, with Goldſmiths Work and Embroidery. Yet is not this cuſtom of ſo late a beginning, but that there may ſomewhat of this kind be obſerv'd out of the moſt antient Authors of the *Greek* Hiſtory.

Mules. They have alſo a great number of Mules, which for the moſt part are uſed only for Riding. The King himſelf, and the *Chans*, ordinarily Ride upon theſe, and they ſtood us in good ſtead, when all other kind of Riding had been very troubleſome to us, in our ſickneſs. They yield as good a rate as Horſes, ſo that a Mule, though none of the beſt, nor very handſome, is ſold at leaſt for a hundred Crowns. I was told there were ſome white ones, but they are very rare, and highly Valu'd; and I muſt confeſs, I never ſaw any.

Aſſes. Aſſes are very common all over the Eaſt, but in *Perſia* more than any where, and eſpecially at *Iſpahan*, where there is an infinite number of them, in regard they allow not Carting within the City. Thoſe who drive them, have at the end of their Whip a great Bodkin, faſten'd with a chain, wherewith they make a noiſe, and are perpetually pricking of this Creature, which ſeems to be more cold and heavy in this Country, than any where elſe.

Fruits. The heats are ſo great in *Perſia*, and the weather ſo conſtantly fair and clear in the Summer, that it is not to be much wondred they ſhould have ſuch good and excellent Fruits. As for thoſe which are ſpent in the Kitchin, they are there in greater abundance, but incomparably better and more ſavoury than in *Europe*. Among others, the Onions are ſo big in the Province of

Tarum,

Tarum, near *Chalcal*, that one of them will weigh three pound. The Cabbages are there curled, very tender, and of an excellent taſt. 1637.

Their moſt precious Fruits are Melons; and as their care in the ordering of them is extraordinary, ſo they have every year great quantities of them. They ſow them all only in good mold, yet are there not any but what are very excellent. There are two ſorts of them, to wit, thoſe which they call *Kermek*, from the work *Kerm*, which ſignifies hot, in regard they are eaten in Summer, and they come betimes, and are fully ripe in *June*. Theſe are as yellow as Gold, and the ſweeteſt of any. The other ſort they call *Charbuſei paſi*, and they come not to perfect maturity till *Autumn*. Theſe are very big, and weigh thirty, forty, or fifty pound weight. They are kept, not only all the Winter, but even till there are new ones to be had: and this is done with ſuch induſtry, that, to diſtinguiſh them from the new ones, a man muſt put his finger to them and ſee whether the Rind gives way; and by this means they are never without Melons. They have a way alſo to keep Grapes, by wrapping them up in green Reeds, and hanging them up to the roof of their Chambers. There is yet a third ſort of Melons, which they call *Scammame*, and are no bigger than Orenges; but theſe are wrought or embroider'd, having amidſt the embroidery red, yellow, and green ſpots. They are not very good to eat, but the ſcent is very pleaſant, and for that reaſon the *Perſians* carry them in their hands. There is yet another ſort of water-Melons, which they call *Hinduane*, in regard the firſt of them were brought out of the *Indies*, as we ſaid elſewhere, iu the deſcription of the City of *Aſtrachan*, where we had ſome occaſion to ſpeak of this kind of Fruit. It is very big, and yet the ſtalks of it are ſo ſmall, that the *Perſian* Poets uſe them in their Inventions, to make a compariſon between them and the Wall-nut Tree, which being a great and lofty Tree, yet brings forth but a Small Fruit: to ſhew, that, many times, a perſon of Mean Birth may do very noble actions, and that, on the contrary, a Great Prince may do things that are poor and unſuitable to his extraction. *Melons.*

They have alſo ſeveral ſorts of Citrulls, or Citrul-Cowcumbers, and among the reſt, one, which they call *Kabach*, and may be found among the Herbariſts, under the name of *Cucurbita Lagenaria*. They are about the bigneſs of a man's Head, and ſometimes bigger, and have a long Neck. They are eaten green, and before they are come to their full Maturity: for when they are ripe, the Rind dries, and grows as hard as the Bark of a Tree, or boyled Leather, and the meat within is ſo conſum'd, that there being nothing left but the Seed, the *Perſians* uſe them inſtead of Flaggons, and make Drinking Cups of them. *Citrulls.*

They have yet another kind of fruit, not known in *Europe*, which they call *Padintzan*. They are like little Melons, or rather Cowcumbers. The fruit is green, ſave that at the end towards the ſtalk, it is ſomewhat of a Violet Colour. The Seed is round and long, and of a pretty bigneſs. This is not eaten raw, becauſe it is a little bitter; but, being boyl'd, or fry'd in Butter, it is a delicate Diſh. *Padintzan.*

The Climate of *Perſia* is excellently good for the Vine. There is no Province in the whole Kingdome which doth not bring forth excellent Grapes; but in regard the *Mahumetan* Law forbids them the uſe of Wine, they accordingly neglect the cultivation of the Vine. They ſay, that the Prohibition made in the *Alchoran* againſt their drinking of Wine is grounded on a reaſon, which they think very good, and ſeems to us pleaſant enough to deſerve a ſmall Digreſſion in this Relation. They ſay then, that God, deſirous to comfort Mankind, eſpecially the poor, for the injuries and affronts, which Great Lords and Wealthy Men are apt to do thoſe who have any dependence on them, ſent into the World two Angels, named *Haroth*, and *Maroth*, and forbad them particularly three things, to put any perſon to Death, to do any wrong, and to drink Wine. Now it happened, that a young and very handſome Woman liv'd in ſome diſcontent with her Husband, would needs have theſe Angels to undertake the arbitration of the difference that was between them, and to gain their favour, ſhe invited them to Dinner, and preſs'd them to drink of her Wine, which was the beſt the Country could afford. The Angels, at firſt, would have excus'd themſelves, alleging the Prohibitions which God had made them to that purpoſe; but at laſt ſhe prevail'd with them, and they drunk ſo liberally of her Wine, that they began to be very familiar with their fair Hoſteſs, and to deſire of her the greateſt kindneſſe it is in a Woman's power to do a Man. The Woman was content they ſhould have their deſires, but made this condition before hand, that one of them ſhould ſhew her the way by which people come down from Heaven, and the other that by which they go up into it: but as ſoon as the Angels had ſhown her the way, the Woman ſlunk away from them, and went ſtright to Heaven. God finding her Cloath'd as ſhe was, ask'd her how ſhe could get up to Heaven without Dying. She made anſwer, that it was by the information of the Angels, and for the preſervation of her Honour. Which oblig'd God to Crown her Chaſtity with an extraordinary Glory; and whereas ſhe was one of the moſt Beautifull Women in the World, it was accordingly his Pleaſure, that ſhe ſhould have more light than any of the other Stars, and ſo he made her that Star or Planet which is called *Venus*. Afterwards having called the Angels before him, he told them, that in requital of the good they had done, he was content *The Vine.* *Why the Mahumetans drink no Wine.*

they

1637. they should condemn themselves to some punishment which they thought proportionable to their Sin: whereupon they went into the Cave of *Bebil*, between *Babylon* and *Betreh*, where thy were hung up by the Feet, to a great Iron Chain, in which posture they were to continue till the day of Judgment.

The *Persians*, in obedience to *Mahomet's* command, make no Wine; but in regard they are great lovers of it, they do not only permit the *Christians* to make thereof, but indeed the chief reason why they permit the *Armenians* to live among them, is, that they may buy thereof of them. They do not make it so well as it is done in *Europe*, and have not the Ingenuity to put it into Buts, but keep it in great Earthen Pitchars, each of which contains near half a Barrel, as we said elsewhere. The *Seder*, that is, the chief of the Religion of the *Persians*, to expresse his zeal, did sometimes order the Pitchars of the *Armenians* to be broken. The *Persians* are permitted to make a sirrup of sweet Wine, which they boyl, till it be reduc'd to a sixth part, and be grown as thick as Oyl. They call this Drugg *Duschab*, and when they would take of it, they dissolve it with water, and add thereto a little Vineger, all which together make a very pleasant Drink. The *Minatzim*, or Astrologer of *Scamachie*, gave me of it at a treatment he made for me at his own House. In the more Northerly Provinces of *Persia*, where the Wine is not very good, the Inhabitants dissolve the *Duschab* in the Country Wine, whereto they by that means give both the Colour and Taste of Sack.

Duschab.

Sometimes they boyl the *Duschab* so long, that they reduce it into a Paste, for the convenience of Travellers, who cut it with a Knife, and dissolve it in water. At *Tabris*, they make a certain Conserve of it, which they call *Helwa*, mixing therewith beaten Almonds, Flower, and peel'd Filbeards or small Nuts. They put this mixture into a long and narrow Bag, and having set it under the press, they make of it a Paste, which grows so hard, that a man must have a Hatchet to cut it. They make also a kind of Conserve of it, much like a Pudding, which they call *Zutzuch*, thrusting through the middle of it a small Cotton thread to keep the Paste together.

Helwa.

Zutzuch.

There are some Chymists, who maintain that by the same reason, to prevent the charges arising upon the transportation of Wine, it were possible to reduce five Tuns to one, by causing sweet Wine to be boyl'd away to the fifth part. For, as they say, there is no likelyhood the Wine should lose ought of its Spirits, before it hath wrought, and is dispos'd into Vessels, and that afterwards adding thereto as much fair water, out of which the superfluous humour hath been evaporated, it might be restor'd to the same quantity, and reduc'd to the same degree of goodness it had been of before. But I am of opinion, that if this were feasible, the experiment had been long since try'd, especially in *France*, instead of turning Wine into Aquavitæ.

There are two sorts of Grapes in *Persia*, but the best and sweetest are at *Schiras*, and *Tabris*; whence they bestow on the most delicate of them the name of *Taberschi*. This Grape is long, and hath no stone, and it may be kept all Winter. Those which they call *Keseki*, are yellowish and sweet, and grow in *Tarum*, at *Tabris*, and at *Ordebath*: but of these a man must eat sparingly, for fear of a Bloody-Flux.

The small Grapes, which we call Currens, are there yellowish, and bigger than those which grow in the Isle of *Zanthe*. They call them *Kischmisch*, and the best of them grow at *Bawanat*, near *Herat*.

Besides these, there are yet several other sorts of Grapes, not known in *Europe*; among the rest, those which they call *Hallague*. The Grape it self is above an inch and a half thick, but the meat of it is hard, juyce-less, and without stones, and they are kept all the year long: as also the *Enkuri Alidereſi*, the bunch whereof is above a foot long, and the Grapes are about the bigness of a Damasin, of a dark red Colour, full of juyce and very sweet; but they will not keep. There does not grow any of these save at one place, in the Province of *Iran*; between *Ordabath* and *Choddaserin* They derive their name from their great Prophet *Aly*, who being, one day, in Winter, at that place, desired a Vinedresser, whom he met, to give him some Grapes; whereto the other making answer, that it were impossible to satisfie his desire, in that season, *Aly* bid him go into the next Vineyard, and he should find some. He went, and according as he had said, found the faireſt Grapes he had ever seen; upon which occasion, they are called *Enkuri Aly dereſi*, that is, the Grapes of the little Valley of *Aly*.

Fruit-Trees. There is no Fruit-Tree in *Europe*, but is to be found in *Persia*; but, besides those, they have many, not known to us; as a sort of Pears, which they call *Melletze*, which grow near the City of *Ordebath*, about the bigness, and much of the colour of Citrons. The scent of them is very sweet and pleasant, and they are very juicy, but not delightfull to the taste.

Pomegranate-Trees, Almond-Trees, and Fig-Trees grow there without any ordering or cultivation, especially in the Province of *Kilan*, where you have whole Forests of them. The wild Pomegranates, which you find almost every where, especially at *Karabag*, are sharp or sowrish. They take out of them the Seed, which they call *Nardan*, wherewith they drive a great Trade, and the *Persians* make use of it in their sawces, whereto it gives a colour, and a picquant taste, having been steep'd in water, and strain'd through a cloath. Sometimes they boyl

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the juyce of these Pomegranates, and keep it to give a colour co the Rice, which they serve up at their entertainments, and it gives it withall a taſt which is not unpleaſant. The *Perſians* uſe ſharp ſawces with moſt of their meat, and thence it comes, that among them, you very ſeldome find any perſon troubled with the Scurvy, which is a Diſeaſe, too well known, and mortal in ſeveral Provinces of *Europe*. 1637.

I ſhall ſay nothing of thoſe other Fruits, which we have alſo in *Europe*, as of their *Narintz*, or Orenges, *Limec*, Citrons, *Meſchmeſchi*, Apricocks, *Scafralu*, Peaches, &c. only thus much, that they are not equally good every where. The beſt Pomegranates grow in *Jeſcht*, and at *Caſwin*, but the biggeſt, in *Karabag*. *Iſpahan* is famous for its good Melons; *Caſwin*, for its Peaches; *Tabris*, for its Apricocks; and the Provinces of *Kilan* and *Lahetzan* for Silks.

The Trees out of which they get this rich Commodity, may, no doubt, be very well numbred among the Fruit-Trees, not only in regard that it is true they bear Fruit, but alſo upon this ſcore, that the *Perſians* every where fill their Gardens with theſe plants. They are white and black Mulbery-Trees, which they plant ſo cloſe one by another, that a man can hardly paſs between the Trees, but they order them as Buſhes, and ſuffer them not to grow above five foot and a half high, that they may eaſily reach to all the Branches. In the Spring, as ſoon as theſe Trees begin to ſhoot forth their leaves, the *Perſians* begin to hatch their Silk-worms. To do this, they carry the Seed in a little bag under the arm pit, where the heat of ſeven or eight daies hatches them. Then they put them into a wooden diſh, upon the Mulbery-leaves, which they change at leaſt once a day, having a great care that they be not wet. At the end of five dayes, they ſleep three, and then, they diſpoſe them into Rooms, or Barns; kept very clean and prepar'd for that purpoſe, and in the Province of *Kilan*, they have particular Buildings for that end. Along the beams of theſe Buildings they nail laths, or cleft pieces, ſuch as Hoops are made of, upon which they lay the Mulbery-branches with the leaves on, and put the Worms upon them, every day changing theſe branches, and at laſt, when they are grown pretty big; twice or thrice a day; and they ſo ſhut all ouvertures of the Barns, which are cover'd with Nets, that the very Birds cannot get in to eat them. In the mean time, and before they begin to ſpin, they ſleep eight dayes more; but there muſt be a great care taken, that Women troubled with their Monethly infirmity, come not near them; inaſmuch as it would kill them, and as it were ſmother them in their own moiſture. After ſeven weeks life, they begin to ſpin, which is known as well by their ſatiety, in regard they then give over eating, as by the Silk which comes out at their Mouths. They ſuffer them to work twelve dayes at their Cod, and in the mean time they very carefully watch the place where they ſpin. That time expir'd, they find as many Cods, as there had been Worms, and they make choice of the biggeſt for the Seed. All the reſt is caſt into a Kettle of boyling water, into which they ever and anon put a Beſom, made for that purpoſe, whereto the Silk ſticks, and they immediately wind it up, and what remains they caſt away. That which is kept for Seed they ſet upon a Table, out of which, about fifteen dayes after there are hatched Butter-flies, and theſe produce the Seed, which is kept in a temperate place till the year following. In this Commodity of Silk conſiſts the greateſt Trade of all *Perſia*, nay in a manner af all the Eaſt, as it is, in effect, the Richeſt and moſt Noble of any that is driven in *Europe*. *Silk.*

We may put, into the number of the Fruits of this Country, the *Nefte*, which is gotten out of ſeveral ſources, near *Baku*; as alſo the Salt, which is drawn out of the Salt-pits of *Nachtſuan*; but this is fairer, and as clear as Chryſtal in *Kulb*, *Vrum*, *Kemre*, *Hemedan*, *Biſethun*, *Suldus*, and *Kiliſſim*. There are no other Pits or Mines where they work. There are indeed certain Forges, at *Maſula*, and *Keintze*; but the beſt Iron comes from *Maſula*, where it is ſo ſoft and tractable, that it is malleable, and yields to the Hammer without heating. There are Gold and Silver Mines between *Serab* and *Miane*, but they cannot be wrought for want of Wood, which is ſo ſcarce thereabouts, that the advantage might be made of them would not defray the charges. Between *Pirmaras* and *Schamachie*, we ſaw a Mountain of *Lapis Specularis*, which, when the Sun ſhone upon it, look'd like a heap of Diamonds. *Nefte.* *Salt.* *Iron.*

The *Perſians* are of mean ſtature. *Xenophon* ſaies, that they were moſt of them bulky and fat: and *Marcellinus*, on the contrary, affirms, that, in his time, they were ſpare-bodied, and dry. They are ſo now, but ſtrong, and have great limbs, their faces inclining to an Olive-colour, Black-hair'd, and Hawk-nos'd. The men are ſhav'd once in eight dayes, contrary to the cuſtom of the antient *Perſians*, who ſuffered their Hair to grow, as do at preſent the *Seid*, that is, the kinred of *Mahomet*, who, as they ſay, went ſo. They alſo ſhave their Beards, leaving only Muſtachoes. They are only a ſort of Religious men, called *Pyhr*, who ſuffer their Beards to grow upon their Chins, and about their Cheeks. Theſe people are in great Veneration among them, upon the accompt of their apparent ſanctity, which principally conſiſts in abſtinence. There are alſo thoſe, who never cut their Muſtachoes, which by that means cover their Mouths; and this they do in remembrance of their Prophet *Haly*, who wore them in that manner. Theſe laſt are called *Suffi*; and they ſay *Haly* wore his Muſtachoes ſo, for the following reaſon: That when *Mahomet* took that Voyage to Paradiſe, which the *Alchoran* *The ſtature of the Perſians.*

1637. ſpeaks of, *Azoara*, 27. *Haly* follow'd him. At firſt they made ſome difficulty at the Gate to let him in, till ſuch time as he told the Porter, that he was *Schir Chodda*, that is, God's Lion. Being got in, he ſaw that the Angels made *Mahomet* drink of a certain excellent Wine, whereof he was ſo happy as to have one Goblet preſented to him, which he took off; but ſome drops of the Divine draught ſticking on his Muſtachoes, he would never afterwards ſuffer them to be cut.

The *Perſians* have a great fancy to black hair, and they bear with the flaxen-hair'd, but not without ſome trouble; but for red-hair'd people, they have a ſtrong averſion. They have ſo great an eſteem for black hair, that when it is not fully black, they colour it ſo. To do that, they make uſe of the herb and ſeed of *Weſme*, which is brought from *Bagdat*, and is ſomewhat like that which the *Herbariſts* call *Securidaca*, which they beat very ſmall with the rinds of Pomegranates, and mix therewith Soap and Arſenick; they boyl this compoſition in Spring-water, and rub their Hair therewith, which they afterwards waſh with a ſtrong lye, made with unſlak'd Lime. They make uſe alſo of the water, which iſſues out of the Vines, in the Spring-time: the Men rub their Muſtachoes therewith, and Maids their Hair, which fall down over their ſhoulders ty'd up in ſeveral treſſes; out of an opinion they all are of, that this makes them grow.

Paint their Hands and Nails. They have alſo a cuſtom of Painting their Hands, and, above all, their Nails, with a Red Colour, inclining to Yellowiſh or Orenge, much near the colour that our Tanners nails are of. There are thoſe who alſo Paint their Feet. This is ſo neceſſary an ornament in their Married Women, that this kind of Paint is brought up, and diſtributed among thoſe that are invited to their Wedding Dinners. They therewith Paint alſo the Bodies of ſuch as dye Maids, that when they appear before the Angels Examinants, they may be found more neat and handſome. This Colour is made of the herb, which they call *Chinne*, which hath leaves like thoſe of Liquorice, or rather thoſe of Myrtle. It grows in the Province of *Erak*, and it is dry'd, and beaten, ſmall as Flower, and there is put thereto a little of the juyce of ſowr Pomegranate, or Citron, or ſometimes only fair Water; and therewith they Colour their hands. And if they would have them to be of a darker Colour, they rub them afterwards with Wall-nut leaves. This colour will not be got off in fifteen dayes, though they waſh their hands ſeveral times a day.

Their Habit. Their Cloaths have no proportion to their Limbs. Their Coats and upper Garments are large and hang looſe, not unlike the Garments of Women. They expreſs a certain Effeminacy in their gate. They go as it were Jetting and Wadling, and with very little Gravity. I am of opinion, that this ſcurvy Habit is deriv'd from their manner of ſitting, which is, as our Taylors do; whereto being accuſtomed from their infancy, they are not ſo ſtrong in the Hamms as they would otherwiſe be. *Diodorus Siculus* aſcribes the invention of this kind of Garments to *Semiramis*, and tells the occaſion of it, as do alſo moſt of the other antient Authors. The *Coeffura* of the men, which they call *Mendils*, and the *Turks*, *Tulbans* or *Turbants*, is made of Cotton cloath, or ſome Silk ſtuff, that is very fine, and of ſeveral Colonrs, and being about eight or nine Ells in length, comes many times about their Heads, having the folds ſlightly ſow'd, or drawn with a Gold thread. Thoſe of their Prieſts, and particularly, of the *Haſis*, is white, as are alſo all their Garments. There are ſome put to their *Mendils* a taſſel of Silk, which hangs down their backs, or over their ſhoulders, a quarter of an Ell or better in length. The *Seid*, that is, thoſe who pretend to be of the Poſterity of *Mahomet*, and aſſume the title of his Succeſſors, have their *Mendils* of green ſilk. Some *Perſians*, even of the greateſt of the Kingdome, wear furr'd Caps, the inſide and outſide being of *Buchar* Sheep skin, ſo as that the Wool hangs down from the edges the length of a man's finger, and is as ſoft as Silk. Theſe Caps are eſteem'd in *Perſia* as the Caſtors are in *Europe*, and are ſold at ten or twelve Crowns a piece. They wear theſe about their Heads, in Summer as well as VVinter, though a man might think, that, by reaſon of the extreme ſultrineſs of the weather, they ſhould be very troubleſome and incommodious. This cuſtom of keeping their Heads alwayes very hot, brings them to that tenderneſs, that they dare not expoſe them to the Cold, no not in calm weather. To this purpoſe I conceive I may allege what *Herodotus* ſayes; to wit, that, after a fight between the *Perſians* and the *Egyptians*, where there fell a great number of men on both ſides, care was taken that the Bodies of both parties were diſpos'd into ſeveral places, and it was found, ſome time after, that the Skuls of the *Perſians*, were ſo thin and delicate, that a man might thruſt his finger into them, and that, on the contrary, thoſe of the *Egyptians* were ſo hard, that they could not be broken with ſtones. The reaſon he gives for it, is, that he ſayes, the *Egyptians*, who were accuſtomed from their infancy to go bare-headed in the Sun, were by that means grown hard, whereas the *Perſians*, having their Heads alwayes wrapp'd about, were very tender in their Skuls. And indeed they never uncover them, neither at their Devotions, nor when they Salute other men, no, not when they ſpeak to their King: but when they ſalute any, they do it by a low inclination of the Head, and putting of their hand to their Breaſt.

Lib. 3.

Kiſilbaſchs Many of the *Perſians* wear Red Caps, whence the *Turks* take occaſion, to call them, by way of deriſion, *Kiſilbaſchs*, that is to ſay *Red-Heads*. Moſt Authors, who treat of the affairs of *Perſia*,

Persia, write this word *Cusselbas*, *Queselbach*, or *Querselbach*; but the right name is *Kisilbasch*, as being compounded of the word *Kisil*, which hath two different significations, to wit, that of *Red*, and of *Gold*, and *Basch*, which signifies a *Head*. *Paulus Jovius*, in the 13. Book of his *Histories*, and, after him, *F. Bizarro*, in the 10. Book of his *History of Persia*, affirm; that *Tesellis*, Disciple of *Harduellis*, otherwise named *Eider*, who, as they say, liv'd about the beginning of the sixteenth age, was the first who brought the *Persians* to wear Red Caps, to distinguish them from the *Turks*, at their separation from them in the business of Religion. But they are both mistaken: for the truth is, that the *Persians*, when they broke Communion with the *Turks*, and made a particular Sect of the *Mahumetane* Religion, by the advice of *Schich-Sefi*, the Author of their new Opinions, immediately held, that the first Successors of *Mahomet*, *Omar*, *Osman*, and *Ababeker*, had usurp'd the Succession, to the prejudice of *Aaly*'s right, and would have this last to be accounted the Prophet, and that his twelve Successors, whom we shall name hereafter, when we come to speak of the Religion of the *Persians*, were Canoniz'd, and put into the number of their *Imans*, or Saints; that they were look'd upon as having that quality, and that their Ecclesiasticks or Religious men wore Red Caps, made with twelve foldings, in form much like the Bottles used in *Languedoc* and *Provence*, which have great and flat Bellies, and very long and narrow Necks. 1637.

This difference in matter of Religion, occasion'd a great War between the two Nations; wherein the *Turks*, making advantage of their Arms, were very cruel towards the *Persians*, but especially the Ecclesiasticks, by reason of the aversion which they had for that new Religion. And in regard their Coiffure, or what they wore about their Heads, distinguish them from the others, they left off their Caps in several places of the Kingdom, and oblig'd the rest to follow their example. This persecution lasted, till *Schach-Ismael* I. finding himself forc'd by the *Turks* to retreat into the Province of *Kilan*, and having some reason to fear, that, within a short time, he might see the whole Kingdom in the hands of the profess'd enemies of his Religion, resolv'd to meet them, and to put all to the hazard of a Battel. To this end, he sent Persons to represent to the Provinces and the chief Cities of the Kingdom, the danger, whereto the State, their Liberties, and Religion were expos'd, if they resolv'd not to make what opposition they could in that extremity against the *Turk*, sending them word, that he would grant those who should serve him in Person, in that Conjuncture of affairs, a general and perpetual Exemption, for them and their Posterity. By this means, he got together an Army of three hundred thousand fighting men, wherewith he march'd directly to *Ardebil*, as desirous to begin his Exploits by a pious Enterprize, in recovering the Sepulchre of *Schich-Sefi* out of the hands of the *Turks*, who were forc'd out of that City. He was no sooner become Master of it, but he confirm'd all he had promis'd touching the Exemption, and to the end those might be known who were to enjoy the benefit of it, he ordered the making of these Red Caps, which were done with Twelve foldings, in remembrance of their Twelve *Imans*. But in regard the City was not able to find Scarlet enough, for so great a number of Caps, a Shooe-maker of *Ardebil* would needs make twelve of them, of *Maroquin*, or Goats Leather, of the same Colour, which *Schach-Ismael* presented to the chief Commanders of his Army. He ordered them to be Red, to make a certain representation of the Crown of *Aaly*, whom the *Persians* give the quality of King, as well as of Prophet, as they do these Caps the name of *Tatsch*, that is to say, a Crown. Whence it comes, that the *Persians* are so far from taking it ill, that they are called *Kisilbasks*, that they think it an honour done them, though, in effect, only those of the Posterity of *Aaly*, and these exempted Persons, wear red Caps: the former having them cover'd with Linnen Cloath, or some other kind of Stuff, and the others without any thing at all about them. The Posterity of these exempted Persons do still enjoy these Privileges, and out of them is chosen the Guard for the King's Person, as being look'd upon, as the *Swizzers* are in the Courts of diverse Princes of *Europe*.

Their ordinary Habit are a kind of sleeveless Coats of Cotton, or Silk, of several Colours, which come down to the calves of their Legs. Those of Cotton have flowers printed upon the Cloath, and are quilted, as Mattresses. They draw the sides of them together, under the left arm, and gird themselves with a Skarf about two Ells in length, called *Tzarkesi*, which comes several times about the Body. The richer sort have, upon this, another rich Skarf, which they call *Schal*, made of a very fine stuff, brought by the *Indians* into *Persia*: for their Silk being much fairer, and their Colours more lively and finer, than those of *Persia*, their Stuffs are accordingly more highly esteem'd.

When the *Mollas*, or Priests come before the *Mehere*, they take off that rich Skarf, to express their Humility. The other *Persians* wear in it a Ponyard, their Knives, their Handkerchiefs, and their Money; and those, whose profession it is to write for others, carry in them their Ink-horns, a Pen-knife, and a little Whet-stone, Letters, and all that the *Muscovites* are wont to thrust into their Boots or Buskins, which serve them instead of Pockets. Persons of quality, and the King himself, wear, over this Coat, a kind of Rocket, without sleeves, which reaches but to the Waste, border'd with Sables. When they go abroad, whether a-foot,

1637. or on horse-back, they cast over these, a silk Garment of diverse Colours, or wrought with Gold flowers, which they call *Jakyb Cahni*, from a King, of that name, who was the first that ever wore them in *Persia*. Their Breeches are of Cotton, made after the fashion of Drawers; accordingly they wear them under their shirts, and they reach down to their feet. Their Shirts are of Cotton Cloath, and for the most streak'd with Red. Their Stockings are of Woollen Cloath, unhandsomely cut out, without any shape, or any proportion to the Legg. They wear them very wide, and commonly, they are made of green Cloath: a colour which is abhorr'd by the *Turks*; and this is indeed one of the chiefest differences of their Religion: upon this accompt, that *Mahomet* having worn a green Cap, the *Persians*, the more to dishonour that Colour, put their Feet into that which their great Prophet wore about his Head. Their Shooes, which they call *Kefs*, are very picked at the toe, and very low quarter'd, so as that they put them off and on, with as much ease as we do our Slippers. Which convenience they the more stand in need of, in regard they put them off in the Antichamber, as well at their own Houses, as when they visit their Friends, either upon business or otherwise. To this purpose, I remember, that one day, going to the *Chan's* of *Scamachie*, about the time that he gives audience, for the Administration of Justice, we found, in the Antichamber, more shooes than the richest Shooe-maker thereabouts had in his shop, and standing by them, one I may call the *Shooe-keeper*, who with a forked stick gave those their shooes who went out.

The Habit of the Women. The women wear much finer stuffs than the men do, and have not any thing to tye about the waste: but their Drawers and Smocks are made after the same fashion as the Drawers and Shirts of men. Their Stockings are ordinarily of red or green Velvet, and they have little or no Ornament about the Head, but suffer their Hair to hang down negligently, in several tresses, down the back, and about the shoulders. All the Ornament they have about their Heads consists in two or three rows of Pearls, which they do not wear about their Necks, as Women do elsewhere, but about the Head, being set over the Fore-head, and falling down along the Cheeks to be fasten'd under the Chin, so as that their Faces seem'd to be set in Pearls. Which may give a little light to that expression in the *Canticles*, *Thy Cheeks are comely with rows of Jewels.* Chap. 1. Young maids sometimes wear Rings, with pretious Stones in them, in the right Nostril, as the *Tartarian* Women do. They also wear of them on their Fingers, and about their Arms, and they have bracelets of Silver-plates. But the *Mahumetan* Law allows not the men to wear Gold Rings. Whence it came, that when our Ambassadors presented *Saru Taggi*, Chancellor of *Persia*, with a very fair Diamond Ring, he had the stone taken off the Collet, and put into Silver, and so presented it to the King. The Women do not uncover their faces as they go about the City, but have over them a white Veil, which reaches down below their knees, which they open a little to see their way. The *Persians* make an embleme of it, to signifie, that, many times, in a handsome Body, a wicked Soul may be log'd, and that, under a fair appearance of good Life, a great number of enormous Vices may find shelter; as that Veil does often times, under very rich Cloaths, hide a very Ugly Woman.

The Persians are very neat. The *Persians* are very neat, as well in their Rooms and Furniture of them, as in their Habit, wherein they would not have so much as a spot to be seen: insomuch that those who are of ability to do it, change them as soon as they are ever so little stain'd, and others, who are not much before hand with the World, have them wash'd once a week. Which is very much contrary to the humour of the *Muscovites*, among whom a man seldome sees any Cloaths but what are full of Nastiness, and shine with Grease. Nay it is certain, that the Stables and other such Houses of the *Persians*, are kept much neater, than the Stoves and Lodging Chambers of the *Muscovites*.

Ingenious. The *Persians* are of a ready Wit and sound Judgement. They apply themselves to Studies, and are very excellent in Poesy. Their Inventions are rich, and their Fancies subtil and strong. They are so far from being any way Vain-glorious, that they slight no man, but, on the contrary, they are complaisant, and of a Taking Conversation, very civil and obliging among themselves, but especially to Strangers. The Submissions, wherewith they express themselves in their Complements, exceed any thing they do in that kind in *France*. A *Persian*, to invite his Friend to come into his House, and profer him his service, delivers himself in these terms: *Let me intreat you to make my House noble by your presence; I sacrifize my self to your Commands; I lye prostrate at your Feet; to serve you, I wish the apple of my Eye might help to pave your way*, &c. but for the most part, these are indeed but Complements. This puts me in mind of a *Persian*, who coming to our Physician to acquaint him with a pain he had in his side, told him, that if he could Cure him, he would give him his Head; whereupon it being represented to him, that he should not be so much troubled at the want of Health, who was so prodigal of his Life, he made answer, that he meant otherwise, but that it was their manner of speaking.

Liars. The *Persians* have ever had the reputation of not being over-carefull to speak the truth; and even to this day, those, who would speak it at all times, must pass, in their accompt, for people a little troubled with simplicity. Whence it comes, that no man thinks himself injur'd, when they say to him, *Drugh Mikui*, or, in the *Turkish* Language, *Galan Dierſen*, that is, thou

thou haſt told an untruth, and the word *Galantſi*, which ſignifies a Lyar, is accounted a drolliſh expreſſion, though *Herodotus* ſayes it was a Vice the antient *Perſians* hated moſt of any, and that they made it their main buſineſs to bring up their young men, to Ride and Shoot well, and to ſpeak the Truth. 1637.

They are very faithfull in obſerving the particular friendſhips they contract together, and they enter into Fraternities among themſelves, which laſt as long as they live, nay they are ſo exact in the improving of theſe, that they preferr them before all Obligations of either Blood or Birth. In *Germany*, there is no reckoning paid, but thoſe Drunken perſons who clubb to it, make ſome fraternity; yet is not the friendſhip contracted thereby, ever the greater, in regard there cannot really be any between ſuch as are incapable of it: but in *Perſia*, it is far otherwiſe. It is their cuſtom to make every year a great Feaſt, whereat all the men between whom there is any thing of Kinred, and ſome other friends, meet together, and if, at that aſſembly there be any perſons, who, out of a reciprocal and particular affection, are deſirous to enter into a more cloſe and conſtant friendſhip, they addreſs themſelves to ſome one of the Company, whom they take by the border of his Garment, and having told him that they make choice of him for their *Babba*, Father or God-father, which the other cannot deny, they go all three together, to their *Calif*, (there being no Family but hath its own) kiſs his Hand, and crave his Benediction. To receive which, they lye down upon their Bellies, firſt the God-father, and afterwards the Brethren, at the *Calif*'s feet, who gives each of them three ſtrokes with a wand upon the Back, pronouncing at the firſt ſtroke, the word *Alla*, at the ſecond, that of *Mahomet*, and at the third that of *Haly*. That done, they kiſs the wand, and with this Ceremony the Fraternity is eſtabliſh'd. And this kind of alliance is ſo ſacred, according to their opinion of it, that they affirm, there is no other ſin but may be pardoned; that Sacrilege and Idolatry are not irremiſſible, and that a man may hope for pardon, if he hath drunk Wine, nay in caſe he hath abus'd an *Abdalla*; but that the privileges of this kind of Fraternity cannot be Violated, and the offence not be Puniſh'd. And if it happen that two of theſe Brethren fall out, they are to be reconcil'd at the next aſſembly; which is done thus. He who hath been injur'd comes to his Door who did him the injury, bowing down his Head, and, with his Arms careleſsly hanging down, continues in that poſture, till the other hath intreated him thrice to come into his Houſe, and thence they go together to the aſſembly, where the reconciliation is perfected. The *Perſians* are of a good nature, and very ſenſible of any kindneſs done them; but where they hate, they are irreconcilable. They are Couragious, and good Soldiers, going chearfully upon any deſign or engagement, though never ſo dangerous.

True in their friendſhips.

They are alſo modeſt, and very reſerv'd; whence it comes, they never make water ſtanding, but ſquat down as Women do, and when they have done, waſh themſelves. It is upon this accompt, that, at Weddings, and other great aſſemblies, they have in ſome by-places, ſeveral earthen pots full of water. If they be near a Brook, or River, they will be ſure to make water in it, whence the *Turks*, by derilion, call them *Cher Scahei*, that is, the King's or *Aly*'s Aſſes, in regard Aſſes never go through water but they piſs; on the contrary, the *Perſians* call the *Turks Sekſumi*, becauſe they piſs, like Dogs, againſt a Wall. Certain it is that Perſons of Quality in *Turky* obſerve, in this particular, the cuſtom of the *Perſians*, and both Nations take a great care, when they either make water, or eaſe Nature otherwiſe, not to turn their Faces or their Backs towards the South, in regard that when they ſay their Prayers they look that way.

But it is alſo true, that this modeſty is only as to the external part, and that otherwiſe they are more Luxurious than any other Nation in the World. For, not thinking it enough to marry ſeveral VVives, and beſides, them, to have a great number of Concubines, they have a kindneſs left for common VVhores. Accordingly, there is no City, *Ardebil* only excepted, where there are not publick places appointed for that ſport, under the protection of the Magiſtrate. During our aboad at *Scamachie*, one of our Souldiers having had his pleaſure of a VVoman, got away without paying her. She made her complaints to the *Chan*, who ſent to the Ambaſſadors, to entreat them to take ſame courſe that ſhe might be ſatisfy'd, ſending them word, that it was but reaſonable, that the *Kahbe*, who pay the King a great Tribute, ſhould be alſo paid the Salary due to them. VVe have given an accompt elſewhere, what uſe the *Perſians* make of them at their great Feaſts; and this cuſtom is ſo antient, that *Herodotus* ſpeaks of it, when he ſayes, that the Ambaſſadors of the *Perſians* told *Amintas*, King of *Macedon*, that it was their cuſtom, when they entertain'd their Friends to give them alſo the Divertiſement of VVomen. He brought into the place where they were men in womens Cloaths, who kill'd the Ambaſſadors.

Luxurious.

The King himſelf maintains a great number of theſe VVomen at his own charge, and makes it his Divertiſement at Meals to ſee them Dancing and ſhewing all manner of poſtures before him: ſo that thoſe who are deſirous to take up that Profeſſion, muſt not only be handſome, but alſo pleaſant and active. The King takes them along with him into the Country, nay into the Army, after the example of the antient Kings of *Perſia*, and particularly that of *Darius*, who,

The King of Perſia hath ſever al Wives and Concubines.

1637. as *Q. Curtius* affirms, had, in his Retinue, three hundred and ſixty Concubines, all very ſumptuouſly Cloath'd.

Sodomy *not puniſh'd in* Perſia.

Sodomy is no extraordinary ſin among them, nor is it puniſh'd as a Crime. *Saru Taggi*, who was Chancellor of *Perſia* at the time of our Travels, was not puniſh'd for his *Sodomy*, but for the Violence he had done in the Commiſſion of it. The King himſelf was given to this Vice, and ſo far from puniſhing it in another, that, as we were told, in the year 1634. *Schach-Sefi* being at the ſiege of *Eruan*, one of the Colonels, who was got drunk at the King's quarters, would, at his return to his own, in the heat of his VVine, having forc'd a young Lad that ſerv'd him, and had often before refus'd to hearken to his lewd addreſſes. The Boy, to prevent the violence, which he now ſaw was unavoidable, layes hold on the Ponyard, which his Maſter wore at his Girdle, and therewith run him into the Heart. The next day, the King miſſing the Colonel, ask'd what was become of him. Some body told him, he had been kill'd by one of his Domeſticks, and gave him an account how it had been done. The Boy was brought before him, who very ingenuouſly confeſs'd what had paſs'd between his Maſter and him, and avow'd, that the horror he conceiv'd at that ſin had made him take that reſolution. The King was ſo incens'd, that he Commanded him to be caſt to the Dogs, to be torn to pieces by them. The two firſt that were brought would not meddle with him, but afterwards they got two *Engliſh* Maſtives, which upon the firſt ſetting on tore him to pieces.

Polygamy allowed in Perſia.

The *Mahumetan* Law allows them to be Luxurious, not only by permitting Polygamy, but alſo thoſe other carnal enjoyments, wherein the chiefeſt part of their Beatitude conſiſts, even that which the *Muſſulmans* of that Religion expect after this Life; it being their perſwaſion, that, in their celeſtial Paradiſe, they ſhall not only have the ſame lawfull Wives they had in this World, but that they ſhall alſo have as many Concubines and Servants, as they pleaſe, and enjoy all other Women, as often as they have a mind to it.

They uſe all imaginable inventions to ſtir themſelves up to luſt, and to this end have they, at all meetings, whether at common Tipling Houſes, or elſewhere, men and women Dancers, who provoke them to brutality by their obſcene poſtures. They uſe alſo the ſeed and leaves of Hemp, to revive languiſhing Nature, though our Naturaliſts aſſign it a cold quality, which weakens and corrupts Nature. I cannot imagine how this can add any fewel to their luſtfull inclinations, unleſs it be that the windy humour of it be alſo expulſive, or that in theſe hot Countries, it hath other qualities, than it hath in *Europe*. To prepare this Drugg, they gather the leaves before they come to Seed, dry them in the ſhade, beat them to powder, which they mix with Honey, and make pills thereof, about the bigneſs of a Pidgeons Egg. They take two or three of them at a time, to fortifie Nature. As to the Seed, they fry it, put a little Salt thereto, and eat it by way of Deſert. *Imanculi*, who was ſent Ambaſſador from the King of *Perſia* to the Duke of *Holſtein*, took of it at every meal, after he had married a young Woman at *Aſtrachan*, he himſelf being ſeventy years of age. Perſons of good repute, in *Perſia*, will not eat of it, for they ſay, that he who makes uſe of this remedy commits a greater ſin, than he that had raviſh'd his own Mother upon *Mahomet*'s Sepulchre. They call thoſe who uſe it, *Bengi kidi bengi*. But when all is done, the *Perſians* think they have ſufficiently expiated the ſin of Fornication, when, immediately after they have had their pleaſure of a Woman, they either bath themſelves, or waſh their Bodies all over with cold water.

The Houſe-keeping of the Perſians.

The charges the *Perſians* are at in Houſe-keeping, as to the Kitchin and the Cellar, amounts to very little, unleſs it be in thoſe Famalies where there are many Women, who inflame the Bill very much. The Cotton-Cloath, which makes moſt of their Cloathing, is very cheap there. Their Houſes are but poorly furniſh'd, and they think they have to ſpare, when the floor of their Lodging Room is cover'd with Tapiſtry; and all the proviſion they make for the whole year, is only Rice. Fleſh is not dear, ſave only at thoſe places, where the great number of Inhabitants makes all Proviſions ſcarce, in regard they are for the moſt part brought out of remote Provinces. The Garden ſupplies them with a Deſert, and the next Brook ſerves them for a Cellar. They are very neat about their Rooms, and they ſuffer not Dogs, which out of ſome other reſpects, they hold to be unclean Creatures, or any other Animals to come into them. And whereas they have this inconvenience at meals that they uſe no Trenchers, they uſe a ſort of Pots which they call *Tuſtahn*, about the bigneſs of our Chamber-pots, ſetting one of them between every two Perſons; and into theſe they ſpet, and caſt the bones, and parings of Fruits. We have ſaid elſewhere, that they have their *Tennrs*, or Stoves to keep them warm, and to ſpare Wood as much as may be, nay ſome makes a ſhift to roaſt and boyl their meat with them.

Their Houſ-holdſtuff.

In the Kitchin, they have Kettles and Pots of Braſs, or of Copper tinn'd over, which are commonly faſten'd to the Hearth, as alſo earthen pots. In many Provinces they are pretty well ſtor'd with VVood; but there are others, where they have only Loppings, and many times they are forc'd to warm themſelves with Cow or Camels-dung, dry'd in the Sun. Their Diſhes are of Copper, but ſo handſomely made, and ſo well tinn'd over, that Silver Plate cannot look better. Some have Porcelane, and the Country people are glad of earthen ware. As to their

their meat, they do not care for much, as being satisfy'd with very little. Which is contrary to what *Bizarrus* relates of them, to wit, that Butchers meat is dear in *Persia*, by reason of the Gluttony of the Inhabitants, which, as he affirms, is so great, that aged persons there make four meals a day, and consequently, with much more reason, the younger sort of people. Nor does this agree neither with the account the antients give of them, who generally affirm that the *Persians* were very temperate, and contented themselves with little Meat, but they lov'd Fruits. Accordingly, during the aboad we made in *Persia*, I observ'd that one of their chiefest Vertues was Temperance, and that the *Persians* seldome eat Flesh above once a day, and that if they make another meal besides, it consists, for the most part, of Butter, Cheese, and Fruits, though I must confess there are some who make two set meals. 1637.

There is not any thing more ordinary in *Persia* than Rice soak'd in water. They call it *Plau*, and eat of it at all their Meals, and serve it up in all their Dishes, especially under boild Mutton. They some times put thereto a little of the juyce of Pomegranates or Cherries, and Saffron, insomuch that commonly you have Rice of several Colours in the same Dish. They serve it up also under Capons, and broild Fish. They also eat Sorrel, Spinage, and Cabbages, white and green, but they do not much care for the red. They do not want small Birds, and they have all sorts of Fowl in abundance, Turkeys only excepted, which are so scarce in this Country, that a *Georgian* Merchant, having brought thither some of them from *Venice*, in the time of *Schach-Abas*, he sold them at a *Tumain*, that is, near five pound *sterl.* a piece. Patridges and Feasants are common, and, at those places where they are to be had, they may be bought cheap enough. *Their ordinary food is Rice.*

Though Rice serves them instead of Bread, yet do they make some, of several sorts, of Wheat also. The *Komatsch* are three fingers thick, and a foot and a half in length. The *Lawasch* are round, and about the thickness of a man's finger. The *Peasekesche*, are half an Ell, and they are bak'd in their Houses, over the *Tenurs*, on which they are set, and with the five fingers of the hand, they make them as many Horns, whence they have their name. The *Sengek* are made upon the pebbles, wherewith some of their Ovens are covered, so that this kind of Bread or Cakes is uneven, and full of pits. The *Jaucha* is like Wafers, and as thinn as Parchment, but in length and breadth they are half an Ell or better. The *Persians* use them instead of Napkins, to wipe their fingers, wherewith they take up the Rice, and pull their Meat to pieces, for you shall seldome see them use any Knives. When they have put the *Jaucha's* to this use, they tear them into bits, put a little Rice or a Morsel of flesh into one of them, and so swallow it down, or haply eat them without any thing with them. All their Spoons, even the King's, are of Wood, made Oval-wise, at the end of a very small handle, but a foot and a half in length. *Which serves them for Bread.*

Their ordinary Drink, especially that of the meanest sort of people, is water, into which they sometimes put a little *Duschab*, and some Vinegar, For though Wine be cheap enough there, especially in the Provinces of *Erak*, *Aderbeitzan*, and *Schiruan*, where the measure, which they call *Lullein*, and which contains near an *English* pottle, costs but six pence. Yet are there many who make a difficulty to Drink thereof, because the use of it is forbidden by their Law, especially the *Hatzi*, who are such as have gone on Pilgrimage to *Meca*, to *Mahomet's* Sepulchre, and are to forbear it all their Lives after, out of a perswasion they are of, that all their merits would be effac'd, by so enormous a sin. But such as are lovers of Wine, and the common prostitutes, who have for the most part contracted a necessary habit of sinning, Drink of it without any scruple, out of a presumption, that that sin will be pardoned them with the rest, provided they do not make the Wine themselves. Whence it comes they make no great entertainment, but they drink very freely of it. After meal, there is warm water brought in for the washing of their hands. *Their Drink.*

Opium, which they call *Offiouhn*, and *Teriak*, is commonly used among the *Persians*. They make pills of it of the bigness of a Pea, and take two or three of them at a time. Those who are accustomed thereto will take about an Ounce at a time. There are some who take of it only once in two or three daies, which makes them sleepy, and a little disturbs their brains, so as that they are as if they were a little entred in Drink. There is abundance of it made in *Persia*, especially at *Ispahan*, and it is thus ordered. The Poppy being yet green, they cleave the Head of it, out of which there comes a white Liquor, which being expos'd to the Air grows black, and their Apothecaries and Druggists trade very much in it. All over the East they use this Drugg, the *Turks* and *Indians*, as well as the *Persians*, insomuch, that *Bellon* saies, in his Observations, that if a *Turk* hath but a peny, he will spend a farthing of it in *Opium*; that he saw above fifty Camels loaden with it, going from *Natolia* into *Turquey*, *Persia*, and the *Indies*, and that a *Janizary*, who had taken a whole Ounce of it one day, took the next day two, and was never the worse for it, save that it wrought the same effect in him as Wine does in such as take too much of it, and that he stagger'd a little. It hath also this quality common with Wine, that it does infuse Courage into those who have not much; whence it comes, that the *Turks* take of it before they go upon any design. The Women do not ordinarily take any; but those who are not able to bear with their untoward and imperious Husbands, and preferr Death before the *They take Opium.*

Slavery

1637. Slavery they live in, do sometimes make use of *Opium*, whereof they take a good quantity, and, drinking cold water upon it, they, by a gentle and insensible Death, depart this World.

They take Tobacco. There is hardly any *Persian*, what condition or quality soever he be of, but takes *Tobacco*. This they do in any place whatsoever, even in their *Mosqueyes*. There grows abundance of it near *Bagdat*, and in *Kurdesthan*, but they have not the art to Cure it as it ought to be, thinking it enough to let it dry, as they do other leaves and Medicinal herbs. There are whole shops full of it at *Ispahan*, being put up in Baggs, where it is reduc'd in a manner to powder, and is at least as small as *Sena*. They highly esteem that which is brought them out of *Europe*, and call it *Inglis Tambaku*, because the *English* are they who bring most of it thither. They are so great lovers of it, that, when I gave a piece thereof to a Master, who taught me the *Arabian* Language at *Scamachie*, he took it for an extraordinary kindness. To take it with any delight, they make use of a Glass Flaggon, an Earthen Pitcher, a *Cocos*, or *Indian* Nut-shell, or a *Kaback*, which is the rind of a certain sort of Citralls, or Cucumbers, which they fill half full of water, or little more, and sometimes put a little perfum'd Waters into it. Into this water they put a little hollow Reed, having at the end of it a Bole wherein they put the Tobacco with a little Coal, and with another Pipe, about an Ell long, which they have in their Mouths, they draw, through the water, the smoke of the Tobacco, which leaving in the water all its soot and blackness, is incomparably more pleasant this way, than as we take it. Those who have not all these conveniences are glad to take it our way; but their Pipes, which have Boles or Heads of Earth or Stone, are of Wood, and much longer than ours.

Cahwa, or Coffee. They Drink, with their Tobacco, a certain black water, which they call *Cahwa*, made of a Fruit brought out of *Egypt*, and which is in colour like ordinary Wheat, and in taste like *Turkish* Wheat, and is of the bigness of a little Bean. They fry, or rather burn it in an Iron pan without any Liquor, beat it to powder, and boyling it with fair water, they make this Drink thereof, which hath as it were the taste of a burnt Crust, and is not pleasant to the Palate. It hath a Cooling quality, and the *Persians* think it allays the Natural heat. Whence it comes, that they often drink of it, inasmuch as they would avoid the charge of having many Children, nay they are so far from dissembling the fear they have thereof, that some of them have come to our Physician for remedies of that kind. But he being a merry dispos'd Person, made answer, that he would rather help them to get Children, than give them ought to prevent the getting of them. I say the *Persians* are perswaded this water is able absolutely to smother all Natural heat, and to take away the power of engendring; and to this purpose they tell a story of one of their Kings, named *Sulthan Mahomet Caswin*, who Reign'd in *Persia* before *Tamerlane*'s time, that he was so accustom'd to the Drinking of *Cahwa*, that he had an inconceivable aversion for Women; and that the Queen standing one day at her Chamber Window, and perceiving they had got down a Horse upon the ground, in order to the Gelding of him, ask'd some that stood by, why they treated so handsome a Creature in that manner; whereupon answer being made her, that he was too Fiery and Metalsome, and that the business of those that were about him, was, with the taking away of the excess of Metal, which Stone-Horses are guilty of, to deprive him of all generative Vertue; the Queen reply'd, that that trouble might have been spar'd, since the *Cahwa* would have wrought the same effect; and that if they would keep the Stone-Horse with that Drink, he would, in a short time, be as cold as the King her Husband.

They affirm further, that the Son of that King, whom they also, after his Father, call *Mahomet*, being come to the Crown, Commanded that great Poet, *Hakim Fardausi*, to give him a piece of his Writing, and promis'd by way of reward to give him a Ducat for every Verse. The Poet in a short time made sixty thousand, which are at this day accounted the best that ever were made in *Persia*; but the King who expected not he should have made such haste, sent him to those who had the over-sight of his Revenue, who judging this to be too great a summ for a Poet, told him he must content himself with a less recompence. Accordingly they brought it so low, that *Fardausi* made other Verses, wherein he reproach'd the King with his avarice, and told him, the present he had made him, might be rather thought to come from a Porter than a Prince. Whereto he added, that Shooe-makers and Bakers were wont to do so, and that he could not be perswaded that the King was of Royal Extraction, but must rather be descended from some Shooe-maker or Baker.

The King was so nettled at these reproaches, that he made his Complaints thereof to his Mother, who presently imagining, that the Poet had made some Discoveries of her, ingenuously acknowledg'd to her Son, that the King, her Husband, being become impotent through his excessive Drinking of *Cahwa*, she fancied a Baker belonging to the Court, and that this Baker was his Father; That she chose rather to take that course, than leave the Kingdom destitute of Heirs; That he was now to consider, that had it not been for that Baker, he had not been at all, and that he would do well to recompence the Poet, so as that the business might take no further wind, lest the people should deprive him of a Crown which belong'd not to him. The Son made his advantage of the advice and remonstrances of his Mother, and ordered the Poet should have what he had promised him.

We

We said before, that the *Persians* are great frequenters of the Taverns or Tipling-Houses, which they call *Tzai Chattai Chane*, in regard there they may have *Tzai*, or *Cha*, which the *Usbeques Tartars* bring thither from *Chattai*. It is an Herb which hath long and narrow leaves, about an inch in length, and half an inch in breadth. In order to the keeping and transportation of it, they dry it, so as that it turns to a dark grey Colour, inclining to black, and so shrivell'd up, that it seems not to be what it really is: but as soon as it is put into warm water, it spreads and reassumes its former green Colour. The *Persians* boyl it, till the water hath got a bitterish taste, and a blackish colour, and add thereto Fennel, Anniseed, or Cloves, and Sugar. But the *Indians* only put it into seething water, and have for that purpose either Brass, or Earthen pots very handsomely made, which are put to no other use. They drink it so hot, that they are not able to hold their Dishes, which are of Porcelane or Silver, in their hands: whence it comes, that they have found out a way of making them of Wood or Canes, done over with a Plate of Copper or Silver Gilt, and sometimes of Gold, so as that the heat not being able to penetrate them, they may hold them in their hands, even though the water were boyling. The *Persians*, *Indians*, *Chineses* and *Japonneses* assign thereto such extraordinary qualities, that, imagining it alone able to keep a man in constant health, they are sure to treat such as come to visit them, with this Drink, at all hours. The quality it is, by experience, found to have, is, that it is astringent, and that it consumes superfluous Humours, which incommodate the Brain, and provoke Drowlinesse. They who have Written of the affairs of the *Indies*, as *Maffeus*, *Linschooten*, *Trigault*, and others, tell Miracles of it: but this herb is now so well known in most parts of *Europe*, where many persons of quality use it with good success, that it must needs be known, what are both its good and bad qualities: which Dr. *Tulp*, a Physician of *Amsterdam*, hath very strictly examined, in the last Chapter of the fourth Book, of his *Medicinal Observations*. 1637. *The use of Thee, or Tea.*

The *Persians* live either on the Fruits which their Gardens bring forth, or by the advantage they make by Tilling the ground. Some live by Traffick, others by their Trades; some to the Warrs, and there are those who get their livelyhood by Writing. For since Printing is not yet used amongst them, and that they stand in need of many Copies of their *Alcoran*, they have them done by a sort of people, who do not only get a livelyhood thereby, but grow very rich, inasmuch as a Copy of it well written: will yield eighteen or twenty Crowns. Whence it comes, that there is no man that hath Children, but he teaches them to write, and yet there are an infinite number of men in *Persia* who live only by writing.

It is a pleasant sight, as a man passes over the *Maidan*, or through the *Basar*, to see the Tradesmen of all Professions in their Shops, where they sell what they had made at their Houses; for it is very seldome seen, that a Tradesman works in his Shop, which for the most part is at some distance from the place where he lives, and confin'd to certain parts of the Market-place, where every Trade hath its distinct quarter, only for the selling of Commodities. The most common Professions are Weavers, Dyers, and Painters, who paint Flowers upon the Stuffs of Silk and Cotton, and sometimes even upon *Brocadoe*. The ordinary length of their pieces of stuffs is not above five or six Ells, it being as much as needs for a Garment according to their fashion. The fairest Stuffs, as well for Painting, as Workmanship, are made at *Jesdcht* and *Kaschan*, where they represent upon Silk and Cotton, the figures of Persons, and particularly VVriting, and the Characters of their Language, so exactly done, that no Painter can do things with such Life and Art. Using only what they spend themselves in Cloaths, they Trade with the rest into other parts, with great profit, as they do also with unwrought Cotton and raw Silk, whereof there are great quantities brought into *Europe*, through the *Indies*. As for the Silk, it is worth in *Persia* not above 2s. 6d. or 2s. 8d. the pound. Their ordinary weight is the *Badman*, which is not the same in all places; in as much as, at *Tabris*, it weighs but six pound; in *Kilan*, where they make use of the *Schach badman*, it is twelve; and at *Scamachie* and *Karabath*, it is sixteen pounds. It is conceived that *Persia* produces every year, one with another, ten thousand *Somms*, or twenty thousand Balls of Silk, every Ball weighing two hundred and sixteen pounds. The Province of *Kilan* it self, in good years, yields eight thousand Balls; *Schirvan*, three thousand; *Chorasan*, as many; *Mesanderan*, two thousand; *Karabath*, two thousand. In which accompt we do not comprehend what *Georgia*, which is richer in Silk than any other Province, produces within it self. They say, that all *Persia* does not spend above a thousand Balls of Silk, and that the rest is sold into *Turkie*, the *Indies*, *Italy*, and to the *English* and *Dutch*, who Trade at *Ormus*, and who bring thither Tinn, Copper, *English* and *Dutch* Cloath, nay some Cloaths made at *Berry* (in *France*) and *Saux*, which the *Persians*, who are not good at the ordering of VVoollen stuffs, do so highly esteem, that ordinary Cloath is sold there at 20. or 24. Crowns the yard. *Where the best Stuffs are made.* *Persia yields yearly 20000. Balls of Silk.*

The *Armenian* Merchants, who are *Christians*, are the richest of any, by reason of the pains they take in making Voyages themselves, which is more than the other *Persians* do; though both have an absolute freedome to Traffick where they please themselves, as Foreiners have the liberty to come into *Persia*, and put off their Commodities there, paying custom; contrary to what is observ'd in *Muscovy*, where the Subjects cannot go out of the Kingdom,

1637. without the *Czaar*'s expres permission. There is also this particular advantage in *Persia*, as well as *Turkey*, that the VVars do not obstruct their Commerce, the *Caravans* and other Merchants having the same freedome to go to and fro, in the time of war, as they have in Peace, inasmuch as both those Princes are equally concern'd to improve the advantages they make thereby. The commerce of the *Persians* would be incomparably greater than it is, if they could make their benefit of that which the Sea affords them, and if Navigation were as well setled there, as it is in *Europe*.

Trading not obstructed by the Wars.

The Wars, which the King of *Persia* is oblig'd to carry on sometimes against the *Turks*, sometimes against the *Mogul* and the *Usbeques Tartars*, make him stand in need of a great number of Souldiers. Those who are entertain'd into his Service have a setled pay at all times, as we shall have occasion to speak more fully to anon.

Having spoken of the Shops, the Cellars and the Kitchins of the *Persians*, I must not forget their Chambers, and what belongs to them, nor yet their Marriages. A *Persian*, who thinks himself able to maintain several Wives, will seldome be content with one. Polygamy is an old evil, deeply rooted in them. *Strabo* is of opinion, that they took several Wives, because they would have many Children, and to get the reward which their Kings gave those who had many Males. They are still willing enough to take the Wives, but not upon the same Motives, since they use all the means they can to hinder their getting of Children. What they do now is purely upon the accompt of pleasure, that their enjoyments may be heightned by the variety. To this purpose, they have a Proverb, which says, that, to have a perpetual Spring, a man must often change Wives, and use them as Almanacks, which serve but for a year. The *Alcoran* permits the *Mahumetans* to marry as many Wives as they are able to maintain. Whence it comes that rich Merchants, who are oblig'd to Travel up and down the Country, marry Wives, and keep Houses in several places, that where ever they come they may be at home. Yet do I not advise any man to believe those, who say, there is a Law in *Media*, whereby men are enjoyn'd to Marry at least seven VVives; nor yet what *Niger* says in his Geography, that the Children kill their Father and Mother, when they are come to seventy years of age. These are idle stories, which have no ground in the antient History, and whereto we found nothing consonant in our time.

The inconvenience of Polygamy.

It is not our design to dilate much upon the inconveniences of Polygamy; but certain it is, that, in *Persia*, there is but little friendship among the VVomen. Some love there may be between them, but it is no doubt of that kind which comes near brutality. It is impossible also that a Family, where there are so many women, can be free from jealousie, which is inevitable among those, who would all be lov'd, and absolutely depend on him, who should, but cannot, love them all equally. The *Persians* themselves, to express the inconveniences of Polygamy, say in their Proverbs, that, as two Asses are more troublesome to be driven, than a whole *Caravan*; so a Judge finds not so much difficulty in deciding the differences of a Province, as a man distracted by two VVomen, who cannot live together without some jarring. VVe were told several examples of the great mischiefs happening in Families through Polygamy, and and among the rest one, concerning *Silfaher*, *Chan* of *Scamachie*. He was a Person of very great Authority in the Country, and well look'd upon at the Court, where he had Married the Sister of *Schach-Chodabende*, who was Father to *Schach-Abas*. This VVoman conceiving a jealousie at the affection her Husband express'd towards another young Lady whom he had Married, and imagining her quality would take away all Comparison between her and her Rival, was so highly incens'd against him, that she resolv'd to be reveng'd; and to that purpose writ to the King her Nephew, to bid him beware of her Husband, as having some design upon his Person. *Schach-Abas*, who took the least suspicions for certain proofs, immediately Commanded *Kartschichai-Chan*, *Chan* of *Mesched*, who was then about him at *Ardebil*, to go and bring him *Silfahar*'s Head. *Kartschichai* being come to the foot of the Mountain of *Elbours*, in the Province of *Schirvan*, sent one to *Silfahar*, to desire him to come to him. *Silfahar*, not fearing any mischief from the other, who was his intimate Friend, departed upon the first summons, and coming late at Night to the place appointed him by the other, he set up his Tent near that of *Kartschichai*. The next day *Kartschicai* getting up betimes in the Morning, went to *Silfahar*, who was in Bed, and having awak'd and kindly saluted him, he desir'd him to rise and take a VValk with him, for he had some affairs of great consequence to communicate to him. But while *Silfahar* was putting on his Cloaths, *Kartschichai*, perceiving his soul was in a quiet posture, in regard he was going to his Prayers, made a sign to his Servants, who knew what they had to do, to dispatch him, and having caus'd his Head to be cut off, he brought it to Court.

It happened also, not long before our Travels into *Persia*, that one who kept a Tipling-house at *Ardebil*, whose name was *Schiritzi Aly*, being Drinking very late with one of his Friends, upon that Bridge of the City, which is called *Heider Aly*, saw coming towards him a loaden Mule, which seem'd to look after a Master, while the true owner, who was a Merchant, was gone to ease himself on the River side. *Schiritzi* had the good nature and charity to drive the

Mule

Mule to his own House, to unload it, and to turn him out again to look for his Master, who coming immediarely into the City, met with his Mule in the streets, but discharg'd of his burthen. He went and made his complaints to the Governour, who bid him name the person that had robb'd him, and he would do him Justice. But the Merchant, not satisfy'd with this answer, made his Case known to the King, who presently recommended him to *Alicali-Chan*, with expres order to see the Merchants loss made good to him, to the full value he should set upon his Commodities, inasmuch as the *Chan* had not been careful to secure the High-way, and neglected to make an exact enquiry after the Thief; which order the *Chan* was forc'd to obey. *Schiritzi*, on the other side, finding his Fortune much better'd by this unexpected Wind-fall, and not thinking one Wife enough, Marries a second, which he took up out of the Brothel-house, but had no Children by her. By the former, he had a Son, who, one day coming from School, and finding in the Chamber a Melon, whereof some part had been cut, presum'd to take a piece of it, and by that means gave the young VVoman occasion to strike him. The Child's Mother came into the Room, and reveng'd him, not only by fighting with her Rival, but also by the complaints she made thereof to her Husband, representing to him the insolence of that young VVoman, with so much bitterness, that being no longer able to endure her Language, he gave her a good Cudgelling. The VVoman exasperated at that, went to the *Chan*, and acquainted him with the Adventure of the Mule. The *Chan* immediately sent for the Taverner, and having found him guilty of the Fact, order'd him to be hang'd. And whereas the two Women had discover'd the Robbery, out of pure animosity and private resentments, rather than out of any affection they had for the Governour, or regard of publick Justice, he caus'd them to be publickly ravish'd, and banish'd them out of the City. The Taverners Son was sold, and all his Fathers Estate confiscated to the use of the Governour, who lost nothing by the bargain. 1637.

The *Persians* are not so scrupulous in their Contracts of Marriage, but that many times it happens a Man Marries his Brother's VViddow; yet could I not learn, that Incests were so common there as some Authors would have it believ'd, nor that the Son meddles with his Mother, or the Brother with his Sister. Nay it cannot be found, that, before the Reign of *Cambyses*, who fell in love with his own Sister, there was any talk of these incests in *Persia*, no more than there was in *Ægypt*, before *Ptolomey*'s time. Their Marriages are celebrated as followeth. *Incest tolerated.*

When a young Man hath a mind to Marry, and hath heard of some person he can fancy, he employs others to make enquiry into the qualities and disposition of the young Maid, inasmuch as neither he nor any of his Relations are permitted to see her, and if upon the account he receives of her by them, he finds his affections inclin'd to her, he makes a demand of her by two of his Friends, who had been his God-fathers at his Circumcision, or, for want of those, by two others of his Kinred. This first Embassy ordinarily finds no very kind reception, lest they should imagine the Father to be over-forward to be rid of his Daughter. But if on the other side, the young mans Friends find that his addresses are not taken amiss, they continue them, and proceed to Articles, and agree upon the Dower, which, in these Countries, the Friends of the Bridegroom, and not those of the Bride are to give. The Dower is to be either in Money, which the young man sends to his Mistris, some few dayes before the Marriage, as a recompence to the Father and Mother for their Care in the Education of their Daughter; or he promises her by the contract of Marriage, a certain sum of Money, or such a quantity of Silk, or Stuffs, to be paid in Case of Divorce. These contracts are pass'd in the presence of the *Kasi*, or the *Molla* who signs them. That done, they name on both sides certain persons to be as it were Agents, who in the name of the betroathed parties, go to the *Kasi*, or Ecclesiastical Judge, if it be in the City, or, if in a Village, to the *Molla*, who is empower'd by the *Kasi* to that puapose, and who, being satisfy'd that all is done with the consents of the Kinred on both sides, as also of the parties contracted, Marries them by the said Agents, in the name of *God*, of *Mahomet*, and of *Aly*, delivering them a Certificate of the Marriage. This Ceremony is for the most part, performed in private, the *Kasi* or *Molla* taking along with him the two Agents into a private room, or haply into the fields, to some place where no people come, out of a fear that some trick might be put upon the new Married couple, or some Witch-craft used upon the Bridegroom. Whence it comes, that, when the Marriage is celebated in publick, before the *Kasi*, as it often happens, (the *Persians*, it seems, having the superstition to do actions of this consequence according to their Observance of certain Constellations, which they think fortunate or unfortunate to them) that the Judge may not be frustrated in the execution of his Duty, they oblige all that are present, to stretch out their hands, that they may not be able to do any thing of Witchcraft under their Garments. The *Persian*, whom we brought along with us to *Holstein*, told us, that when he was Married, one of his Wife's Kinred cut a little piece of blew Galoom-lace off his Garment, wherewith he made his enchantments, which made him impotent for above two years and a half, till such time as having heard of a Sorcerer that liv'd at *Serab*, who had the secret to dissolve those Charms, he went to him about it. This pretended *Their Ceremonies of Marriage.*

1637. Sorcerer, or Magician, who was lame in both hands and feet, ſeeing him coming towards him, told him he knew what was the occaſion of his diſcontent, and that he ſhould be eas'd of it, as ſoon as he had taken a Nail out of a hole of a certain Wall, which he told him of; which when he had done, he could perform the duty of a Married man as well as any other.

Strabo affirms, that, heretofore, the *Perſians* obſerved the Vernal Equinox as the fitteſt time for their Marriages; but now they are abſolutely indifferent as to the Seaſon, and a man may be Married on any day, ſave only in the Moneth of *Rameſan*, which is their Lent, and during the ten dayes of the *Aſchur*, when the Ceremonies performed in remembrance of the interrment of *Hoſſein* employ their Devotions; inaſmuch as during that time, they allow not of any Divertiſement at all.

The Wedding day being appointed, the young man ſends, the day before, to his intended Wife, Pendants, Bracelets and other Ornaments, ſuitably to their qualities, as alſo ſome Diſhes of Meat, to entertain the Relations and Friends, who are to bring the young Woman to him: but neither of them both are preſent at the Dinner. In the Evening, towards Night, the Bride is conducted, on Horſe-back, or upon a Mule or Camel, cover'd with a Veil of Crimſon Taffata, which falls down below her Knees, accompany'd by her Kinred, and Muſick, to the Bridegroom's Houſe. As ſoon as they are come to the Houſe, they carry the Bride with her Maids into one Chamber, and the Bridegroom with his Friends into another, and Supper is brought up. Which ended, ſhe is led to the Chamber where ſhe is to lye, where the Bridegroom comes to her, and then is it that he hath the firſt ſight of her. The Bridegroom, who finds his Bride broken up to his hands, may lawfully cut off her Noſe and Ears, and turn her away; but Perſons of quality, for the moſt part, think it affront enough to the Bride who is no Maid, to ſend her and her friends immediately packing away. But if he really finds her a Maid, he ſends the tokens of it, by an antient Woman, to her Friends, and then they continue their entertainments for three dayes together. After the firſt engagement, the Bridegroom gets up from his Wife, and goes to his Friends, among whom he ſpends ſome hours in Merriment. Perſons of any Learning who come to theſe Entertainments, inſtead of Drinking, divert themſelves with their Books, which, to that end, they bring along with them, and ſpend the time in diſcourſes of Morality, or ſpeculative Philoſophy, which they do alſo at thoſe other aſſemblies which they many times appoint for that purpoſe. Their Poets are never wanting at theſe Feaſts, and contribute very much to the Divertiſements thereof, eſpecially the next day after the Wedding, and the day after. Among other things, there is brought in, a great wooden Diſh full of Fruit, in the midſt whereof there is a Tree, having on every branch Fruit and dri'd Conſerves, and if any one of the Company can take ought thence, ſo as that the Bridegroom perceives him not, his ſlight is recompens'd with a Preſent, which the Bridegroom is oblig'd to make him: but if he be ſurpriz'd therein, he muſt make good what he ſhould have taken, a hundred fold; They have alſo this cuſtom, that if any one of the Company is not there the next day preciſely at the hour appointed for Dinner, he is laid upon a Ladder ſet againſt the Wall, with his Head downwards, and Whipp'd on the ſoles of his Feet with a Handkercher roll'd about, till he redeems himſelf.

They have alſo Dancing; but the Men Dance by themſelves, in one room, and the VVomen by themſelves in another room, into which the Muſick comes not, but ſtand at the Door.

The next day after the Wedding, the Bridegroom waſhes himſelf, in the Winter time, in Baths, which are very ordinary in thoſe parts, and in the Summer, in the River, or next Brook; but the Bride baths her ſelf in the Houſe. In the Evening they ſet before every one of the Perſons invited, upon a Handkercher of Flower'd Cotton-Cloath, two ſpoonfulls of *Chinne*, which is the Drugg, wherewith they Colour their Nails and Hands. That done, the Gueſts make their Preſents. If they have taken a little more Wine than they can well bear, as it often happens, they take up their Lodging at the Houſe where they Supp'd; in regard the Watch which is kept very ſtrictly there in the Night, ſuffer not any to go in the Streets without a Lantern. Thoſe who find themſelves well enough to go, give the Guard ſomewhat to Drink, and are brought home to their Houſes.

The Watch in the Night.

I ſhall here take occaſion to ſay ſomething of the excellent order obſerv'd in all Cities of *Perſia*, for the Guard. At *Ardebil* there are forty men, who inceſſantly walk about the Streets, to prevent Miſchiefs and Robberies, with ſuch Vigilance and Exactneſs, that they are oblig'd to Indemnify thoſe that are Robb'd. Whence it came, that, at *Iſpahan*, we came many times after Midnight, from the Monaſtery of the *Auguſtines*, which was above half a League from our quarters, yet never met with any miſchief by the way: nay if at any time, as it might well happen in that great City, we chanc'd to loſe our way, the Guard would bring us with Torches home to our very Doors. It is reported of *Schach-Abas*, that, deſirous, one day, to make tryal of the Vigilance of thoſe people, ſuffer'd himſelf to be ſurpriz'd by them, and had been carried to Priſon, had he not been known by one of the Company, who diſcovering him to the reſt, they all caſt themſelves at his Feet, to beg his pardon. But he expreſs'd himſelf well ſatisfy'd

tisfy'd with their care, and told them they had done but their duty; that he was King in the day time, but that the keeping of the Publick peace in the night depended on them. 1637.

If it happen, that, after the Marriage, the Bride be oblig'd to live at her Husband's Father's Houſe, it is not lawfull for her to appear before him with her Face uncover'd, much more to ſpeak to him, till ſuch time as the Father-in-Law hath hir'd her to do it, and given her a new Garment, or a piece of Stuff to make one, to oblige her thereto. But after all this, ſhe muſt not uncover her Face in his preſence, nor yet her Mouth when ſhe eats: for ſhe hath a piece of Cloath, which they call *Jaſchmahn*, ty'd to her ears, ſo as that it hangs over her Mouth, to hinder her from being ſeen eating.

The *Perſians* keep their VVives more in reſtraint than the *Italians* do, and ſuffer them not to go to Church, or to any great Feaſt, unleſs their Husbands go along with them. If a VVoman permit her Face to be ſeen, all the Apologies ſhe can make for her ſelf ſhall not clear her from the ſuſpicion conceiv'd of her Diſhoneſty, even though ſhe granted that favour to one of her Husband's neareſt Relations. This reſerv'dneſs they alſo obſerve in their Houſes, where they are kept up as cloſe Priſoners. VVhen any buſineſs obliges them to go abroad, if it be a foot, they cover themſelves with a white Veil, like a VVinding-ſheet, which reaches down to half the Legg, and if it be on Horſe-back, they are diſpos'd into a kind of Cheſts, or at leaſt muffle up their Faces, ſo as that it is impoſſible to ſee them.

Marriage for a certain time.

The Ceremonies we mention'd before are only for ordinary Marriages; but beſides theſe, there are two other kinds of Matrimony among the *Perſians*, which are celebrated quite after another manner. For thoſe who are oblig'd to ſojourn at other places beſides thoſe where their ordinary Habitations are, yet are unwilling to take up their quarters in publick places, take Wives for a certain time, allowing them a certain Salary, either for a Moneth, or ſuch term as they agree upon. They call this kind of Marriage *Mittehe*, and to diſſolve it, there is no need of Bills of Divorce, but the time of the contract being expir'd, it is diſſolv'd of it ſelf, unleſs both parties are mutually content to prolong it. The third kind of Marrying is, when a man makes uſe of a Slave, that he hath bought, and theſe Slaves are for the moſt part *Chriſtian* Maids, of *Georgia*, whom the *Tartars* of *Dageſthan* ſteal, to be afterwards ſold in *Perſia*. The Children which they bear, as alſo thoſe Born in the Marriage called *Mittehe*, ſhare in the Fathers Eſtate as well as the others, who have no other advantage of them therein, than what was granted the Mother by her contract of Marriage: but they are all accounted lawfully begotten, inaſmuch as, after the example of the antient *Egyptians*, they look upon the Father as the principle of Generation, and ſay, the Mother does only foment and feed the Child when it is once conceiv'd; and upon the ſame accompt it is, that they affirm, that the Trees which bare fruit are the Males, and that thoſe which do not are the Females.

The ſuperſtition of the Perſians.

When the Women are in Labour, and that they find ſome difficulty in the delivery, the Kinred and Nighbours run to the Schools, and make a preſent to the *Molla*, to oblige him to give his Scholars leave to play, or at leaſt to pardon ſome one of them that hath deſerv'd to be ſeverely puniſh'd; imagining that by the liberty they procure for thoſe Scholars, the Woman in Labour is eas'd, and will be the ſooner deliver'd of her burthen. It is alſo out of the ſame perſwaſion, that, in ſuch Emergencies, they let go their Birds, and many times purpoſely buy ſome, that they may give them their liberty upon ſuch an occaſion. They do the like for perſons in the agony of Death, who ſeem unwilling to dye. The *Muſcovites* let go Birds when they go to *Confeſſion*; believing, that as they permit the Birds to fly away, ſo will God remove their ſins far from them.

They are jealous.

The men take an abſolute liberty to ſee the Women when they pleaſe, but they allow not their Wives the freedom of ſeeing ſo much as one man, ſo far are they from permitting them to ſee any in private, ſo exceſſive is their jealouſie. The offences Women commit contrary to their faith plighted to their Husbands are unpardonable, nor indeed can they be guilty of any which they will puniſh with greater ſeverity, nay indeed cruelty. We were told an example of it, that had happened in the Province of *Lenkeran*, in the time of *Schach-Abas*, who coming to underſtand, that one of his Menial ſervants, who was called *Jacupzanbeg, Kurtzi Tirkenan*, that is to ſay, he whoſe Office it was to carry the King's Bows and Arrows, had ſomewhat a light Wife, ſent him notice of it, with this meſſage, that if he expected to continue at Court, and to keep in his employment, it was expected he ſhould cleanſe his Houſe. This meſſage, and the affliction he conceiv'd at the baſeneſs of his Wife, and his reflection that it was known all about the Court, as alſo that of the hazard he was in to loſe his place, put him into ſuch a fury, that, going immediately to his Houſe, he cut in pieces, not only his Wife, but alſo her two Sons, four Daughters, and five Chamber-maids, and ſo cleans'd his Houſe by the blood of twelve perſons, moſt of them innocent, that he might not be turn'd out of his employment. The Law of the Country allows them to kill the Adulterer with the Woman, if they be taken in the fact. Theſe accidents are not very extraordinary among them, and the Judge recompences with a new Garment the perſon who does an Execution of this Nature: which I conceive is inſtead of the Salary which he is oblig'd to pay the common Executioner.

Adultery cruelly puniſh'd.

Divorce

1637. Divorce is lawfull among them, and the diſſolution of the Marriage is made before the Judge, upon hearing of what both parties have to allege for themſelves: for it is Lawful, not only for the Men, but alſo for the Women to give Bills of Divorce, ſhewing good cauſes, not only for Adultery, but alſo in ſeveral other Caſes. Impotence, or Frigidity, rather declares the Marriage null, than diſſolves it; and Adultery is puniſh'd among them, as we mentioned before. We were told a ſtory of a VVoman, who, deſirous to part from her Husband, charg'd him with impotence. The Husband deſir'd the Judge to command the Woman to ſcratch his Back; whereto ſhe reply'd, *I have ſcratch'd thee ſo often, that I am weary of it, and thou wouldſt never ſcratch me where it moſt itch'd.* Another complain'd of her Husband, that he would have done his work in the wrong place, whereupon the Judge ordered her to be ſeparated from him, and the Husband to be Gelt. They Marry again after Divorce, as well Men as VVomen, with this difference nevertheleſs, that the VVomen are oblig'd to continue in VViddow-hood three moneths and ten days, not only that it may be known, whether they are with Child, but alſo that they may have time to work their accommodation with their Husbands, if they have any ſuch deſire. The *Turks* following the Doctrine of *Hanife*, have, in this particular, a very brutiſh cuſtom, in regard that, in *Turquey*, there may be a reconciliation made after the Divorce, but when a man hath put away his VVife three ſeveral times, or, at her puting away, ſays only the word *Vtzkatala*, that is to ſay, I renounce thee thrice, he cannot take her again, unleſs he permit the *Molla* to name ſome perſon, who is to lye with her before hand in her Husbands preſence, ſo as that he may be aſſur'd he hath done his work with her. I ſhould not ſet down a thing ſo extravagant, had I not inform'd my ſelf of the truth thereof from Perſons of quality, either *Turks* born, or ſuch as have liv'd ſeveral years at *Conſtantinople*, who have all aſſur'd me, that, of ſixty two Sects, whereof the *Turkiſh* Religion conſiſts, many have this Cuſtom, nay what is more, that they give Money to thoſe who do them that good office. There are ſome indeed who think it ſufficient to put a-Bed with their VVives a young Lad, that is not able to perform the work of Matrimony, which they do only for form ſake, thereby to reconfirm the Marriage.

Divorce lawful.

A pleaſant ſtory.

To this purpoſe, there is a Story, that during the time there was no other Religion allow'd in *Sulthania*, but the *Turkiſh*, though there was a great number of perſons who profeſs'd the *Perſian* Religion; the *Sulthan*, being one day incens'd againſt his Wife, ſaid to her the word *Vtzkatala*, ſo that being oblig'd by the Law to give her a Bill of Divorce, he immediately repented of it, and not willing that another ſhould make uſe of her, in order to his having of her again, he ask'd his Eccleſiaſticks whether there were not any *Iman*, who could diſpence with the ſeverity of that Law. Whereto the *Mufti*, and the other *Turkiſh* Prieſts having return'd their anſwer, that that Law was indiſpenſable, he would needs hear what a certain *Molla*, named *Haſſan Kaſchi* could ſay in the buſineſs. This man was a *Perſian* Born, and had the reputation of a Jeaſter, and one that made ſport with things moſt ſerious, inſomuch that there had been no great notice taken of his affirming, that he knew an *Iman*, who would certainly diſpenſe with the *Sulthan*, had it not been for the paſſionate deſire this latter had to take his Wife again, wherein he was ſo earneſt, that he hearkned to any advice was given him to that purpoſe. *Haſſan* came to ſee him; but inſtead of leaving his ſhooes behind him in the Antichamber, according to the cuſtom of the *Perſians*, he brought them in under his arm. The *Sulthan* perceiving him coming in that poſture, ask'd him the reaſon of it, and whether he were afraid his ſhoos might be ſtollen. *Haſſan* made anſwer, that he was not afraid of any ſuch thing, but only that he was unwilling any other ſhould put on his ſhoos, expreſſing thereby, that the *Sulthan* ſhould not permit another to lye with his Wife. Whereto he added, that in the time of *Mahomet*, ſome body had done the *Hanife* the afront to take away his ſhoos. The *Turkiſh* Prieſts, who were preſent at this diſcourſe, laugh'd at him, and ſaid, that if he had no better reaſons to allege, to ſatisfie the *Sulthan*, that he might take his Wife again, he might go his wayes, in as much as *Hanife* had not liv'd in the time of *Mahomet*, but long after. *Haſſan Kaſchi*, making his advantage of this anſwer, reply'd; If it be ſo, ſaid he, that *Hanife* liv'd not in the time of *Mahomet*, nor you neither, and that in the whole *Alcoran* there is not a word to be found of this infamous Law, how can you tell whether *Mahomet* had any ſuch intention? And how can you impoſe this burthen upon the people? He thereupon cited the expoſition of *Saduk*, *Hanife*'s Maſter, upon the *Alcoran*, and made it appear, that a Husband hath the power, not only to give his Wife ill words, and to threaten her, but alſo to beat her, yet it ſhall not be in her power to forſake him, for his ſo doing. This reaſon, which ſuited with the *Sultan*'s deſign, pleas'd him ſo well, that he not only took his Wife again, but he alſo profeſs'd the *Perſian* Religion, and either put to Death or Baniſh'd all the *Turkiſh* Prieſts.

Another ſtory.

They relate another pleaſant Story to the ſame purpoſe; to wit, that *Solyman*, Emperour of the *Turks*, being one day angry with his Wife, did, in the heat of his paſſion, pronounce the *Vtzala* againſt her. He ſoon repented him of it, in regard his Wife, being one of the handſomeſt Women in the VVorld, it went to his very ſoul to part with her; and it being not in his power to take her again, till ſuch time as ſhe had paſs'd through another man's hands, he be-

bethought him, the only way were to have her Bedded by a *Dervis*, of the Sect of those, whom they call *Dervis Raſtkeli*, who were in ſo great repute for their ſanctity and auſterity of Life, that he had not the leaſt fear he would medd e with her. It is to be obſerv'd by the way, that he, who thus lies with the VVife, is before ſolemnly Married to her, and when he hath done his work, is Divorc'd from her, otherwiſe it were adultery. *Solyman* then, having concluded the Marriage between his VVife and the *Dervis*, ordered them to go to Bed together: but they gave one the other ſuch mutual ſatisfaction, and ere they came out of the Bed, were ſo well agreed, that the next day, they declar'd, that they had an affection one for the other, and that they would not be ſeparated; ſo that, it being not in the power of the Law to force them to a Divorce, *Solyman* was forc'd to let him enjoy his VVife, who went along with her Husband into *Perſia*, where he ſetled himſelf very well, by the means of his VVife, who had great VVealth. 1637.

It muſt needs be, that, of ſo many VVomen, there are Born a great number of Children. Accordingly there are ſome Fathers have 25. or 30. But the modern Education of them differs much from that of the antients; in as much as now they are not brought up by VVomen, and the Fathers put them not out till they come to ſuch an age, as they did antiently, when they admitted them not to their preſence till they were four years of age, according to *Strabo*, or five, according to *Herodotus*, or ſeaven, according to *Valerius Maximus*. Nor do they now, as heretofore, exerciſe them in Shooting and Riding; but they are put, very young, either to VVork, or to School, to learn to VVrite and Read; there being very few *Perſians* who cannot do both. *The Education of their children.*

Their *Metzid*, or *Moſqueies*, where they ſay their Prayers, ſerve them alſo for Schools. No City but hath as many *Metzids* as Streets, every ſtreet being oblig'd to maintain a *Metzid*, with the *Molla* belonging to it, who is as it were the Principal of the College, and the *Caliſe*, who is the Regent. The *Molla* ſits in the middle of the form or Claſs, and the Scholars all about him, all along the VValls. As ſoon as they begin to know the Characters, they put them to read certian Chapters taken out of the *Alcoran*, and afterwards the whole *Alcoran*. Then they put them into the *Kuluſthan*, or the Roſe-Garden of *Schich Saadi*, and his *Buſtan*, or Orchard, and at laſt into *Hafis*, who ſet out the *Buſtan* in Rime. Theſe laſt Authors, who were both of *Schiras*, which is the antient *Perſepolis*, where the Language is more pure than in any other place of *Perſia*, are highly eſteem'd, as well for the Excellency of their Style, as the Prægnancy of their Inventions. The Children read very loud, and all at the ſame time, the ſame Text, moving themſelves all with the ſame agitation from one ſide to the other, much after the manner that the VVind ſhakes Reeds. They all write upon their knees where ever they are, or what age ſoever they be of, in regard they have not the uſe of either Stooles or Tables. They make their Paper of old rags, as we do, which for the moſt part are of Cotton and Silk, and that it may not be hairy or uneven, they make it ſmooth with a Poliſhing ſtone, or ſometimes with an Oyſter or Muſcle ſhell. They make their Ink of the rinds of Pomegranates, or of Galls and Vitriol, and to make it thick, and more fit for writing, their Characters requiring a full Body, they burn Rice or Barley, beat it to powder, and make a hard paſte of it, which they diſſolve with Gum-water, when they go to write. The beſt comes from the *Indies*, which though it be not all equally good and fine, is yet very fit for their Pens, which are not made of Gooſe-quills, as ours in *Europe* are, in regard they would be too hard for their Paper, which, being of Silk or Cotton, is very tender, but they make them of Canes, or Reeds, and a little bigger than our Pens. They are of a dark Colour without, and they are brought for the moſt part from *Schiras*, or from the Gulf of *Arabia*, where there grows abundance of them. *Their Authors for reading.* *Their Writing.* *Their Ink.* *And Pens.*

The *Perſians* have their particular Language, which hath much of the *Arabian*, but nothing at all of the *Turkiſh*. There are in it alſo many forein words, as *Germane* and *Latine*, inſomuch that it might be thought theſe Languages have the ſame Original, if it were not found, that it happen alſo in almoſt all the reſt, yet not ſo as that it may be thence inferr'd that all theſe Nations come from the ſame ſource. To ſignifie, Father, Mother, a Tooth, a Pen, a Rat, a Yoak, they have the ſame words with the Latine; the *ne* and *tu* are *Latin* and *Perſian* words; and *du*, *no*, *de*, ſignifie two, nine, and ten: yet is it not to be concluded thence, that the *Perſians* are originally *Romans*. True it is, that the *Perſians* come from the *Scythians*, as do alſo the *Germans*; yet would I not affirm, that the antient *Goths* and modern *Tartars* are the ſame people. It muſt therefore be granted, that the modern Language of the *Perſians* differs much from the antient, if what *Herodotus* ſays be true, that all their words ended in S, though it may be withall confeſs'd, that they have all a full termination, inaſmuch as they have in a manner all the accent upon the laſt Syllable. It is eaſie enough to be learnt, as having but few irregular Verbs, and if it be true, that it is the ſame Language which was ſpoken antiently, the examples of *Themiſtocles* and *Alcibiades* make it appear, that it may be attain'd in a ſhort time. All that is hard in it is the Guttural pronunciation thereof. *The Perſian an Language.*

Moſt of the *Perſians*, with their own Language, learn alſo the *Turkiſh*, eſpecially in thoſe Provinces which have been long under the Juriſdiction of the *Grand Seignour*, as *Schiruan*, *Adirbeitzan*, *The Perſians learn the Turkiſh Language.*

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Their Characters.

Their Universities. 'Tis true, the Sciences are not improv'd to that perfection by them as they are by the *Europæans*, yet can it not be said but that the *Persians* are much addicted to Study, and they call their Learned men *Filosufs*. To this end they have their Colleges, or Universities, which they call *Medressa*, and the Professors who teach in them, *Mederis*. Their most eminent Colleges are those of *Ispahan*, *Schiras*, *Ardebil*, *Mesched*, *Tabris*, *Caswin*, *Kom*, *Jesdt*, and *Scamachie*, which are all under the superintendency of the *Sedder*, or chief of their Religion, who is oblig'd to take care for their allowances and maintenance. This is done out of the Revenue of those Provinces which pay no Taxes to the King, as *Kochtzeh*, near *Eruan*, *Vtuathzuk*, near *Karabath*, *Tabakmelek*, between *Georgia* and *Karabath*, *Agdasch*, and *Kermeru*.

They have a particular inclination for Arithmetick, Geometry, Eloquence, Poetry, Natural and Moral Philosophy, Astronomy, Astrology, Law, and Medicine, in regard they make some advantage of the Profession of these Sciences. They have all *Aristotles* Philosophy in the *Arabian* Language, and call it *Dunja piala*, that is to say, the *Goblet of the World*; with this remark upon it, that as a man Drinking out of a great Bowl moderately, finds himself the better for it, and taking so much of it that he is Drunk therewith, he both injures his Body and disturbs the Mind; so is a man to make a temperate use of the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, and, not deboysting himself, observe a Mediocrity in the Study thereof. Children are taught Arithmetick in the Schools with their VVriting and Reading. In their accompts, they commonly make use of the *Indian* figures; but the more Learned use the *Arabian* Characters.

They joyn Eloquence and Poesy together, and comprehend these two Sciences under a very few precepts: which bring a man in a short time to the practick part thereof. And indeed most of their Eloquent pieces, which they embellish with abundance of Histories, and Moral Sentences, are in Verse.

Their best Authors. For the excellency of their Language, Pregnancy of conceit, and Elegance of expressions, they read the *Kulusthan* of *Schich Saadi*, whom they prefer before all their other Authors. It is a very Eloquent piece, though in Verse, full of figures and enrich'd with History, and Maxims of Policy and Morality. Accordingly, there is not any one almost, but hath this Book; nay some have perus'd and studied it so much, that they have it by Heart, and apply the Passages, Sentences, and Comparisons thereof, in their ordinary Discourse, so pertinently, that it is no small pleasure to hear them talk. They are also great Lovers of History, and delight much in reading the Lives and Deaths of their Prophet *Aly* and his Son *Hossein*, who was kill'd in the VVar against *Jesied*; which pieces are written in a style truly Historical, and of a noble height. They have also several other Histories, and Chronicles, Ecclesiastical and Prophane, of the Lives and VVars of their Kings; and some, of the affairs of other forein Nations: the best whereof are those of *Mirchond*, *Enweri*, *Zami*, *Walchi*, *Nussegri*, and others. The best of all their Historians is *Mirchond*, who hath written the History of *Persia*, in excellent good Language, in several great Volumes, and it is a piece so highly esteem'd, that it is worth in the Country above two hundred Crowns; and therefore I cannot think it can be had perfect in *Europe*, though I know, that *Golius*, Professor of the Oriental Languages and the Mathematicks in the University of *Leyden*, hath most of it, with several other excellent Books of that Nature. But there is not any man, I know of, that hath so much of it, and makes so great advantages thereof, as the incomparable Monsieur *Gaulmin*, Counsellor of State, and the Senior of the Masters of Requests, who though he hath the best Library in *Europe*, for Books of this Nature, yet must it be acknowledg'd, that he is so perfect a Master of all the Oriental Languages, that he needs not be oblig'd for ought he can learn out of any of these Authors.

I do not give this accompt of their Histories, that a man should give any great credit thereto, especially when they speak of their Religion and Saints. For in *Persia*, as well as elsewhere, they have their pious frauds, and think it a kind of Piety to establish and improve the errors of their Religion, by Fables and Impostures: since that even in their profane Histories, they take that freedom which is only allow'd Poets and Painters, as may be seen particularly in the History of *Alexander* the Great, which they have so disguis'd, that it hath no Consonancy to what is written of him by *Q. Curtius*, *Plutarch*, and *Arrianus*. But though it be not true, yet it is Divertive enough, at least to excuse, if not deserve, this little Digression.

They

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A fabulous History of Alexander the Great.

They say then that *Iscander* (so they call *Alexander* the Great) was Born in *Jumahn*, that is to say, *Greece*; that his Father's name was *Betlimus*, and that his Mother was the Daughter of King *Tzimschid*, who was the Son of *Keikobath*. They say *Tzimschid* liv'd seven hundred years; That he was the wisest of all the Kings that ever Reign'd, and that he is to be acknowledg'd the Inventor of Saddles, Horse-shooes, Bows, Painting, Tents, and Wine. That the education of *Alexander* was committed to *Aristotle*, who knew so well how to ingratiate himself with his Disciple, that being extreme unwilling to be without him, he oblig'd him to go along with him in his first Wars, wherein he made great advantages of his advice. For *Alexander* being as yet but fifteen years of age, bethought him one day to ask *Aristotle*, to whom all *Greece* belong'd, whereto being answer'd by him, that his Grand-father by the Mother-side had heretofore been Master of it, he, extremely troubled to find himself depriv'd of so great a Kingdom, resolv'd upon the Reduction and Conquest of it, and afterwards to wage a War against all the World. To that end, he went, with his Tutor, to *Stampul*, or *Constantinople*, and made proffer of his service to the King there. *Aristotle*, who was one of the most Eloquent men of his time, knew so well how to recommend the excellent endowments of *Alexander*, that the King trusted him with the conduct of an Army, wherewith he Conquer'd *Egypt*, and all the neighbouring Provinces. Afterwards, he conducted that Army against those of the *Hebbes*, who still made opposition, and making their advantage of their Elephants, rendred all *Alexander*'s attempts fruitless, till *Aristotle* advis'd him to rub over with *Nefte* a heap of Reeds, to set them a-fire, and to cast them among the Elephants, which were so startled at the fire, that they were put into disorder, whereupon the *Hebbes* were defeated, and forc'd to submit. Thence he went to *Sengebar*, the Inhabitants whereof have great Lips, and very long Teeth. Their King, with some of his people, got into a Tower, where *Alexander* would have besieg'd him. But *Aristotle* told him, that being Master of the City, he had cut off the Root of that Tree, and that it would not be long ere he saw him fall without any further trouble. He took his advice, and went thence to *Jemen*, and Conquer'd all *Arabia*. He went afterwards to *Aleppo*, *Erserum*, *Diarbek*, going on still along the River *Tigris*, as far as *Mosel*, and thence fell down into *Georgia*, reduc'd all to his Subjection, and came at last to *Berde*, in the Province of *Iran*. In this City, there lived at that time the Widdow of a certain King, named *Melkchatun*, who hearing daily of the great wonders done by *Alexander*, employ'd several Painters, to take his Picture, as also those of all the great Men of her time; insomuch, that *Alexander* going disguiz'd, and in the quality of an Ambassador from *Alexander*, to give her a Visit, she made a shift to discover him, and invited him to Dine with her. But instead of Meat, there were brought up only great Basins full of Gold, Silver, and Precious Stones, which she desir'd him to fall to and to make the best Cheer he could: whereupon *Alexander* telling her, that there was not any thing could satisfie his hunger, she represented to him, that it was for those useless trifles that he ruin'd so many Provinces and fruitfull Countries, such as were able to produce what could maintain many Millions of People, and shew'd him, how that when he had Conquer'd all the World, he must at last dye for want of Bread, if he still continu'd the courses he then took, and intreated him not to deprive her of her Kingdom. *Alexander* did as she desired; and they talk to this day of the great Wisdom of that Queen, of whom they relate among other things, that, being very Rich, she did not impose pecuniary Mulcts upon offenders, but oblig'd them to make Graves for the Burial of the Dead, and they say there are yet many of those made by her Command to be seen near *Nechtzuan*. That thence *Alexander* went to *Schiruan*, and built the City of *Derbend*, causing it to be fortify'd on the side towards *Persia*, and drawing a wall all along the Mountain as far as the black Sea, and building Towers at a League distance one from another, for Guards against the Invasion of the *Tartars*. That afterwards, he went into *Persia*, became Master of almost all the Provinces thereof, and engag'd against *Darius*, who was then, with an Army of two hundred thousand men, in the Province of *Kirman*. That *Darius* had the advantage in the three first Battels, but was defeated in the fourth, *Alexander* having drawn the Enemie's Army to a place where he had caus'd several pits to be made, which he had covered with straw, and that *Darius* was taken in one of them. Afterwards, he went into *Chorasan*, and thence into the *Indies*, where, upon the intreaty of the *Indians*, he caus'd to be made a Palizado of Iron against the *Pigmees*, which is to stand till the day of Judgment. Afterwards, he defeated the *Usbeques*, and after that, he turn'd his Arms against the *Hebbes*, who rebell'd against him. That having so many Kings in his power, he would needs be advis'd by *Aristotle*, whether it were not the safest way to put them to Death. But *Aristotle* having represented to him, that some of their Children might come to revenge that cruelty, he set them all at Liberty, except *Darius*, whom he poyson'd. After this, *Alexander* coming to understand, that, in the Mountain of *Kef*, there was a great Cave, very black and dark, wherein ran the water of Immortality, would needs take a Journey thither. But being afraid to lose his way in the Cave, and considering with himself, that he had committed a great over-sight, in leaving the more aged in Cities and fortify'd places, and keeping about his Person only young people such as were not able to advise him, he

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They add to this Fable, that theſe two Brothers, *Chidder* and *Elias*, drunk of the water of Immortality, and that they are ſtill living, but inviſible, *Elias*, upon the earth, and *Chidder*, in the Water, wherein this latter hath ſo great power, that thoſe, who are in danger of being deſtroy'd by water, if they earneſtly pray, ſaying, *Ja Chidder Nebbi*, vowing a Sacrifice or Offering to him, and firmly believing, that he can relieve them, ſhall eſcape the danger, and ſave their Lives. Whence it comes, that, if any one periſh, it is attributed to his Incredulity: but if he eſcape, they are of a certain perſwaſion, that it is by the aſſiſtance of *Chidder*, to whom thoſe who eſcape Shipwrack, or any other danger upon the Sea, do every year, upon the ſame day, give ſolemn thanks, and acknowledge the protection of this Saint. Theſe Ceremonies are performed in *February*, and thoſe who keep the Vows they have made upon ſuch occaſions, invite their Friends to a Supper, both Men and Women, relate to them the particulars of the dangers they had been in, and how they were deliver'd out of them, by the means and aſſiſtance of *Chidder*. Then they Sup together, and make good Cheer, but drink no Wine. In the mean time, they ſerve up into another Room, ſeveral Diſhes of Fruit and Conſerves, and in the midſt of the room, they ſet in a Wooden Diſh, full of Peaſe-Meal, a Wax-Candle lighted, and as they go out of the room, they ſay, *Chidder Nebbi*, if this offering be acceptable to thee, ſhew it by ſome ſign. If, the next day, they find the track of any ones having been in the room, or the print of a hand in the Meal, it is accounted a very good ſign, and the Friends have another meeting, to ſpend that day in Merriment. Whence it comes, that the Women, who are not often admitted to theſe Feaſts, find out ways to get into the Room, ſo as that they are not perceiv'd, and take away a handful of the Meal, that the Feaſting may be continu'd. The *Naſſara*, who are a ſort of *Chriſtians*, of *Armenia*, do alſo celebrate this Feſtival, but they drink Wine thereat, which the *Perſians* do not. We were told at *Ardebil*, that one day, a Woman making her advantage of this Feaſt, had lock'd up her Gallant in the room where they had prepar'd the entertainment for the Prophet. She went ever and anon to ſee him, and perceiv'd not that a Child of hers, about four four years of age, follow'd her, who ſeeing a ſtrange face, fell a crying, ſo loud, that the Gallant took an Apple out of the Fruits deſign'd for *Chidder*, and gave it the Child to make him hold his peace. But as ſoon as the Child had got the Apple, he runs into the Hall, where he ſhew'd his Father the preſent, which *Chidder Nebbi* had made him. The Father not knowing what to think of that Viſion, and derous to ſee whether *Chidder* was become viſible, went into the room, and there found a man in a poſture that

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a little ſtartled him. But the Gallant, fearing they would have Sacrifiz'd him to the Prophet, made a ſhift to get away, and the Woman, pretending ſhe had not ſeen any thing, it paſs'd for a certain apparition of *Chidder*. 1637.

The Perſians inclin'd to Poetry.

Ther's no Nation in the world more addicted to Poetry than the *Perſians*. There you have Poets in all the Market-places, and in all Houſes of good fellowſhip, where they entertain and make ſport for ſuch as frequent them, as the Mountebanks, and ſuch as ſhew tricks of Legerdemain do in *Europe*. All bear with them, and the Great Lords think they cannot give their Friends a better entertainment, than by Diverting them, while they are at Dinner, with the recital of ſome Poem. The King himſelf, and the *Chans* have, among their other Menial Servants, their Poets, whoſe only buſineſs it is to find out ſomewhat for their Diverſion by whom they are maintain'd, and which they are not to communicate to any other, without the conſent of their Patrons. The Poets are known from others by their Habit, which is the ſame with that of the Philophers; to wit, a long white Coat, but open before, with great broad Sleeves, and they have at their Girdle a kind of a Hawking-bag, in which are their Books, Paper, and an Ink-horn, that they may give Copies of their verſes to ſuch as deſire them. Their under Garment hath no Sleeves, and would be a perfect Cloak, if it had but a Cape. They wear no Stockings; their Breeches come down to their feet, like Pantaloons, and in winter, they wear ſuch as reach but to their ankles. Inſtead of *Mendils* or *Turbants*, they wear a kind of Caps. Thoſe who put off their Productions in the Market places and at Taverns, wear Skarfs of ſeveral Colours, which come about their Bodies juſt above the waſte, and paſſing over the right ſhoulder fall down under the left arm, Moſt of theſe take for the Subject of their Poetry the Religion of the *Turks* and their Saints, which they are pleas'd to rail at and make ſport withall.

The beſt Perſian Poets.

It may well be imagin'd, that, among ſo many Poets, there muſt alſo be ſome Poetaſters, and that there, as well as in other places, a man muſt expect to find but few *Homers* and *Virgils*. Nay there are ſome ſo modeſt as to vent only the works of other Men, and finding in themſelves ſuch a barrenneſs of wit as will not produce any thing, make it their buſineſs to diſperſe their productions who are in repute. *Perſia* hath this common with *France*, as indeed it hath many other things, that it hath hardly any Author excellent at an Epick Poem, and that ſome few Poets laid aſide, who are in great reputation, the reſt are rather to be pittied. The beſt, and ſuch as may juſtly be accounted good Poets, are *Saadi*, *Hafis*, *Firdauſi*, *Fuſſuli*, *Chagani*, *Eheli*, *Schems*, *Naway*, *Scabidi*, *Ferahſed*, *Deheki*, *Neſſimi*, &c. Their Poetry is ſuitable to the modern way, and they will keep up the Rime, though they are not very exact in obſerving the number of the Syllables. Nor do they think it much to uſe the ſame words to keep the Rime, as imagining it no breach of the Rules of their Proſodia; as for example in the following Verſes:

Tziri, tziri, Tziragh Jani tze?
Adamira demagh Jani tze?
Tziri, tziri, tziragh es teri bud,
Adamira demagh cheri bud.

Where the Poet makes a pretty alluſion between the words *Teri* and *Cheri*, whereof one ſignifies moiſt, and the other, of or belonging to an Aſs. The ſenſe of the Verſes, is to this effect, *Why does the Candle go out? Why does man boaſt and is vain-glorious? becauſe the one wants moiſt Suet, and the other is troubled with Aſſe's fat.* They alſo delight much in Equivocations, and many times very handſomely begin the ſubſequent Verſe with the word that ended the precedent, as in the following Example.

Kalem be deſt, debiran behes haſar derem
Derem be deſt nea Jed meker nauk Kalem.

Their Laws.

Their Study of the Law can be of no great extent, in regard they have but few Laws, and thoſe they have are all taken out of the *Alcoran*, and the Commentaries upon it: which the *Kaſis* and the *Divanbegs* obſerve, in the deciſion of differences. They have beſides theſe, certain Local cuſtoms, but very few.

Medicine.

In Phyſick, or Medicine, they follow the Maxims of *Avicenna*, and their Phyſicians are all *Galeniſts*. Phlebotomy is not very ordinary among them, but they adminiſter continual Medicines made of Herbs and Roots, and many times apply Fomentations and other outward remedies. They have nothing of Anatomy, and their practice is ſo groſs, that, when I was at *Scamachie*, where our Phyſician was intreated to viſit a Man, who, having drunk too much Aquavitæ, lay a dying, I ſaw a Moor-Phyſician, who had the ſick party in hand, order a great piece of Ice to be laid on his Stomack, maintaining his proceedure by this general Maxim, that a Diſeaſe is to be Cur'd by what is contrary thereto. When Women or Children are troubled with any Diſeaſe or Indiſpoſition, they do not ſend for a Phyſician, but for the Midwife, whence

1637. it comes that Midwives have ſome skill in Medicine. The Books which treat thereof, have this extraordinary, that, the remedies they preſcribe, are as fit for Horſes as Men.

Our Phyſician, who had joyned to *Galen*'s method certain Maxims of *Paracelſus*, and us'd Chymical remedies with very good ſucceſs, grew ſo famous in *Perſia*, that the King himſelf proffer'd him very conſiderable allowances, to engage him to continue in that Court. Nay, he grew into ſuch repute, after he had recover'd ſome perſons who had been given over by others, that the people began to look upon him as an extraordinary man, inſomuch that they brought to him ſome that were lame and blind from the Birth, to recover their limbs and ſight who never had had them.

Aſtronomy. It is not of late that the *Perſians* have apply'd themſelves to the ſtudy of Aſtronomy. Heretofore they who made profeſſion thereof were called *Magi*, and now they call them *Minatzim*, and they do not buſie themſelves ſo much in obſerving the motions of the Heavens and Stars, and the pure contemplation of that Science, as in Prognoſticating the effects which their influences may produce, and to fore-tell thoſe things, the contingency whereof they imagine to themſelves may be read in the courſe of the Heavens. So that it is rather Judiciary Aſtrology, than Aſtronomy that they now Study, in regard the one would bring them no advantage at all, whereas the other is the more beneficial to them in this reſpect, that moſt of the *Perſians* have this ſuperſtition, that they never undertake any thing of conſequence, but they firſt conſult the *Minatzim*. To that end, the King and Great Lords have alwayes one of theſe about them, who perpetually obſerves the Heavens, and fore-tells whether the time be fortunate or unfortunate for the buſineſs they would undertake. And out of that reflection it is, that they ſay themſelves, that Aſtrology, who is dependent on Aſtronomy, is a rich Daughter, but comes from ſo poor a Mother, that ſhe is forc'd to preſerve her Life, from whom ſhe receiv'd her own. Theſe Aſtrologers are never without their Aſtrolabe, which they carry in their Boſoms, that they may erect a Scheme at any time: but their skill is not great about Nativities, eſpecially thoſe of perſons of mean condition; which proceeds hence, that, having no Clocks, they cannot get the preciſe hour, much leſs the minute of the Birth, which great perſons have exactly obſerv'd, by means of the Aſtrolabe.

For the teaching of Aſtronomy they have neither Sphear nor Globe, inſomuch that they were not a little aſtoniſh'd to ſee in my hands a thing which is ſo common in *Europe*. I ask'd them whether they had ever ſeen any ſuch before. They told me, they had not, but ſaid, that there was heretofore in *Perſia*, a very fair Globe, which they call *Felek*, but that it was loſt during the Warrs between them and the *Turks*. They haply meant that which *Sapor*, King of *Perſia*, had caus'd to be made of Glaſs, ſo large, that he could ſit in the Centre of it, and obſerve the motions of the Stars, and muſt no doubt be like that of *Archimedes*, whereof *Claudian* ſpeaks in the Epigram, which begins thus,

Jupiter in parvo cum cerneret æthera vitro.

Antiquity might haply admire theſe works; but what miracle would it be thought, if they ſaw the Globe which his Highneſs the Duke of *Holſtein* hath ordered to be made in his City of *Gottorp*. It is a double Globe, made of Copper, ten foot and a half Diameter, ſo that within it, ten perſons may ſit at a Table, which, with the ſeats about it, hangs at one of its poles. There a man may ſee, by means of an Horizontal Circle within the Globe, how the Stars and the Sun it ſelf, coming out of its Centre, moves of it ſelf through its Ecliptick degrees, and riſes and ſets regularly. The motion of this Globe exactly follows that of the Heavens, and derives that motion from certain Wheels, driven by the water, which is brought out of a Mountain hard by, and let in, as it requires more or leſs, according to the ſwiftneſs of the Sphears.

The Lunar and Solar year in Perſia. The *Perſians* regulate their year according to the Moon, as well as the Sun, ſo as that they have both Solar and Lunar years; to wit, the latter, for their Feſtivals, and Religious Ceremonies, which are appointed on certain dayes of the Moneth, and theſe Moneths beginning and ending with the Moon, make their year ſhorter than ours by twelve dayes. Their Solar year is of 365. dayes, and was ſo accounted even in the time of *Alexander* the Great, as *Q. Curtius* expreſsly obſerves in the 7. Chap. of the 3. Book of his Hiſtory, where he ſayes, ſpeaking of *Darius*'s Retinue, that, after the *Magi*, follow'd three hundred ſixty five young Men, compleating the number of the dayes of their year, which conſiſted of ſo many dayes, that is to ſay, twelve Moneths of thirty dayes a piece, and five dayes over and above. It begins, at that very minute that the Sun, entring into *Aries*, makes the Equinox, and brings in the firſt day of the Spring. That day they call *Naurus*, or *Neurus*, that is, the new day. They count the years of their age, according to the courſe of the Sun, ſo that to expreſs how old they are, they ſay, they have liv'd ſo many *Naru*'s, that is, ſo many years. It is one of the principal functions of the *Minatzim*, to obſerve, by the Aſtrolabe, the happy minute, in which the Sun comes to the

the Æquator, and as soon as he declares it is, they all begin to rejoyce. Their Epoche is the *Hegira*, or flight of *Mahomet*, which falls on the 16. of *July*, in the 622. year of our Saviour. 1637.

The *Persians* had heretofore their Almanack, or *Takhuim*, which was particular to them, and every day of the Moneth had its name from some of their Kings or Heroes, as *Oromasda*, *Behemer*, *Adarpahaschi*, *Scharias*, &c. as we find it in *Scaliger*, in his incomparable Treatise, *de Emendatione Temporum*, and in the Ephemerides of *Origanus*: but they are not used now, no more than the Epoche of *Jesdetzird*, or as *Scaliger* calls him, *Jesdegird*, who was the Son of *Schaherjar*, and Grand Son of *Chosroes*, who was kill'd by *Otman*, the Son of *Ophan*, a *Saracin*, on the 16. of *June* in the 632. They had no other till the year 1079. at which time *Albu Arsalan*, King of *Chorasan*, *Mesopotamia* and *Persia*, a *Saracin*, having brought together eight Astronomers, very Learned Men, reform'd the year of *Jesdegird*, and constituted another Epoche, which they began on the 14. day of the year, and which is called *Tzelalee*, or *Sulthanee*, or, in the *Arabian*, *Tarich, altzelalit*, that is, the *Era*, or *Epoche*, of *Augustus*, from the word *Tzelif*, which signifies Majesty, or Highness. Now, they have the *Arabian* Kalender, and the names of their twelve Moneths are, *Mharem*, *Sefar*, *Rebbi Ewel*, *Rebbi Achir*, *Tzemadi Ewel*, *Tzemadi Achir*, *Retzeb*, *Schahn*, *Schawal*, *Dsilkade*, and *Dsilhatse*. It is also to be observ'd, that the *Persians* have a way of accompting by four years, much after the same manner as the *Greeks* accompted by their *Olympiads*, and the *Romans*, by *Lustra*, which consisted of five years, and then they give the first year of their accompt, the name of the first Moneth of the year, to the four ensuing years, that of the second Moneth, and so of the rest; so that to know that they speak of a Moneth, and not of years, they add, to the names of the Moneths, the word *Mah*, which signifies a Moneth. *Abraham Ecchelensis* gives the Etymology of it, as he does also that of the dayes of the week, in his *History of Arabia*, pag. 204. &c. They begin the week with Saturday, that the seventh day, which is the day of rest, may fall upon Friday, which to them is as the Sunday is to *Christians*, and Saturday to the *Jews*. The names of the seven dayes of the week are these, to wit, Saturday, *Scembe*, Sunday, *Jekschembe*, Monday, *Duschembe*, Tuesday, *Seschembe*, Wednesday, *Tschaschembe*, Thursday, *Denschembe*, and Friday, *Adine*, or *Tzumeh*, that is, the day of Assembly, in regard that on that day, they meet at their Assemblies to do their Devotions. They account *Tscharchembe* the most unfortunate day of all the Week.

They are extremely addicted to Astrology, and in imitation of the *Chaldæans*, of whom, doubtless, they learnt that Science, they are so superstitious, that they do not only credit all the Astrologers tell them, but also, persons of quality do no business of any consequence, undertake no journey, nay would be loath to put on a new Garment, get on Horse-back to Ride abroad, or Bath themselves, but they first consult the *Minatzim*, who is so much the more credited by them, in that many times they heighten the Vanity of their Art by a Profession, no less deceitful than the other, which is Medicine. This perswasion of theirs is grounded on the opinion they have, as well as the *Arabians*, that the Stars are governed by Intelligences, who have an absolute power over sublunary things; so that it is no hard matter to make them acquiesce in the prediction of the Astrologers. These are either Mountebanks, or Magicians, who, by their equivocal expressions circumvent those who consult them, purposely to disturb their Brains, and to put tricks upon them, as *Stephen Alexander* did upon *Heraclius*, when he fore-told him, that he should perish in the water, obliging him thereby to fill up all the Lakes and Ponds all over the Empire. After the same manner was also deceived *John Menard*, a Physician of *Ferrara*, who was told he should perish in a Ditch. He avoided them all, but that of a young Woman, whom he Married in his old age, and who visibly shortned his dayes. They attribute to every hour in the day one of the Signs of the Zodiack, to wit, to the first, *Aries*, to the second, *Taurus*, and so forward; and they believe there are in every Moneth, some unfortunate dayes, especially the 3. the 5. and the 23. and 25. of every Moon. *Abraham Ecchelensis*, whom we cited before, relates, to this purpose, two remarkable stories, taken out of the 9. Book of the *Chronicles* of *Gregorius Barhebra*, where he sayes, that in the 198. year of the *Hegira*, there liv'd a Man, who, among other things, had a Ring, which made him that had it on his Finger laugh as long as it was on. He himself was the onely man who could use it as another Ring; and he had also a Pen, wherewith no body could Write, and which no body was able to guide with his hand, but he himself. Whence it came, that the *Calif*, *Alamun*, who liv'd in that time, would needs have his Nativity calculated by the famous Astrologer *Albumazar*, who found that his Ascendent was in *Taurus*, between whom and *Jupiter*, *cauda draconis* and *Venus*, there was a benevolent aspect, and that the Sun and Moon were in the same degree of the Ascendent. The other Story is of a Physician, named *Tabet Harensis*, who feeling a man's Pulse, told him he had eaten Veal, and taken of a Broath, whereof the Milk was turn'd in the boyling, yet had not any reason to give for what he said, save that the Physician knew it by some particular instinct, and that he had receiv'd that gift from secret influence.

Yet

1637. Yet for all this prejudice they have for the influences of the Stars, they attribute much to Chance, and endeavour to diſcover the ſecrets of things by thoſe means, eſpecially ſuch as are not yet come to paſs, the knowledge whereof is not ſo eaſie.

Tis true, they are for the moſt part Women, who addreſs themſelves to theſe people, who have their Shops or Stalls in the *Maidan*, near the *Dowlet Chane*, and fore-tell things by Lot, two manner of wayes. Some of them, whom they call *Remal*, have ſeven or eight Dice ſtrung together upon two little pieces of Wire, and they predict according to the falling of the Dice. The others, whom they call *Falkir*, do their work with much more Ceremony. For they have before them, upon a Table, thirty or forty little pieces of board, about an inch ſquare, very thinn and very ſmooth, which are mark'd with certain Characters on that ſide which lies downwards. Upon one of theſe little pieces of board, he who deſires to know what is to befall him, is to lay down his Money, which the *Falkir* immediately puts up, and no doubt this is that which is moſt certain in the whole Myſtery. That done, he turns over a Book that lies before him, about three fingers thick, the leaves whereof are Painted with all ſorts of Figures, as Angels, Devils, Satyrs, Dragons and other Monſters, and he opens the Book ſeveral times, till he finds one that hath ſome rapport to the Characters upon the little board. Neither is that done without Muttering between his teeth certain inarticulate and not intelligible words; and this is the moſt infallible prediction they have among them.

The political Government of Perſia.

The political Government of *Perſia*, differs not much from that of the *Muſcovites*. Both are Monarchical, and ſo Deſpotick, that the Prince governs with an abſolute power, making his Will a Law, and, without any accompt to be given of his ſo doing, diſpoſing of the Lives and Eſtates of his Subjects; who are ſo far his Slaves, that they do not ſo much as murmur at the Violence, wherewith the greateſt Lords of the Kingdom are put to Death, without any kind of proceedings againſt them.

They call their Kings *Schach*, *Paſchach*, and *Padiſchach*, words which have in a manner all the ſame ſignification, to wit, that of King, or Lord. Yet does not the Emperour of the *Turks*, when he writes to the King of *Perſia*, give him the quality of *Schach*, but that of *Schich Ogli*, that is to ſay, Eccleſiaſtick, or Son, or Kinſman, of the Prophet. Thoſe who ſay, the Kings of *Perſia* aſſume the quality of *Choda*, that is God, are miſtaken. For *Chodabende* is the proper name of a man, as *Theodoſius*, *Theodore*, &c. and ſignifies, *oblig'd to God*, or a *Servant of God*; though it muſt be confeſs'd, that theſe Princes are Vain-Glorious enough to aſſume extravagant Titles which make them equal to the Sun and Moon, and Companions of the Stars; as *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſaies of *Sapor*, King of *Perſia*. Tis true on the other ſide, that they are as free to give the ſame Titles to thoſe Princes of *Europe* with whom they live in good correſpondence: for in the Letters which *Schach Sefi* writ to the Duke of *Holſtein*, he gave him the ſame qualities he aſſum'd himſelf. They would not have inſcriptions of Letters fill'd with the Titles of the Kingdoms and Provinces under their Juriſdiction: nay *Schach-Abas* would have no other title at the head of a Petition than that of *Schach*, and one day ſaid to a man that had ſet ſeveral titles at the head of his Petition, Go thy wayes, friend, thy titles will make me neither more powerfull nor more poor; Give me that of *Schach*, ſince I am ſo, and think that enough.

The quality of Sophi.

Moſt Authors give the Kings of *Perſia* of the laſt Race the quality of *Sophi*; and the Kings themſelves, eſpecially thoſe who have any zeal for their Religion, are much pleas'd with the addition of that quality to their titles, out of the affection they bear *Schich Sofi*, or *Sefi*, the firſt Inſtitutor of their Sect; as the Kings of *France* take the quality of *moſt Chriſtian*; thoſe of *Spain*, that of moſt *Catholick*, and thoſe of *England*, that of *Defenders of the Faith*. Whence they ſay, *Iſmael-Sofi*, *Eider-Sofi*: and of this a man muſt take notice in the reading of their Hiſtory, inaſmuch as if he do not, he may confound the Names of the Kings, and attribute that to one which is to be underſtood of another.

The Kingdom of Perſia *Hereditary.*

The Kingdom of *Perſia* is Hereditary, and may be enjoy'd, not only by the Children lawfully begotten, but alſo, for want of ſuch, by natural Children, and the Sons of Concubines, who inherit the Crown as well as the others, nay they are preferr'd before the neareſt of the Collateral Kinred, and the Nephews; ſince the Sons of Concubines and Slaves are not accounted illegitimate in *Perſia*, as we have ſaid elſewhere. For want of Sons, the Crown falls to the next of Kin by the Father's ſide, deſcended from *Sefi*, who are as it were Princes of the Blood-Royal, and are called *Schich Eluend*. They enjoy many great Privileges and Immunities, but many times, they are very poor, and have much ado to live. The Children of the Kings of *Perſia* make the Houſes where they are Born, Free, and they are converted into Sanctuaries; inſomuch that if the Queen be delivered in any other place beſides the Metropolis, the Houſe is compaſs'd with a noble VVall, to be diſtinguiſh'd from others.

The arms of Perſia.

If we may credit *Q. Curtius*, the antient Arms of *Perſia* were the Creſcent, as the Sun was that of the *Grecks*. Now, the *Turks* take the Creſcent, and the *Perſians*, the Sun, which they commonly put upon the back of a Lion. But upon the great Seal of the Kingdom there are only Characters, It is about the bigneſs of a half Crown piece, having within the Ring; *To God*

alone,

alone, I Schich Sefi am a Slave with all my Heart: and in the Circumference; *Aly, let the World say what it please of Thee, yet will I be thy Friend. He who before thy Gate does not account himself dust and ashes, though he were an Angel, dust and ashes be upon his Head.* In the Letters he sends to *Christian* Princes, he observes this respect, that he does not set the Seal on the same side with the Writing, but on the other side, at the very bottom. 1637.

The Ceremonies performed at the Coronation of the Kings of *Persia*, are not done at *Babylon*, as some Authors would have it believ'd, nor yet at *Kufa*, as *Minadous* affirms, but in the City of *Ispahan*. They are not so great as those done at the Inaugutarion of Kings in *Europe*. They set upon a Table, about half an Ell high, as many pieces of Tapistry of Gold an Silver, or Embroider'd as there have been Kings of the same Family, before him who is then to be Crowned; so that at the Coronation of *Schach Sefi*, there were eight; inasmuch as he was the eighth King of *Persia* of that House, accompting from *Ismael* the first. That done, the chiefest of the *Chans* present him with a Crown, which he kisses thrice, in the Name of *God*, of *Mahomet*, and of *Aaly*, and having put it to his Fore-head, he delivers it to the Grand Master of the Kingdom, whom they call *Lele*, who puts it on his Head; and then all present make Acclamations, of *Long live the King*; *God grant, that, during his Reign, one year may be multiply'd to a thousand*: they kiss his Feet, make him great Presents, and spend the remainder of the day in Feasting and Merriment. There is no such thing among them as the taking of any Oath of Allegiance, or obliging the King to swear to the Conservation of the Privileges, or Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, in regard their subjection is pure Slavery; whereas among *Christians*, the condition of Kings is quite otherwise, for the obligation is reciprocal, and the Kings are not absolute Lords, but are, or ought to be, Fathers of their people. *The Coronation of their Kings.*

The Kingdom is of great extent. Those Provinces which lie most remote from the chief Citie, and the ordinary residence of the Kings, cannot be governed otherwise than by Governours or Lieutenants, who, in *Persia*, are called *Chans*; the word not signifying the imployment they have in the said Governments, but a quality which all great Lords assume to themselves. Of this we shall speak more at large elsewhere, and here give a short accompt of the Kings of *Persia* who have reign'd within these hundred years; with some assurance, that the Reader will think this digression the less tedious, when he finds me positively affirming, that there is hardly any Author who hath written the History of them. We said before that the Emperour of the *Turks*, when he writes to the King of *Persia*, gives him not the quality of *Schach*, but of *Schich-Ogli*, in as much as he is not descended from the antient Family of the Kingsof *Persia*, but from a later, as we shall now make it appear.

Ismael I.

Hassan Padschach, who was sirnamed *Ussum Cassan*, that is to say *Grand Signor*, by reason of the great Wars he managed, and where in he was alwayes victorious, was of the Family of the *Asimbeis*, and liv'd about the end of the fifteenth age. He was Governour of *Armenia Major*, and having gain'd several victories over the *Turks*, he reduc'd several Poovinces by force of Arms, and among others, *Persia*, whereof he made himself King. *Ussum Cassan* had three sons, *Unger Mahomed*, *Calul*, and *Jacup*. The first was strangled by the Father's order, against whom he had taken up Arms; and the second was poyson'd by the third; so that *Ussum Cassan* dying, on the fifth of *January* 1485. *Jacup* succeeded him: but he enjoy'd not long the Kingdom he had got with the price of his Brother's bloud; for his own Wife poysoned him within a short time after his coming to the Crown. After his death, *Schich Eider*, son-in-law to *Usum Cassan*, sirnamed *Harduellis*, from the place of his birth, pretended to the succession; but it was disputed against him, first by *Julaver*, a *Persian* Lord, and afterwards by *Baylinger*, and *Rustan*.

Jacup.

The *Turks*, who slighted *Schich Eider*, by reason of the meanness of his birth, (notwithstanding which *Ussum Cassan* had bestow'd on him his Daughter *Martha*, whom he had had by *Despina*, the Daughter of *Calojean*, King of *Trebisond*) and hated him, particularly upon this accompt, that he had quitted their Religion, presuming that a man, who pretended much to Devotion and Sanctity, would be unexpert, if not unfortunate in the business of Arms, declar'd a war against him, entred *Persia* with a powerfull Army, gave him battel, and defeated him, in so much that falling alive into their hands, they flead his head and pull'd down his skin over his ears. 'Tis true, there is so great discrepancy among the *Persian* Authors, concerning this story, that we have been forc'd herein to follow the common opinion; though there are some who affirm, that *Eider* was not King, but that *Rustan*, King of *Persia* fearing he might come to be King, treated him as we said before. Nay, some affirm, that this happened in the time of *Jacup*, the son of *Ussum Cassan*. But what cannot well be deny'd of the story, is, that, about that time, the *Turks* became Masters of most of the Provinces of *Persia*; and that *Rustan* was succeeded by *Agmar*, *Carabem*, and *Aluantes*.

Ismael.

Schich Eider, who first chang'd the quality of *Schich*, that is, Prophet, into that of *Schach*, or King, left one son named *Ismael*: but he was so young, when his Father died, that all could be done for him, was to secure his person at the house of a certain

Lord

1637. Lord of the Province of *Kilan*, a Kinſman and Friend of his Father's, named *Pyr Chalim*, who brought him up, and inſtructed him in the ſame Sect his Father had been of. *Iſmael* being come to years of diſcretion, diſcover'd himſelf to be a perſon of an excellent underſtanding and great courage, and there were the greater hopes conceiv'd of him, out of this reſpect, that his Father, who was well skill'd in Aſtrology, had Predicted that his ſon ſhould do wonders, as being the perſon deſigned for the reſtauration of *Perſia*, by the reduction of many Provinces, and the propagation he ſhould make of his new Religon. Accordingly, he made ſuch advantage of the opportunity he then had, while the Emperour of the *Turks* was at *Conſtantinople*, little thinking what might happen towards *Perſia*, that having, by the advice of *Pyr*, ſent Deputies into the neighbouring Provinces and Cities, he ſo far ſatisfy'd them of the right he had to the Crown, and prevail'd with them to reflect on the intereſt of the State, and the preſervation of Religion, that having got together an Army of twenty thouſand men, with which he left *Latretzan*, in the Province of *Kilan*, the Inhabitants of the other Provinces came in ſo faſt, that it was, of a ſudden ſwell'd to three hundred thouſand. With this Army, he marched ſtreight to *Ardebil*, whence he forc'd away all the *Turks*, ſome few onely excepted, who were got into a ſtreet behind *Schich Sefi's* Sepulchre, where they Petition'd for their lives, and promiſed to Embrace the *Perſian* Religion: and thence it comes, that the ſaid ſtreet is, to this day, called *Vrume Mahele*. It was upon this exploit that many *Perſians* came to be ſirnamed *Kiſilbaſchs*, as we have ſhewn before.

Ardebil being thus reduc'd, *Iſmael* went to *Tabris Scamachie*, and *Iruan*, and recover'd all the Cities and Provinces which the *Turks* had taken from his Father, and had been poſſeſs'd of ever ſince his death. He afterwards entred into *Turkey*, gave the Emperour battel, and defeated him. The particulars of that War may be ſeen in the Letter which *Henry Penia*, who was then in *Perſia*, writ to Cardinal *Sauli*; and they agree with what the *Perſians* themſelves write thereof. After this Victory he took *Bagdat*, *Beſre*, *Kurdeſtan*, *Diarbek*, *Wan*, *Eſſerum*, *Erſingan*. *Bitlis*, *Adilſchouas*, *Alchat*, *Berdigk*, *Kars*, *Entakie*. As ſoon as he had ſecur'd the Frontiers againſt the attempts of the *Turks*, he turn'd his Armies Eaſtward, and took, from the King of the *Indies*, the Province of *Candahar*, and the next adjoyning Province, the ſame good ſucceſs, which he had had againſt the *Turks*, ſtill attending him. 'Twas after this laſt Conqueſt that he went to *Caſwin*, to be Crown'd. He ſtay'd there but juſt the time requiſite for that Ceremony, and to refreſh his Forces, with which he afterwards went into *Georgia*, Defeated the King of that Countrey, whom the Hiſtories call *Simon Padſchach*, and forc'd him to pay him, yearly, three hundred *Bails* of Silk, by way of Tribute. The difficulties which *Schach Iſmael Sofi* met with in all theſe Wars, were not ſo ſmall but the *Perſians* grew weary of them, though the zeal of their Religion induc'd them to ſuffer the utmoſt extremities; even death it ſelf, with reſolution enough. But the conſequence of theſe Victories, and the good ſucceſs which *Iſmael* had in all his deſigns, was, that they raiſed him to ſo high an eſteem, that all the other Princes of *Aſia*, nay, ſeveral Monarchs of *Europe* courted his friendſhip, by ſolemn Embaſſies, which gave our Writers the firſt acquaintance they had with the affairs of *Perſia*. And whereas he made a ſtrict Profeſſion of the *Perſian* Religion, and had a great Devotion for *Aly*, ſo far as to aſſume the quality of *Sofi*, thence it comes, that our Hiſtorians ſpeak of him as the principal Propagator, nay, indeed, as the firſt Inſtitutor of that Sect. He died at *Caſwin*, in the forty fifth year of his age, and was buried at *Ardebil*. He had the reputation of being a great obſerver of Juſtice, but it is affirm'd of him, that he made no great difficulty to drink Wine, and eat Swines fleſh; nay, that, in deriſion of the *Turkiſh* Religion, he had a Hog kept in his Court, which he named *Bajazeth*.

Schach Iſmael Sofi left four Sons, whereof the eldeſt, named *Tamas*, ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdom of *Perſia*, but not in the vertues and great endowments, which had made him conſiderable all over the World. The three others, to wit, *Helcaſi*, *Beiram*, and *Sor-Myrza*, had certain Territories aſſign'd them. This change was perceiv'd at the very beginning of his Government. For *Sulthan Solyman*, Emperour of the *Turks*, taking notice of the weakneſs of *Schach Tamas* in matter of Government, raiſed a powerfull Army, enters the Kingdom of *Perſia*, under the Conduct of *Sulthan Murat Baſcha*, and recover'd from the *Perſians* all that *Schach Iſmael* had taken from the *Turks*, *Bagdan* and *Wan* onely excepted. Two years after *Solyman* came in perſon into *Perſia*, where he took *Tauris*, and beſieg'd *Sulthania*, *Schach Tamas*, who was in the mean time at *Caſwin*, having not ſo much courage as to raiſe the Siege. But as good fortune would have it, it happened, that during the time of the Siege, in the moneth of *March*, ſome few dayes before their *Naurus*, there fell ſo great a Rain, accompany'd by ſuch a violent Tempeſt, that the Snow of the adjacent Mountains diſſolving, and the water over-flowing all the Valleys, *Soliman* who was incommodated thereby; and found the water of a reddiſh colour, contracted haply from the ground, through which it had paſs'd, was frightned thereat, raiſed the Siege, and departed the Kingdom. In his retreat, he deſtroy'd all before him, but was engag'd neer *Bitlis*, where he was abſolutely defeated. *Schach Tamas* dying the 11. of *May* 1576. in the 68th. year of his age, and the 42th. of his reign

Schach Tamas.

reign, left a very ill repute of himself among the *Persians*, who speak of him with some preju- 1637.
dice, as well in relation to his Conduct, as his Courage. They charge him, among other things, that he was very careless of doing Justice to his Subjects, and had committed the administration of the affairs of his kingdom to his Ministers, as they are ordinarily wont to do, who cannot love a people that hath no affection for them. They blame him for protecting *Hamajum*, the Son of *Selim*, king of the *Indies*, to whom he gave Refuge and Protection, against the Persecutions of *Tzelaleden Ekbet*, his Uncle, a younger Brother of *Selim*'s, who had usurp'd the Crown, and demanded him of *Schach-Tamas*, that he might be put to death. But that was a generous and just action, and is not to be produc'd among the examples that are alleged of his violence and injustice, especially with any parallel to the ensuing story.

Lavassap, Prince of *Armenia*, had two Sons, *Simon* and *David*, and left the former, as being the Elder, the Government of the Country. *David*, who had too much courage to be satisfied with a small Territory, found means to raise an Army, such as might frighten his Elder Brother, who, being really afraid of an insurrection, desir'd the assistance of *Schach Tamas*, who sent him four thousand Horse, ordering him who had the Conduct of them, if possible, to take *David* alive, and send him to him, nay, to Crown him, in case he should comply so far as to be Circumcised, but with this Proviso, that he should prefer *Simon*, if he would take the Crown upon the same terms. *David* being taken in the first Engagement, soon hearkened to the King of *Persia*'s Proposition, and promis'd to change his Religion, and do homage for his Province, if the King would establish him in his Brother's place. *Simon* express'd a greater constancy, and would not change his Religion; whereupon he was imprison'd, in the Fortress of *Kahak*; and *David*, who after his Circumcision was called *Dant-Chan*, was forc'd to content himself with the Government of *Tiflis*. *Simon* remain'd some time a prisoner; but the Reputation he had of being a good Soldier, and a knowing person, brought him, first, acquainted, and afterwards very intimate with *Schach Ismael* the second, the Son of *Schach Tamas*, who promis'd to deliver him out of the Captivity, which he was to expect should have lasted as long as he liv'd, and to restore him to his Territories, if he would change his Religion. He did so, at least in outward shew, but *Ismael* dying soon after, he was little the better for his Promises. He was indeed set at liberty some time after his death; but *Chodabende*, coming to the Crown, minded not much the performance of his Brother's promises, and forc'd *Simon* to content himself with the employment he bestow'd on him in the Wars he was then engag'd in against the *Turks*.

Schach Tamas had by several Wives eleven Sons, and three Daughters, and among the rest, *Mahomet*, on whom upon his having shaken hands with all business, by reason of the weakness of his sight, and embracing a devout kind of life, they bestow'd the Sirname of *Chodabende*, that is (*servant of God*) *Ismael*, and *Eider*. *Tamas* had a particular kindness for *Eider*, his third Son, and it was his design to prefer him before the two Elder in the Government of the Kingdom, and to make the more sure work, he permitted him, even in his life time, to assume some part thereof. But after his death, the Lords of the Countrey sent to *Mahomet*, to desire him to accept of the Crown, which was his right by birth; and upon his refusal, they sent to *Ismael*, who was, by his Father's order a Prisoner in the Castle of *Cahak*, for having, upon his own accompt, made incursions into the *Turks* Dominions, though, in his Soul, he had an aversion for the *Persian* Religion, and in effect made profession of the *Turkish*. *Eider*, who was but seventeen years of age, was so impatient to get into the Throne, that he had the insolence to put the Crown on his head, and present himself, in that posture, before his Father, who was then near his death; and desirous to make his advantage of *Ismael*'s absence, and *Mahomet*'s refusal, made use of the interest which *Periaconcona*, his Sister, had with the Grandees, to mount the Throne. The Princess, who had declar'd for the interest of the elder Brethren, considering with her self, that in their absence, *Eider* might commit such violences as might prevent her securing of the Crown for *Ismael*, thought it not safe openly to oppose the pretensions of the younger Brother, but suffer'd him to assume the title of King, and he was acknowledg'd as such all over the Palace. But she had all the Avenues so well Guarded, that it was impossible for *Eider*'s friends to carry any tidings of it to the City. So that the young Prince coming to distrust his Sister's carriage, and apprehending it might be their design to sacrifice him to his Brother's ambition, conceal'd himself among the Women, till such time as *Schamal*, a *Georgian*, his Uncle by the Mother-side, found him out, and cut off his head.

Ismael II. coming to the Crown, in the 43. year of his age, and reflecting on his long imprisonment, confirm'd, by his procedure, the antient Proverb, which sayes, that the reign of a Prince who returns from Exile, is ever cruel and bloudy. This man began his, with the executions of all the Kinred and Frinds of *Eider*, and all those who had advis'd his Father to imprison him, pursuing those whom he could not get apprehended, even as far as the Frontiers of *Turkey*, and at his first entrance, discover'd the inclination he had to the *Turkish* Religion, which he openly profes's'd. To find out how the Grandees of the Kingdom were affected towards him, a report was spread abroad of his death, but he rose up again too soon for those, who had been

1637. so imprudent as to discover their aversion to his Government. For he brought to execution all such as he conceiv'd any jealousie of, and exercis'd so great cruelty, that, his own Sister thinking not her self secure, thought it her best course to prevent her own destruction by attempting the King's. Certain it is, he dy'd a violent death, on the 24. of *November* 1577. and that *Periaconcona* was the Contriver and Instrument of it: but this was done so secretly, that it is yet not known, how *Persia* came to be rid of this Tyrant.

Mahomet Chodabende, *Ismael* II. being thus remov'd out of the way, they made a shift so far to satisfie *Mahomet Chodabende*, his elder Brother, of the danger, whereto he expos'd his Person and the Country, if he suffered the Crown to come to a strange Family, that, at last, he resolv'd to accept of it, but upon condition, that, before he were oblig'd to make his entrance into *Casvin*, they should bring him the head of *Periaconcona*, who had imbru'd her hands in the bloud of two of his Brethren, and in whose power it was in some respects to dispose of the Kingdom. She prostituted her self to several of the Grandees about the Court, but particularly to *Emeer Chan*, whom she had raised into some hopes of enjoying the Crown. As soon as *Chodabende* came to the Government, which was in the year 1578. he seem'd not to mind any thing so much as to imitate those among his Predecessors, who had contributed most to the preservation and glory of the Kingdom of *Persia*. This is the Testimony given of him by *F. Bizarrus*; but the *Persian* Authors affirm, on the contrary, that never any Prince manag'd a Scepter with greater negligence and pusillanimity, in so much that finding himself not fit for the carrying on of any Military design, he spent all his time within the Palace, in Gaming, and diverting himself with the Ladies. That he was unfortunate in his Wars, and that the common Enemy taking advantage of his poörness of spirit and effeminacy, made incursions into *Persia*, to wit, the *Turks* on one side, and the *Usbeques Tartars*, on the other: That both these Nations possess'd themselves of several Provinces belonging to that Crown, and were not dispossess'd of them, as long as *Mahomet Chodabende* liv'd. *Minadous* observes, among other passages, that the *Turks* kill'd, in one battel, five thousand *Persians*, and took three thousand prisoners, whom the *Turkish* General ordered to have their heads cut off, and having heap'd them up together, he sate down upon the heap, and gave audience to a young Prince of *Georgia* who was come to give him a Visit.

Emir Hemse. *Mahomed Chodabende* dy'd in the year 1585. leaving three Sons, *Emir Hemse*, *Ismael*, and *Abas*. The former, as being the eldest of the three Brerhren, was Crowned King of *Persia*; but *Ismael*, troubled to see the Crown on his Brother's head, manag'd his affairs so well, and insinuated himself so much into the affections of the chiefest Lords of the Kingdom, that they Ismael III conspir'd the death of *Emir Hemse*. *Ismael* got him kill'd, in the eighth moneth of his reign, by a sort of people disguiz'd in VVomens Cloaths, who being cover'd with Veils, according to the custom of the Countrey, came to the *Schach*'s Chamber door, and told the Guards, that they were the VVives of some of the *Chans*, whom the King had sent for, and that they waited there in obedience to his commands. The Murtherers were no sooner got into the Chamber, but they fell upon the King and kill'd him. But this death was soon after reveng'd upon the Contriver of it, as we shall relate.

Abas Myrza, that is to say, Prince *Abas*, *Mahomet Chodabende*'s third Son, was Governour of *Herat*, and was come thence, with an intention to see *Emir Hemse*, his Brother; but hearing, in his way, of the Murther committed upon him, and having some reason to fear, that the Murtherer might be advis'd, to secure himself in the Throne, by a double fratricide, return'd back into his Government. The year following *Abas Myrsa* being advanc'd as far as *Casvin*, while the King was at *Karabach*, there happened such frequent differences between the people belonging to the two Brothers, that they heightned the reciprocal distrust they had one of another. *Abas Myrsa* had about him a Lord of great quality, named *Murschidculi-Chan*, who had acquir'd so great reputation by his prudence and courage, that *Chodabende* had entrusted him with the conduct and education of that young Prince. This *Murschidculi*, knowing that *Ismael*, who had expres's'd but too much animosity against his Brother, would never pardon him, and that his life absolutely depended on that of his Master; and considering withall, that if he prov'd the occasion of raising that Prince, whom he had Govern'd from his youth, to the Throne, he would have a great share in the Government, resolv'd to prevent the King, who was already come into the Province of *Karabach*, purposely to march in person against his Brother. To effect this, some of the great Lords of the Court, who hoped to get into favour with *Abas Myrsa*, corrupted one of *Ismael*'s Barbers, named *Chudi*, who, coming to trim Ismael III kill'd. him, cut his Throat. The Lords, who were present at the execution, and thought it concern'd them to justifie themselves, kill'd the Barber, cut his body into little bits, and reduc'd it to ashes. Thus dy'd *Schach Ismael* III. in the eighth moneth of his reign.

Schach-Abas succeeds. *Abas Myrsa* had already so far gain'd the affections of the *Persians*, by his vivacity of spirit, and the moderation they had observ'd through the whole course of his life, that he ascended the Throne with the general satisfaction of all the people. But the favour of *Murschidculi-Chan*, who had most contributed to his advancement, continu'd not long: for assuming to himself

ſelf the ſame authority over the King, which he had had before, while he was onely *Myrſa* or Prince, he became troubleſome and inſupportable, and that in ſo high a degree, that, one day, the King, deſirous to give his opinion upon an affair of great importance, which had been propos'd, *Murſchidculi-Chan* had the inſolence to tell him, before a full Council, that he was not fit to ſpeak of affairs of that nature, they being ſuch as were above the reach of his age and underſtanding. The King diſſembled, for the preſent, his Reſentment thereof, but conſidering, that that Authority of *Murſchidculi-Chan* would eclipſe his own, and expoſe him to the contempt of his Subjects, he reſolv'd to rid his Governour out of the way. He complain'd of his Favorite's inſolence to three Lords of his Council, named *Mehediculi-Chan*, *Mahomed Uſtadſcahi*, and *Aliculi-Chan*, of whom he thought he might be moſt confident; but finding they demurr'd upon the buſineſs, and, being not too well aſſur'd what reſolution the King would take, in a buſineſs, which to them was of the greateſt conſequence of any in the World, that they endeavour'd to diſſwade him from it, he told them, it was his will, that *Murſchidculi-Chan* ſhould die by their hands, and that if they made any ſcruple to do it, he ſhould find means to be obey'd, as, on the contrary, he ſhould not be backwardin requiting their ſervices, who upon that occaſion ſhould implicitly execute his commands. This, extremity forc'd them to follow the King into his Favourite's Chamber, into which he got ere *Murſchidculi-Chan* was awake; ſo that the King, having found him lying on his back, with his mouth open, gave him the firſt blow over-thwart the mouth. The reſt gave him each of them a ſtab; but *Murſchidculi-Chan*, being a very ſtout man, had the courage to get off his bed, and put himſelf into ſuch a poſture, as ſhould have given them more fear, than he had receiv'd hurt from them, and no doubt he had diſpatch'd ſome of his murtherers, had it not been for one of his Grooms, who coming in at the noiſe, with a batle-axe in his hand, the King ſaid to him; *I would have the life of* Murſchidculi-Chan, *who is become my Enemy; Go, diſpatch him, and I will make thee a* Chan. The Groom did his work as the king commanded, went ſtreight to his Maſter and diſpatch'd him. 1637.

The next day, the king put to death all the relations and friends of *Murſchidculi-Chan*, that ſo he might be abſolutely eas'd of all the diſturbances, which their diſcontents might have given him; and conferr'd on the Groom the Dignity of *Chan*, with the Government of *Herat*. This Execution happened in the year 1585. which was the firſt of the reign of *Schach Abas*.

The firſt actions of *Schach-Abas* made a ſufficient diſcovery of his abililities in order to Government, and that there was no neceſſity of his being any longer under the Eye and Conduct of another. All his thoughts were bent upon recovering the great Provinces, which the *Turks* and *Tartars* had uſurp'd from the Crown of *Perſia*, and he made an abſolute reſolution to declare a War againſt both thoſe Nations, upon that ſcore. Being one day at *Caſwin*, he took a walk out of the Citie, and ask'd the Lords who follow'd him, whether there could be a nobler Countrey than that where they then were. There were ſome took the freedom to tell him, that it was indeed an excellent good Countrey, yet was it not to be compar'd with the Province of *Fars*, much leſs with that of *Choraſan*, eſpecially that part of the ſaid Province, which the *Uſbeques* had taken from *Perſia*, in the time of his Father's reign. Upon this diſcourſe, he immediately reſolv'd upon a War againſt the *Tartars*, and having rais'd a powerfull Army, he entred *Choraſan*. *Abdulla*, Prince of the *Uſbeques*, met him, and, at firſt, with ſome advantage over him, in regard the Plague, which was got into *Schach Abas*'s Army, and the unſeaſonable weather kept it from being in action. The two Armies were neer ſix moneths in ſight one of the other; but at laſt *Schach Abas* ſet upon *Abdulla*, and forc'd him to retreat to *Meſched*. *Schach Abas* continu'd three years in *Choraſan*, *Abdulla* being not in a condition to diſturb him in his new Conqueſt, and when he atrempted it, he was ſo unfortunate, that his Army was not onely defeated, but alſo he himſelf, with *Tilem-Chan*, his Brother, and his three Sons, who were in the Army, fell into the hands of *Schach-Abas*, who order'd them all to have their heads cut off. Afterwards *Schach-Abas* went to *Iſpahan*, and found it ſo excellently well ſituated, and the Countrey about it ſo pleaſant, that he reſolv'd to make it the Metropolis of the Kingdom, beautifying it, to that end, with many Magnificent Structures, and among others, the *Allacapi*, or Sanctuary, and the Sumptuous *Moſquey Mehedi*, of which we have given an accompt already. In which Magnificence the Lords of the Court were deſirous to imitate him, by building many rich and noble Palaces.

Engages in a War againſt the Tartars.

After theſe victories, he march'd againſt the *Turks*, and having underſtood by his Spies, that the Garriſon of *Tabris* thought of nothing leſs than a War, he got together, with as little noiſe as might be, a little Army, with which he went in leſs than ſix dayes from *Iſpahan* to *Tabris*, though it be ordinarily eighteen dayes journey for the Camels. Being come to the paſſage of *Scibli*, within four leagues of *Tabris*, where the *Turks* kept a party, rather to receive the cuſtoms upon Commodities, than to hinder the entrance of the *Perſians*, he, with ſome Officers left the Army, and advanc'd as far as the Turn-Pike. The *Turks* imagining they were Merchants, the Secretary of the Cuſtom-houſe addreſs'd himſelf to *Schach-Abas*, and ask'd him for the duties. *Schach-Abas* told him, that he who carried the Purſe was coming behind,

And againſt the Turks.

1637. and, having caus'd *Dſulfakar-Chan* to come up to him, he bid him give the other ſome money; but while the Secretary was telling it, he order'd one to diſpatch him, made the Soldiers who kept the Poſt to ſubmit, and paſs'd over his Army. *Aly Baſcha*, Governour of *Tabris*, having intelligence hereof, got ſome Troops together, at leſt as many as the diſtraction of his affairs would permit him to do, and went to meet *Abas*, but there being a great inequality between the Forces on both ſides, he was overcome, and fell into the hands of the *Perſians*. In the midſt of the Citie, there was a Citadel, built by *Haſſan Padſchach*, otherwiſe called *Uſſum Caſſan*, which the *Turks* kept a moneth after, but, at laſt, it was taken, by intelligence, and afterwards demoliſh'd. Thence he went to *Nachtzuan*; but the *Turkiſh* Garriſon quitted the place, upon the firſt news they receiv'd of the *Perſian* Army's coming towards it, and retreated to *Iruan*. *Schach-Abas* ordered alſo the demoliſhing of the Citadel of *Nachtzuan*, called *Kiſchikalaban*, and went and lay before *Iruan*, which he took after a ſiege of nine moneths. This Conqueſt facilitated his reduction of all the other Cities and Neighbouring Provinces, all which were reduc'd, ſave onely the Fortreſs of *Orumi*, the ſtrong and advantageous ſituation whereof, being on the point of a Rock, putting him out of all hope of taking it by ſtorm. He beſieg'd it eight moneths together, but finding that the *Kurdes* did him more miſchief than the *Turks* themſelves, though they were a free people, and had no dependence on the *Grand Seignor*, he gain'd the affections of the chiefeſt among them by Preſents and Promiſes, putting them in hope of all advantages on his ſide, if they would help him to take in that place, and promis'd them all the booty they ſhould find there. The *Kurdes*, who live onely by Rapine, were willing to ſerve him upon thoſe terms. But *Schach-Abas* having receiv'd that ſervice from them, and taken the Fort by their means, ſent to invite the chiefeſt among them to come and Dine with him. He had his Tent made with ſo many turnings and windings, and had thoſe ſo done over with Cloaths, that they who came in ſaw not ſuch as were but ſix paces before them. He had planted two Executioners in the way, who diſpatch'd his Gueſts as they came into the Tent; and this courſe he took with them, out of an apprehenſion they might do the *Turks* the ſame ſervices he had receiv'd from them. He made *Kaban Chan*, Governour of *Orumi* and the neighbouring Province, and marching ſtill on, he became Maſter of all between the Rivers of *Cyrus* and *Araxis*, and reduc'd into his power the Citie of *Scamachie*, after a ſiege of ſeven weeks, together with the whole Province of *Schiruan*, which he left under the Command of *Dſulfakar-Chan* his Brother-in-law, The Inhabitants of *Derbent*, hearing what ſucceſs *Schach-Abas* had had againſt the *Turks*, kill'd their *Turkiſh* Garriſon, and ſubmitted to the King of *Perſia*. Then he entred the Province of *Kilan*, and reduc'd to obedience thoſe people who fell off from the King's of *Perſia*, in the time of *Schach-Tamas*. He ordered to be made neer *Lankeran*, where a great Fen in a manner cover'd that whole Province, and made the entrance into it very difficult, a way or Bank of Sand, and ſetled *Chans* in ſeveral places of the Province; to wit, *Bainduruc-Chan*, at *Aſtara*, *Mortuſa Kuli-Chan*, at *Keſker*, *Heider-Chan*, at *Turkabun*, a *Viſir*, at *Reſcht*, *Adam Sulthan*, in *Meſanderan*, and *Hoſſein-Chan*, at *Aſtarabad*.

It was *Schach-Abas* his intention to ſit ſtill with theſe Conqueſts, but the quiet he had after them was ſo little, that he had hardly the time to have his Soveraignty acknowledg'd. For, being at *Iſpahan*, about a year after this War, intelligence was brought him that the *Turk* was coming into *Perſia*, with an Army of five hundred thouſand men; whereupon he got together all the Forces he could, and appointed them their Rendezvous at *Tabris*, and ordered all the Inhabitants of the Frontiers, to retire, with their Cattel, into Cities and Wall'd Towns, to deſtroy all in the Fields, that the Enemy might make no advantage thereof in order to his ſubſiſtence. The *Turk* having advanc'd, and encamp'd neer *Tabris*, the King of *Perſia* caus'd it to be publiſh'd through his Army, that ſuch as were willing to ſerve as Volunteers, ſhould liſt themſelves apart, and that for every *Turks* head they brought him, he would pay fifty Crowns. About five thouſand *Perſians* liſted themſelves upon that accompt; ſo that not a day paſs'd, but ſome heads were brought in, and at his riſing every morning, a good number was preſented to him. Nay, one Soldier, named *Bairam Tekel* brought him one morning five together, and by that means gain'd the favour of *Schach-Abas*, who rais'd him to the Dignity of *Chan*.

At the end of three moneths *Tzakal Ogli*, who commanded the *Turkiſh* Army, ſent a kind of Challenge to *Schach-Abas*, telling him, that if he had as much confidence in God and the Juſtice of his cauſe, as he would have the VVorld believe, he ſhould not be afraid of accepting a general Engagement, which he thereby profer'd him. *Abas* was content, and having divided the ground, the Sun and the VVind with his Enemy, gave him battel. It laſted all that day; and the night following, the *Turks*, who had loſt many of their men, retreated. The next day word was brought to the Camp, that the *Turks* were retreated; but *Abas*, who fear'd it might be a ſtratagem of theirs, ſtood on his Guard for three dayes, keeping the Army upon continual duty, and not ſo much as going himſelf into his Tent during that time; till that the Scouts having at laſt brought him word, that the Enemy was effectually retreated towards the Frontiers, he advanc'd to the Mountain of *Sehend*, where he Encamped, and there it was, that *Mahumed Chan Kaſak*, *Schaberuch-Chan*, *Eſſchar*, and *Jiſchan*, *Kurtzibaſchi*, were

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cut to pieces, for having given the king poyſon, who immediately taking an Antidote, receiv'd no hurt thereby. 1637.

Two years after this War, the *Turk* made another invaſion into *Perſia*, with an Army of three hundred thouſand men, and beſieged the Fortreſs of *Iruan*, in the Province of the ſame name: but he was forc'd to raiſe the ſiege and to retreat. About two years after that, *Murat Baſcha*, General of the *Turkiſh* Army, beſieg'd and took *Tabris*, and kept it four moneths, within which time there happen'd five ſet battels between thoſe two Nations, with little advantage to the *Perſians*. And yet at laſt *Schach-Abas* defeated the *Turks*, and recover'd the Citie out of their hands. Being, after this expedition, return'd to *Ardebil*, he there caus'd to be kill'd *Dſulfakar*, *Chan* of *Scamachie* in the manner we have related before, and put into his Government *Juſuf-Chan*, an *Armenian* by birth, and by condition a Slave, who had a long time ſerv'd him as an ordinary Foot-man.

After this, *Perſia* enjoy'd a Peace of twenty years together, at the end whereof the *Turks* entred it again with a powerfull Army, under the Command of *Chalil Baſſcha*, with whom joyned alſo ſeveral parties of the *Tartars* of *Crim* and *Precop*. *Schach-Abas* ſent againſt them *Kartzſchuckai-Chan*, the moſt Valiant and moſt Fortunate of all his Captains, who wearied them out, and forc'd them to retreat, after ſeveral Engagements, or Skirmiſhes rather, wherein he took Priſoners two *Tartar*-Princes, *Omerſbeg*, and *Schahinkerai-Chan*, and the Baſhaws of *Egypt*, *Aleppo*, *Erſerum*, and *Wan*. The King, inſtead of treating them ill, preſented each of them with a Garment and an excellent Horſe, and ſent them back without paying any Ranſom.

Afterwards, *Schach-Abas* went into *Georgia*, where he ſtaid nine moneths. During his aboad there, *Tameras-Chan*, the Son of *Simon* had the confidence to enter with an Army into the Province of *Seggen*, in the midſt of *Georgia*, and to give battel to *Schach-Abas*; but he was forc'd to retreat with great loſs. While he was in thoſe parts, he pay'd his Army twelve Muſters together, and hearing that his Soldiers ſpent moſt of their money in *Tobacco*, he forbad the uſe of it, with ſuch ſeverity, that he caus'd their Noſes and Lips to be cut off, who were found to have taken of it, contrary to the Prohibitions: and having underſtood that a Merchant, who knew not that the king had forbidden the uſe of Tobacco, and brought ſeveral Bags of it into the Army, in hopes to make a greater advantage thereof among the Soldiers, he order'd him to be ſet on a heap of Fagots, with all his Tobacco about him, which being ſet on fire, he, and his Commodity were reduc'd to ſmoke and aſhes. *An exceſſive ſeverity.*

After this was it that *Schach-Abas* went into *Kilan*, where he put to death his eldeſt Son, as we ſhall relate anon. *Schach-Abas* had three lawfull Wives, and four or five hundred Concubines. By his three Wives he had ſo many Sons, to wit, *Sefi Myrſa*, *Chodabende Myrſa*, and *Imanculi Myrſa*. He ordered the two younger to have their eyes put out with fire, and confin'd them in the Fortreſs of *Alamuth*, under a very ſtrict Guard. The eldeſt Son was born of a *Chriſtian* Slave, of *Georgia*. This Prince having caſt his Eye on a very handſom young Maid of *Circaſſia*, whom a Merchant of *Scamachie* had preſented to *Schach-Abas*, fell in Love with her, and intreated his Father to permit he ſhould marry her. The king who dearly lov'd that Prince, by reaſon of the great complyance he had for him, conſented thereto, and ordered her to be brought up in the *Seraglio*, near the Mother of *Sefi Myrſa*, who had by her *Sain Myrſa*, ſince king of *Perſia*, under the name of *Schach-Sefi*.

The Over-ſevere, or rather, Cruel, and Tyrannical reign of *Schach-Abas*, began to grow ſo odious and inſupportable to the Grandees of the kingdom, that ſome had the confidence to caſt a Note into *Sefi Myrſa*'s Chamber, whereby they diſcover'd to him, that if he would not ſtand in his own way, he might immediately ſucceed the king his Father, and that if he would conſent to the Execution of the Deſign they were engag'd in to that end, they would ſoon ſhow him how the buſineſs was to be effected. *Sefi* conceiv'd a horrour at the Propoſition, whereby he was to be a complice in his Father's death, and thereupon carried the Note to the king, accompanying his free and innocent proceeding with ſo many proteſtations of the ſincerity of his intentions, and an abſolute dependence on his Father's will, as might well ſatisfie any other mind leſs diſtruſtfull than that of *Schach-Abas*. He could not forbear expreſſing outwardly, that he was very well ſatisfy'd with his Son, and commended his affection and piety: but he afterwards fell into ſuch frights, as depriv'd him of all reſt, and oblig'd him to change his Lodging twice or thrice in a night, with ſuch diſturbances, as he conceiv'd he could not be deliver'd of otherwiſe than by the death of his Son. According to theſe apprehenſions, being one day at *Reſcht* in the Province of *Kilan*, with the whole Court about him, a Flatterer ſo heighten'd the diſtractions of his mind, by the falſe Alarm he gave him of a new Conſpiracy of *Sefi Myrſa*'s, with ſeveral of the great Lords of the kingdom againſt him, that he reſolv'd he ſhould dye. Schach-Abas *puts to death his eldeſt Son.*

He thought, at firſt to employ in that Commiſſion *Kartzſchuckai-Chan*, General of the Army, or Conſtable of *Perſia*, and would have oblig'd him to kill his Son with his own hands.

This

1637. This Lord, was Originally deſcended from an *Armenian* Family, born by Father and Mother-ſide of *Chriſtians*, and had been ſtollen away in his youth by the *Tartars*, who had Circumcis'd and ſold him to *Schach-Abas*. The freedom and ſincerity of his diſpoſition and demeanour, had gain'd him the friendſhip of the whole Court, and his courage had ſo well ſetled him in the king's favour, that having, by his means, had ſeveral great victories over his Enemies, he had conferr'd on him the Command of his Army, and look'd upon him with ſuch reſpect, that he never call'd him by any other name than that of *Aga*, that is, the Captain.

The king would needs put him upon this important ſervice, as conſidering him to be the perſon, who of any in his kingdom was the moſt oblig'd to him for his Fortune. But the grave old Man, having laid down his Sword at the kings feet, and caſt himſelf by it, told him, that he was ſo infinitely oblig'd to his Majeſty, that he would rather loſe a thouſand lives, than that he ſhould be ever reproach'd to have imbru'd his hands in the blood of any of the royal Progeny, ſo far was it againſt his Soul to commit a Crime of that nature, and by putting to death the Heir of the Crown, execute a command which the king could not impoſe upon him without regret, and which were no ſooner put in Execution, but he would repent him of it. *Schach-Abas* was ſatisfy'd with this excuſe, from him, and made the ſame Propoſition to a Gentleman, named *Bebut-Beg*, whom he found not ſo ſcrupulous as *Kartzſchuckai-Chan*. This man having undertaken that Commiſſion went immediately to *Sefi Myrſa*, and having met him coming out of a Bath, riding on a Mule, and accompany'd only by a ſingle Page, layes hold on the Bridle, ſtayes the Mule, and ſayes, Alight, *Sefi Myrſa*, it is the pleaſure of the king thy Father that thou ſhould'ſt die, and thereupon throws him down. The unfortunate Prince, joyning his hands together, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, cries out. *O my God! what have I done to deſerve this diſgrace? Curſed be the Traytor who is the occaſion thereof. But ſince it is the pleaſure of God thus to diſpoſe of me, Gods will and the King's be done.*

He had hardly the time to ſpeak out thoſe words, ere *Bebut* gave him two ſtabs with a *Chentze*, which is a kind of Ponyard, ordinarily worn by the *Perſians* in their Girdles, wherewith he laid him dead upon the place. The body was dragg'd into a Fen not far thence, where it continu'd above four hours. In the mean time, the news of this Murther being brought into the City, the people ran in multitudes to the Palace, threatned to force the Gates, and would have the Authors thereof deliver'd up to them, in ſo much that the *Chans*, who were afraid, that in the fury of their firſt inſurrection, the people would wreak their malice indifferently on all they met, forſook the king, and got away. The Queen, *Sefi Myrſa*'s Mother, underſtanding that her Son had been kill'd by the king's expreſs order, was ſo overcome with grief, that not minding the humour of the Prince ſhe had then to do withall, who could not endure the leſt oppoſition, ſhe ran into the king's Apartment, and not thinking it enough to reproach him with his inhumanity, and the barbarous death of an innocent Prince, and one whom he had tenderly lov'd, ſhe flew in his face, and beat him with her fiſts. But the king, inſtead of being angry with her, was at an abſolute loſs, and at laſt made her anſwer with tears in his eyes; *What would you have had me to do? News was brought me that he had a deſign upon my life. There is now no remedy, what's done cannot be recall'd.*

On the other ſide, *Schach-Abas* had no ſooner heard of this execution, but it repented him of having commanded it, and expreſs'd no ſmall regret, that he had proceeded with ſo much precipitation in a buſineſs of that importance. He thought it not enough to acknowledge it done by his order, but would needs continue ten dayes ſhut up in a place where he would not ſee the light of the Sun, as having all that time a Handkercher over his eyes. He liv'd a whole moneth, and eat no more than what was purely neceſſary to keep him from ſtarving. He went in mourning a whole year, and all his life after he wore not any thing about him, that might, as to matter of Cloaths, diſtinguiſh him from the meaneſt of his Subjects. And in ſome ſort, to eternize the memory of the Prince, he caus'd the place where he was kill'd, to be encompaſs'd with a high Wall, made a Sanctuary of it, and allow'd it a certain Revenue, for the entertainment of a great number of poor people. The firſt ten dayes of his greateſt mourning being over, he went from *Reſcht* to *Caſwin*, where he would needs entertain the *Chans*, whom he any way ſuſpected, and the Flatterer, who had made him jealous of the Prince, at a Dinner, but he caus'd poyſon to be mixt in their Wine, and kept them ſo long at Table till he ſaw them all dead in the place.

The action of *Bebut-beg* was indeed recompens'd with the charge of *Daruga*, of *Caſwin*, and ſome time after with that of *Chan* of *Kesker*; but he could not avoid the puniſhment which ſo baſe a complyance too well deſerv'd. For the firſt journey the king made to *Caſwin*, after that we ſpoke of before, he commanded *Bebut*, to go and cut off, with his own hands, his Son's head, and to bring it him. He was forc'd to obey, and *Schach-Abas* ſeeing him coming into the Room with his Son's head, ask'd him how he did. *Bebut* made anſwer, Alaſs my Liege, I think I need not tell you; I have been forc'd with my own hands to kill my only Son, whom I lov'd above any thing in the World; the grief I ſhall conceive thereat will bring me to my Grave. The king reply'd, *Go thy wayes*, Bebut, *and conſider how great muſt have been my af-*

fliction,

fliction, when thou broughtſt the news of my Son's death, whom I had commanded thee to put to death. But comfort thy ſelf, my Son and thine are no more, and reflect, that thou art in this equal to the King thy maſter. 1637.

Not long after this unhappy Paricide, *Bebut* ended his life after an extraordinary manner. For, ſoon after he had taken poſſeſſion of the Government of *Kesker*, one of his ſervants, giving him water to waſh after Dinner, according to the *Perſian* cuſtom, pour'd it on ſo hot that it ſcalded his hands, which incens'd him ſo that he threatned to have him cut to pieces; but the Slave prevented him, and conſidering that he who had been ſo barbarous as to murther his Prince and his own Son, would make no great difficulty to rid the World of a ſervant, he conſpir'd with ſome of his Camerades, who expected no better treatment from their Maſter, and kill'd him the night following in his drink. *Schach-Abas* was not much troubled, that that hatefull object was remov'd out of his ſight, and would not have proſecuted the Murtherers, had not the other *Chans* repreſented to him, that, if they were not made examples, no Lord could think himſelf ſecure among his ſervants, after he had given them ſome theatning language. *Aſſaſſinat. puniſh'd.*

But *Schach-Abas*'s affliction, and the regret he expreſs'd for his Son's death, how great ſoever they might be, took not off the juſt apprehenſions the Widdow conceiv'd, that he had a deſign to put to death his Grand-Child *Sain Myrſa*. Whence it came, that ſhe kept him a long time conceal'd, and would not ſuffer him to be brought to Court, though the King, who ſaw his two younger Sons, whoſe eyes he had caus'd to be put out, were excluded the Government, by the Laws of the Kingdom, deſign'd that little Prince to ſucceed him. 'Tis reported he had a great tenderneſs for him, and yet leſt he ſhould appear to ſoon, and the vivacity of his ſpirit revive the affection which the people had expreſs'd towards his Father, he endeavour'd to have his ſenſes dull'd, and commanded there ſhould be given him every day about the bigneſs of a Pea of *Opium*, the uſe whereof is very common in *Perſia*, as we have ſaid elſewhere; but that the Mother, inſtead of giving him that Drug, made him often take Treacle, and ſeveral other preſervatives againſt the poyſon, which ſhe conceiv'd ſhe had ſome cauſe to ſuſpect might be given him.

While *Schach-Abas* was in *Kilan*, *Tamaras-Chan*, taking advantage of his abſence, entred again with an Army into *Georgia*, and recover'd all thoſe places, out of which he had been forc'd. The King ſent thither *Aliculi-Chan*; *Mahumed-Chan*, *Kaſack*, and *Mortuſaculi*, *Chan* of *Taliſch*, and ſeveral other *Chans*, who could do no good there, but brought word back, that they had found the Enemy ſo advantageouſly poſted, that they durſt not ſet upon him. The King puniſh'd their ſeeming prudence with death, and went the next year in perſon into *Georgia*, proteſting at his departure, that if he return'd victorious from that VVar, he would ſell the *Georgians*, at an *Abas*, or fifteen pence a head. Upon which occaſion they ſay it hapned, that the King being Maſter of the Field, and having taken a great number of Priſoners, a Souldier came to him, with two *Abaſes* in his hand, and deſir'd him to ſell him two handſom young Maids, who were among the Priſoners, and that the King remembring his Oath, permitted him to take his choice. It was about this time, that moſt of the *Georgian Chriſtians*, who liv'd at *Iſpahan* at the time of our being there, came out of their Country to ſettle themſelves in the Metropolis of the Kingdom.

Much alſo about the ſame time, was it, that *Schach-Abas* receiv'd Letters from *Bekirkeha*, who, under the Grand-Seignor, commanded the Garriſon of *Bagdat* or *Babylon*. This man, diſſatisfy'd with the Court, upon his being deny'd the Government of that place, at the *Baſſa*'s death, under whom he had had the Lieutenancy, proffer'd *Schach-Abas* to deliver up the City to him. The King hearkned to that Propoſition, and immediately took his march with a good Army towards thoſe parts; but ere he got thither, *Bikirkeha*'s diſcontent was over, ſo far that he ſent *Schach-Abas* word, that he had only Powder and Bullets at his ſervice. He was ſo netled at the affront, that he proteſted not to return thence till he had taken the City, though it ſhould coſt him his life. Accordingly, having paſs'd over the Ditch, after a ſiege of ſix months, and having ſet fire to a Mine, which work the *Perſians* are very excellent at, he caus'd an aſſault to be given, entred the breach, and became Maſter of the City, without any compoſition. *Bikirkeha* being found among the Priſoners, was ſown up in a raw Ox-Hide. and in that condition plac'd near the High-way, where the King order'd him to be fed, till ſuch time as the heat of the Sun having made the Hide ſhrink together, he died a very painful death. His Son caſt himſelf at *Schach-Abas*'s feet, and ſatisfy'd him ſo far of his being wholly unconcern'd in his Father's proceeding, that having begg'd his Pardon, he by that ſubmiſſion obtain'd the Government of *Schiras*, which *Schach-Abas* made no difficulty to beſtow on him; in regard that lying at a great diſtance from the Frontiers of *Turkey*, he fear'd not his proving unfaithful to him.

The year following, the Emperour of the *Turks* caus'd *Bagdat* to be beſieg'd, by the *Baſſa*, *Haſis Ahmed*; but *Abas* forc'd him to raiſe the ſiege, and continu'd eight moneths together in ſight of the *Turkiſh* Army, till ſuch time as ſickneſs having conſum'd a great number of the

Turks,

1637. *Turks*, who were not ſo well able to endure the great heats, as the *Perſians*, *Haſis* was oblig'd to retreat to *Conſtantinople*. At his return from this expedition, *Schach-Abas* began to build the Citié of *Ferabath*, in the Province of *Meſandran*, upon occaſion of a Village, named *Tahona*, ſituated upon a pleaſant River, which, not far thence, falls into the *Caſpian* Sea.

This Victory procur'd him but two years reſt. For the *Turkiſh* Emperour, deſirous to recover *Bagdat*, ſent *Chalil Baſſa*, with an Army of five hundred thouſand men, to reduce it. *Schach-Abas* commanded *Cartzſchugai-Chan* to march to the relief of the Citie, with a ſmall Brigade, but conſiſting of choice men, and he follow'd him in perſon, with the whole Army. He himſelf got into the Citie, and ſent *Kartzſchugai-Chan* to meet the *Turk*, whom he wearied out with perpetual skirmiſhes for ſix moneths together. At laſt he gave him battel, diſorder'd, and defeated him, forcing him to fly as far as *Netzed*. Upon the firſt news of the Victory, *Schach-Abas* left the Citie, to go and meet *Kartzſchugai-Chan*, and being come neer him "alighted, and ſaid to him; My deareſt *Aga*, I have by thy means and conduct obtain'd ſo "noble a Victory, that I would not have deſir'd a greater of God, come, get up on my Horſe, "'tis fit I ſhould be thy Lackey. *Kartzſchugai* was ſo ſurpriz'd at this diſcourſe, that he caſt himſelf at his feet, intreated his Majeſty to look on him as his ſlave, and not to expoſe him to the deriſion of all the World, by doing him an honour ſo extraordinary, as that it was impoſſible he could any way deſerve it. But notwithſtanding all his intreaties, he was forc'd to get up, the King and the *Chans* following on foot, onely ſeven paces. *Schach-Abas* had many other Wars againſt the *Turks*; but the moſt ſignal Victory he ever got over his Enemies, was at the reduction of the Citie of *Ormus*, which he recover'd from the *Portuguez*, ſix years before his death. Of that an account ſhall be given in the ſubſequent Travels of *Mandelſlo*.

About the end of the year 1629. he took a journey to *Ferabath*, in the Province of *Meſanderan*, which was the place he moſt delighted in of any in his Kingdom; but he there fell ſo ill, that, perceiving he ſhould not eſcape, he ſent for four Lords of the chiefeſt of his Councel, to wit, *Iſa-Chan*, *Kurtzibaſchi*, *Seiul-Chan*, *Tuſchmal*, or Councellor of State, *Temerbey*, *Onwogly*, or Lord High-Steward, and *Juſuf Aga*, chief Gentleman of his Chamber, who being come to his Bed-ſide, he told them. That, firmyl believing the ſickneſs he was then in would be his laſt, it was his pleaſure, that his Grand-Child, *Sain Myrſa*, ſhould ſucceed him, and aſſume his Father's name, obliging them all ſolemnly to promiſe him, that, after his death, they would religiouſly execute his Laſt Will. The Aſtrologers had told *Schach-Abas*, that *Sain* ſhould reign but eight moneths at moſt; but when theſe Lords would have ſpoke to him of that Prediction, the King made anſwer, *Let him reign as long as he can, though it were but three dayes; it will be ſome ſatisfaction to me, to be aſſur'd, that he ſhall one day have on his head the Crown which was due to the Prince his Father.*

'Twas conceiv'd, he had had ſome poyſon given him, upon which preſumption the *Hakim Juſuf*, his Phyſician, order'd him hot bathing for eight dayes together, and for four dayes afterward another kind of Bath, of Cows milk: but all theſe remedies being either ineffectual, or too weak; he ſeriouſly prepar'd himſelf for death, even to the appointing of the place where he would be interr'd. But that the people might not certainly know it, he commanded the Ceremonies of his Funeral ſhould be Celebrated in three ſeveral places, at the ſame time, to wit, at *Ardebil*, *Meſched*, and *Babylon*; but the more general report is, that the body was carried to *Babylon*, and thence to the *Netzef*, of *Kufa*, neer the Sepulchre of *Aly*, upon this accompt, that *Schach-Abas*, going to *Kufa*, ſoon after the reduction of *Babylon*, and looking on the *Netzef*, ſaid, he had never ſeen a more delightfull place, and that he ſhould wiſh to be there interr'd after his death. What ere became of his body, certain it is that he dy'd, in the year 1629. having liv'd 63. years, and reign'd 45. He diſcover'd the ſtrength of his memory and underſtanding, in the order he took, at his death, that it might be kept ſecret, till his Grand-Child were aſſur'd of the Succeſſion; commanding that they ſhould expoſe his body every day in the ſame Hall, where he was wont to adminiſter Juſtice, ſet in a Chair of State, with his eyes open, his back turn'd to the Hangings, behind which ſtood *Juſuf Aga*, who ever and anon made him lift up his Arm, by means of a ſilk ſtring, and anſwer'd thoſe things which were propoſed by *Temir-beg*, on the behalf of ſuch as were at the other end of the Hall, and who were thereby perſwaded that *Schach-Abas* was ſtill alive. This was ſo well perſonated, that his death was conceal'd, for the ſpace of ſix weeks.

The Perſians honour the memory of Schach-Abas.

The *Perſians* have a Veneration for the memory of this Prince, and ſpeak of him as of the greateſt King that *Perſia* hath had theſe many ages. And indeed, take but out of his life, the examples of cruelty we have touch'd at before, it muſt be acknowledg'd, that, if we may not number him among the *good*, yet muſt we aſſign him a place among the *greateſt* Princes, of any mentioned in the modern Hiſtories. He was Wiſe and Valiant, and hath heightned the glory of *Perſia* by the great Victories he obtain'd over his Enemies, extending by that means the Territories of his Kingdom of all ſides, towards the *Indians*, the *Turks* and the *Tartars*. The *Auguſtine* Friers told us, that, he was ſo far from having any averſion for *Chriſtian* Religion, that, on the contrary, he often came to their Monaſtery, made them Dine with him, ſent for them

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Schach Sefi King of Persia
Aged xxvij Yeares 1642.

them in the night, put their Beads about his Neck, ſighing, and ſaying, that he knew not which Religion he ſhould embrace, and diſcourſing very rammarly with them. He had a great 1637.
ſence of the miſeries of the Poor, and took a particular care for their ſubſiſtence. Whence it came that it was ordinary with him, after his departure out of ſome Citie to return into it again *incognito*, to go to the Market, and to examine their weights, and the goodneſs of their Bread and other Proviſions, ſeverely puniſhing ſuch as he found guilty of any Circumvention. Being one day at *Ardebil*, he ordered to be put into a red hot Oven, a certain rich Baker, who refus'd to ſell Bread to the Poor, under pretence that he was oblig'd to keep it for *Abas*, and his Soldiers, who, as he ſaid, could never be ſatisfy'd; and he caus'd to be faſten'd, by the back, to the hooks on which the Mear had hung, a Butcher, whoſe weights had been found too light. He took a pleaſure in beſtowing, in Alms, the money he got from publick places, as being perſwaded they could not be acceptable to God, if that ſacrifice were made of that money which is taken from the people. He could not endure thoſe Judges who receiv'd money on either ſide, and ſeverely puniſh'd ſuch as were guilty of Concuſſions, and manifeſt injuſtice. For, coming to underſtand that a *Kaſi*, or Judge of *Iſpahan*, after he had taken Preſents from both ſides, to wit, ſome 70. l. *ſterl.* from each, would have perſwaded them to come to accommodation, he ordered him to be ſet on an Aſs, with his face towards the tayl, which ſerv'd him for a Bridle, and upon his Judge's Robe caus'd to be put the Entrails of a Sheep newly kill'd, cut in ſeveral places, and in that poſture he made him take ſeveral turns about the *Maydan*; having it cry'd before him, that this ſhould be the puniſhment of a corrupt Judge.

While *Temir-beg*, and *Juſuf Aga*, expos'd, at *Ferabath*, the Carkaſe of *Schach-Abas*, as we ſaid before *Seinel-Chan* made all the haſte he could to *Iſpahan*, whither he brought the news of the King's death to the *Daruga*, *Chofrou Myrſa*, and having conſulted with him about the means they ſhould uſe to advance *Sain Myrſa* to the Throne, they went together to the Appartment of the Princeſs, his Mother, which is called *Taberick-kale*, and intreated her to put the young Prince into their hands. The Mother, who ſtill had before her eyes the violent death of her Husband, believing it was ſome fiction, and that they had order from *Schach-Abas* to Murther the Prince, lock'd her ſelf up in her Chamber, and made all paſſages ſo faſt, that theſe two Lords being out of all hopes to perſwade her, and being afraid to let ſlip the opportunity of executing the deceas'd Kings laſt Will, after they had lain three dayes at the Princeſſe's Chamber door, ſent her word, that if ſhe would not open, they ſhould be forc'd to break it. Upon this meſſage ſhe at laſt opened the door, and preſented to them the Prince her Son; but, conceiving it was in order to his preſent execution, with theſe words; *Go child to the ſame place where thy Father is, here are the murtherers ready to diſpatch thee.* But when ſhe ſaw thoſe Lords proſtrate themſelves, and kiſſing the Prince's feet, her fright was turn'd into perfect joy. The Lords conducted the Prince to the Palace-Royal, where they ſet him in the *Divan-Chane*, upon a Table of ſtone, on which were as many Carpets, (which they call *Kalitſe Ahdalet*, or Carpets of Juſtice) as there had been Kings of *Perſia* of his Family, (in as much as every King, at his firſt coming to the Crown, cauſes one to be made for him) and having ſent for all the *Chans* and Lords who were about *Iſpahan*, they Crown'd him, kiſs'd his feet, and wiſhing him a long and happy Reign, ſetled him in the Throne of his Anceſtors.

Schach-Sefi ſucceeds his Grand-father.

Immediately after the Ceremonies of his Coronation, he took the name of *Sefi*, according to the deſire of *Schach-Abas*, and beſtow'd on the *Chofrou Myrſa* the Dignity of *Chan*, with the name of *Ruſtam*, as deſirous, by that means, to revive, in his perſon, the memory of the great *Heroe*, ſo highly Celebrated in their Hiſtories and Romances.

It is reported that *Schach-Sefi* came into the World with his hands all bloody, and that *Schach-Abas*, his Grand-Father, hearing of it, ſaid, that that Prince ſhould often bath his hands in blood. Accordingly, till the time of our Embaſſy, his reign had been ſo cruel and bloody, that *Perſia* had not, for many ages before, ſeen ſo many executions. For immediately upon his coming to the Crown, he follow'd the counſel of the Chancellor, Predeceſſor to him whom we knew, and made away *Ruſtan-Chan*, whom he had made Generaliſſimo of the Armies of *Perſia*, and Governour of *Tiflis*, and ſeveral other Lords, and caus'd to be cut in pieces, or kill'd with his own hands, all his own relations, and what other perſons ſoever he was any way diſtruſtfull of, by that means ſo accuſtoming himſelf to blood, that, when he was incens'd, he ſpar'd none, and kill'd or order'd to be kill'd, upon trivial occaſions, ſuch as he was any way diſpleas'd with. I ſhall here produce a few examples thereof, that the Reader may, by them, as a Pattern, judge of the reſt of his life.

The beginning of his reign cruel.

He began his cruelties, by an onely Brother, though born of a Concubine, whoſe eyes he caus'd to be put out. *Chodabende*, and *Imanculi Myrſa* his Uncles, younger brethren to *Sefi Myrſa*, whom *Schach-Abas*, their Father, had confin'd in the Caſtle of *Alamuth*, thirty Leagues from *Caſwin*, after he had put out their eyes as we ſaid before, were caſt down headlong from a high Rock, for this reaſon, as *Sefi* ſaid, that, having loſt the benefit of their ſight, they were uſeleſs in the World. Afterwards he diſpatch'd *Iſa-Chan*, his Uncle, after he had cut off the heads of his three Sons, upon the following occaſion.

1637. *Iſa-Chan* was ſo much in favour with *Schach-Abas*, that the King, willing to make it appear what extraordinary reſpect he had for him, beſtow'd on him his Daughter, by whom he had the three Sons, whom *Sefi* put to death. She was a very handſom Woman, and of a pleaſant converſation, inſomuch that *Schach-Sefi*, her Nephew, was extremely taken with her company. This Princeſs, being one day with the king, took the freedom to jeaſt with him, and to tell him, ſhe much wondred, that he, who was ſo young and vigorous, and had ſo many great beauties to command, could get no Children, whereas ſhe had had three by her Husband. The king made anſwer, that he was young, and having, as he hoped, many years to reign, there would be time enough to get Heirs to inherit the Crown after him. But the Princeſs deſirous to keep on the jeaſt, reply'd, that, ground not well cultivated would hardly bring forth any thing, imprudently adding, You ſpeak very well, my Liege, but I fear me, that after your death the *Perſians* will be glad to pitch upon one of my Sons to ſucceed you. The king was extremely troubled at the boldneſs and bitterneſs of the jeaſt, but made a ſhift to diſſemble it, and to get out of the Room, without the Princeſſe's perceiving that he was incens'd againſt her.

Kills another Uncle and his three Sons.

The next day, the King commanded the three Sons of *Iſa-Chan* to be brought to him; the eldeſt was 22. years of age, the ſecond 15. and the third 9. and having convey'd them into a a Garden, he caus'd their heads to be cut off, and at Dinner time having diſpos'd the three heads into one of thoſe cover'd Pots, in which the *Perſians* bring the Rice and Meat to be ſet on the Table, and ſending for the Mother, he order'd them to be taken out one after another, by the Noſe, and ſaid to the Princeſs; *See the children of a Woman who bragg'd ſo much of her fertility; go, thou art young enough to bear more of them.* The Princeſs was ſo aſtoniſh'd at that horrid Spectacle, that ſhe was not able to ſpeak a word; but perceiving in the Kings eyes and countenance the eruptions of his indignation, which ſhe imagin'd might break forth to her unavoidable death, ſhe caſt her ſelf at his feet, kiſs'd them, and ſaid to him, *All is well, all is well; God grant the King a long and happy life.* This forc'd complyance ſav'd her life. But as ſoon as ſhe had left the Room, *Sefi* ſent for *Iſa-Chan*, and pointing with his finger to the heads of his Children, ask'd him what he thought of that pleaſant Spectacle. *Iſa-Chan*, who knew what humour the Prince was of, and whom he had to do withall, ſmother'd the tenderneſs of a paternal affection, and made anſwer, that he was ſo far from being diſpleas'd thereat, that if the King had commanded him, to bring the heads of his Sons, he would have been the Executioner himſelf, and that he would have no Children, if the Kings pleaſure were it ſhould be otherwiſe. This baſe and bruitiſh flattery ſav'd *Iſa-Chan*'s life at that time; but the King reflecting, that he could not be faithfull to him, at leſt that it was impoſſible he ſhould love him, after he had been ſo treated by him, gave order his head ſhould be alſo cut off.

Kills Seinel-Chan with his own hands.

We ſaid before, that *Iſa-Chan* was one of thoſe who had moſt contributed to the advancement of *Schach-Sefi* to the Throne of his Predeceſſors. *Seinel-Chan* had alſo done much in that buſineſs; whence it came he was not to expect any better treatment than the other, from him whom he had rais'd to a condition to commit ſo many inhumane actions. *Schach-Sefi*, having forc'd the *Turks*, to raiſe the ſiege they had lay'd before *Bagdat* in the year 1632. encamp'd with his Army near *Hemedan*, at which place, ſeveral Lords, reflecting on the executions wherewith the King had ſignaliz'd the beginning of his reign, ſaid among themſelves, that ſince in his tender age, he could commit ſo many cruelties, it was likely he would in time, extirpate all the Grandees of *Perſia*. *Seinel-Chan*, who was preſent at this diſcourſe, went immediately to the King, and gave him an account of what had paſt in that conference, adviſing him to rid himſelf of thoſe who had moſt credit among them, and ſo ſecure his own life. The King made him anſwer; *Thy advice*, Seinel-Chan, *is ſo good, that I will immediately follow it; and I will begin with thee; for thou art the perſon of greateſt age and moſt authority among them, and muſt needs be of the conſpiracy. And I ſhall in that follow the example of the King, my Grand-Father, whoſe reign was neither ſafe nor happy, till he had executed him, who had the ſame charge of* Kurtzibachi, *which thou now enjoyeſt.* *Seinel-Chan* reply'd, that that would be no hard matter for him to do; that, for his part, he was arriv'd to the greateſt age man could attain, and that it would not trouble him much, his life ſhould be ſhortned ſome few dayes: but that his Majeſty would haply one day be troubled, that he had put to death one of his moſt faithfull ſervants, and that he ſhould rather conſider the importance of the diſcovery he had made to him, and the earneſtneſs he had therein expreſs'd to ſerve him. This anſwer delay'd the execution of what the king had reſolv'd to do; ſo that he thereupon went to his Mother, who had follow'd him in his expedition, with the other Ladies of the *Seraglio*, according to the antient cuſtom of *Perſia*, to acquaint her with what he had heard. The next morning the Princeſs ſent for *Seinel-Chan* to her Tent door, to hear from him all the circumſtances of that Conſpiracy, but as ſoon as the king heard that *Seinel-Chan* had ſpoken to his Mother, he was ſo incens'd thereat, that he went and kill'd him with his own hands, in the preſence of the Princeſs.

This certainly was one of the greateſt perſons in the kingdom, who ought his fortune to his conduct, and the truſt wherewith he had ſerv'd *Schach-Abas* in ſeveral affairs of great importance; whereof we ſhall here allege only one example. *Schach-*

Schach-Abas being to send a solemn Embassy to *Lahor*, to the Great *Mogul*, about the differences there were between them for the Frontiers of *Candahar*, would needs employ in it *Seinel Chan*, as being the person, whom, of all his Ministers, he repos'd greatest confidence in; and as he took leave of him in order to his departure, he said to him: *For this employment, I have made choice of thee*, Seinel, *out of the assurance I have of thy fidelity, whereof I expect the utmost demonstration in this Embassy. For as this shirt sticks close to my back, so would I have thee to be so tenderly concern'd in my interests, that thou do nothing in this charge that may be prejudicial either to my reputation or my service.* *Seinel-Chan* promis'd him his utmost care, and was as good as his word. For being come to the *Moguls* Court, he refus'd doing him reverence, according to the custom of the Countrey, by putting both hands first to the ground, and afterwards upon his head, but he entred the Room with a grave and setled gate, and only saluted the king with his *Salomalek*. The *Indian* Prince was so troubled at it, that he sent to intreat him to demean himself otherwise, and to render him the same respects, as the Ambassadors of *Persia* were wont to approach him withall. Nay, he would have prevail'd with him to do it, by the proffers he caus'd to be made him of several considerable Presents; but perceiving, that nothing would work with him, he bethought him, to make, opposite to his Throne, a Door so low, that *Seinel-Chan* could not come in at without stooping, and consequently not avoid doing him reverence. But *Seinel-Chan* found means to elude that Artifice, and entred the king's Chamber backwards, so that the first part that came within the Door was his britch. This irreverence put the *Mogul* out of all patience; so that, he not only forbore making him those Presents, which are ordinarily made Ambassadors, and in those parts are of no small value, but also forbad his people to supply him with the ordinary Provisions; which reduc'd him to such extremities, that he was forc'd to sell his Plate, and what ever there was of Gold or Silver about the Saddles and Trappings of his Horses, to subsist. The *Mogul* made his complaints to *Schach-Abas*, of this demeanour of *Seinel-Chan*, and the king pretended to be troubled at the little respect he had rendred the *Mogul*; but he made it appear, on the contrary, that he was well satisfy'd with his behaviour towards that *Industhan* Prince. For not long after he honour'd him with the Title of *Chan*, and bestow'd on him the Government of *Hemedan*, *Terkisin*, *Kulpejan*, &c. to be enjoy'd by him during his life, but upon condition, he should be alwayes about the Court, as having one of the chiefest places in the Councel. 1637.

Seinel-Chan being thus kill'd, the Princess, *Schach-Sefi*'s Mother; who conceiv'd a horrour thereat, represented to him how much he was to blame, for treating in that manner one of his Grand-Father's most antient servants, one that had done himself so great services at his coming to the Crown; and the king seem'd to be somewhat troubled thereat. But he reflected not much on those Lectures, since that not many dayes after, the Chancellor, the Lord high Steward, nay, his own Mother found not better treatment from him; as may be seen in the following relation.

Puts to death his Chancellor and others.

The king being, during the foresaid expedition, encamped in the Mountain of *Sehend*, within a League of *Tauris*, and the Lord High Steward, named *Ugurlu-Chan*, being one day to command the Guard about the king, at which the *Chans* are oblig'd to be personally present, when the king is in the field, it was his misfortune to go and Sup with *Tabub-Chan*, Chancellor of the kingdom, who had also invited the *Dawatter*, that is, the Secretary of the Closet, whose name was *Hassin beg*, and a certain Poet. Supper being near ended, the *Kischitzi-baschi*, that is, the Captain of the Guard, named *Mortusaculi-Chan*, came to give *Ugurlu-Chan* notice, that it was time to come to the king's Tent. But the Chancellor, unwilling to dismis his Guests, sent away the *Kischitzi-baschi*, and told him that there was no great necessity of *Ugurlu-Chan*'s being there in person, and that the king, being but a Child, would take no notice of *Ugurlu*'s absence, and so he might set the Guard well enough without him.

The Captain reiterated his instances for his coming away, and press'd the high Steward to come and do his duty, and told him, that otherwise he should be oblig'd to make his complaints thereof to the king. The Chancellor, importun'd with this discourse, commanded his people to thrust *Mortusaculi-Chan* out of Doors; which they did, but so roughly, that he was hurt in the face. He went, all bloody as he was, to the king, and gave him an account of what had pass'd at the Chancellor's. The king commanded him to say nothing of it: but the next day, the Chancellor being at Dinner with the king, and sitting in his ordinary place, the king having commanded him to come near, said to him; What does he deserve, who, eating the bread, and living by the pure favour of his Master, is so far from paying the respect due to him, that he slights him? The Chancellor made him answer, he deserves death. Whereto the king reply'd, Thou hast pronounced thy own sentence; Thou art the person, who living only by my favour, and eating at my Table, hast had the insolence to treat me as a Child, in the discourse that pass'd yesterday, between thee and *Mortusaculi-Chan*. The Chancellor would have justify'd himself; but the king not giving him the time to do it, run him into the belly with his Cymitar. The Chancellor, as he fell down, only cry'd out, *Ha Padschach-Aimahn*, and the king commanded his *Rika*, who are a part of his Guard who carry Pole-Axes, and many

1637. times do the work of Executioners, to cut his head into little bits. There happened to be one of the Pages, who conceiving a horror at that cruelty, turn'd aſide, and would not look on it, which the king obſerving, ſaid to him; ſince thy ſight is ſo tender, it will be of no great uſe to thee, and commanded his eyes to be immediately put out.

The Execution of *Tabub-Chan* was ſoon follow'd by that of *Ugurlu-Chan*, who receiv'd his by the king's command, from the hands of *Aliculi-Chan*, *Divanbeg*, or Preſident of the Counſel, who was ſent to bring him his head. *Ugurlu* was coming out of the Bath, and going to put on his Cloaths when *Aliculi-Chan* came to him. *Ugurlu* ſeeing him coming in, attended by two ſervants, was a little ſtartled at it, though they were very good friends, and ſaid to him, Wo is me! dear friend, I fear thou bringſt me no good news. *Aliculi-Chan* made anſwer, Thou art in the right, my dear Brother, the king hath commanded me to bring him thy head, the only way is to ſubmit; whereupon he cloſ'd with him, cut off his head, made a hole in one of the cheeks, thruſt his finger through it, and ſo carry'd it to the king, who looking on it, touch'd it with a little Wand, and ſaid; *It muſt be confeſs'd thou wert a ſtout man, it troubles me to ſee thee in that condition, but it was thine own fault; 'tis pitty, were it only for that goodly beard of thine.* This he ſaid, by reaſon his Muſtachoes were ſo long, that, coming about his neck, they met again at his mouth, which is accounted a great Ornament in *Perſia*.

Mortuſaculi had his charge conferr'd on him. *Haſſan-beg*, who had alſo been at the Chancellor's Feaſt, receiv'd the ſame treatment; and the Poet, who was afterwards falſly accus'd of having put this Execution in Verſe, and ſung them in the *Maidan*, was conducted to that place, where they cut off his Noſe, Ears, Tongue, Feet, and Hands, whereof he died ſome few dayes after.

Not long after this Execution, the king ſent for the Sons of theſe Lords, and ſaid to them; You ſee, I have deſtroy'd your Fathers, what ſay you of it? *Ugurlu-Chan*'s Son ſaid very reſolutely, what do's a Father ſignifie to me? I have no other than the king. This unnatural anſwer reſtor'd him to the Eſtate of the deceas'd, which otherwiſe would have been Confiſcated to the king: but the Chancellor's Son was reduc'd to great miſery, and had not any thing allow'd him of all his Father had enjoy'd, for his expreſſing a greater Reſentment of his death, than Complyance for the king.

The king, being come to *Caſwin*, iſſued out his commands, that all the Lords and Governours of Provinces ſhould come to Court. They all obey'd this order, ſave only *Alymerdan-Chan*, Governour of *Candahar*, and *Daub-Chan*, Governour of *Kentze*, who thought it enough to aſſure the king of their fidelity, by ſending him, each of them, one of their Wives, and one of their Children, as Hoſtages; but the king thought not that ſubmiſſion ſufficient; whereupon *Alymerdan-Chan* abſolutely revolted, and put his perſon and the Fortreſs of *Candahar* under the Protection of the king of the *Indies*. *Daub-Chan*, underſtanding by the *Achta*, or Groom of the king's Chamber, who had been ſent to him, how dangerous it were for him to come to Court, took the advice of his friends, and reſolv'd to retire into *Turkey*. To effect his deſign, he thought good to try how his ſervants ſtood affected towards him, and having found there were fifteen among them who were unwilling to follow him, he caus'd them to be cut to pieces in his preſence, writ a very ſharp Letter to the king, and carried away all his Wealth along with him, to *Tamaras-Chan*, a Prince of *Georgia*, his Brother-in-law, and went thence into *Turkey*, where he ſtill liv'd at the time of our Embaſſy, and was much reſpected by *Sulthan Ibrahim*, Emperour of *Conſtantinople*. The king, to be reveng'd of both, ſent their Wives to the houſes of publick proſtitution, and expos'd the Son of *Daud-Chad* to the brutality of the Grooms about the Court, and the common Executioners of the City; but *Alymerdan*'s Son, by reaſon of his beauty, was reſerv'd for the king's own uſe.

Sometime afterwards, the king ſent orders to *Imanculi-Chan*, Governour of *Schiras*, Brother to *Daud-Chan*, to come to Court. He had notice ſent him of the intention the king had to put him to death: but he made anſwer, that he could not be perſwaded they would treat him ſo ill, after he had done ſuch conſiderable ſervices to the Crown: but however it might happen, he would rather loſe his life, than be out of favour with his Prince, and become a Criminal by his diſobedience.

According to this imprudent reſolution, he came to *Caſwin*, where the Court then was; but he was no ſooner come, ere the king ordered his head to be taken off. *Schach-Sefi* intended to ſave the lives of *Imanculi*'s Children, and, no doubt had done it, had it not been for the ill Office which was rendred them by a wicked Paraſite, who, ſeeing the eldeſt Son of them at the king's feet, aged about 18. years, his friends it ſeems having advis'd him to make that ſubmiſſion, told his Majeſty, that he was not the Son of *Imanculi*, but of *Schach-Abas*, who had beſtow'd one of his Concucines in marriage on the Father, being before hand with Child by him.

That word occaſion'd the death of that young Lord, and fourteen of his Brethren, who being conducted to the *Maidan*, were all beheaded near their Father's body. The Mother made a

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ſhift to get away, with the ſixteenth, into *Arabia*, to her own Father's, who was a Prince of thoſe parts, and as we were told. he was living at that time, and had his Habitation at *Helbiſe*, three dayes journey from *Beſre*, or *Balſara*. 1637.

The bodies of theſe executed perſons remain'd three dayes in the *Maidan* in the open air, till that the King, fearing the lamentations, which the Mother of *Imanculi* made there day and night, would have rais'd the people into an inſurrection, commanded them to be taken away.

The *Perſians* do ſtill bemoan the death of this *Imanculi-Chan*, out of a remembrance of his liberality. He was the Son of *Alla-Werdi-Chan*, who, upon his own charge, built the Bridge of *Iſpahan*, and who was as much look'd on as any Lord in *Perſia*, for the noble actions he had done in the Wars.

The King's cruelty was as great towards the Ladies, as his inhumanity towards the men. For, about that time he kill'd one with his own hands, and committed ſeveral other murthers. When he intended any Execution, he was ordinarily clad in Skarlet, or ſome red ſtuff, ſo that all trembled when he put on any thing of that colour. Theſe unheard of cruelties frightned all that came neer him, and put ſome upon a reſolution to ſhorten his dayes by poyſon: but that which they gave him prov'd not ſtrong enough, ſo that he eſcap'd the effects of it with a ſickneſs of two moneths. As ſoon as he was recover'd, he caus'd and exact enquiry to be made, whereby it was diſcover'd, by means of a Woman belonging to the Seraglio, who had been ill-treated by her Miſtreſs, that the poyſon had been prepar'd in the appartment of the Women, and that his Aunt, *Iſa-Chan*'s Wife, had caus'd it to be given him. He reveng'd himſelf ſufficiently the night following: for the Seraglio was full of dreadfull cries and lamentations, and it was found the next day, that he had caus'd a great Pit to be made in the Garden, wherein he had buried forty Women alive, whereof ſome were Ladies of the Seraglio, others their ſervants, and ſuch as attended on them. It was alſo much about the ſame time, that a rumour was ſpread abroad, that his Mother dy'd of the Plague; but it is more likely ſhe accompany'd the forty Ladies, who had been buried alive, as we ſaid before.

He expreſs'd, when occaſion requir'd, courage enough, and it is certain the beginning of his reign was remarkable for the great Victories he gain'd over his Enemies. He defeated *Karib-Schach* in the Province of *Kilan*. He forc'd the *Turks* to raiſe the ſiege of *Bagdat*, and took by aſſault the Fortreſs of *Erüan*; though, to ſpeak impartially, the glory of theſe good ſucceſſes be due to the Valour and Conduct of his Generals, and to fortune rather than his prudence: for he diſcover'd not much in any of his actions, which were for the moſt part temerarious, and without any dependence one of another. To prove this, we need onely inſtance the reduction of *Eruan*. *He expreſs'd more temerity than courage in his actions.*

The King, finding that, after a ſiege of four moneths, his affairs were little advanc'd, fell into that impatience and deſpair, that he would go in perſon upon the aſſault of the place, ſaying, he would rather dye in the in the attempt, than with infamy riſe from a place, which the *Turks* had heretofore taken in three dayes. He had already put on the Cloaths of one of his Foot-men, that he might not be diſtinguiſh'd from others, and had given order for the ſtorming of the Place, when the Lords, who durſt not contradict him, intreated the Princeſs, his Mother, to repreſent to him, how impoſſible it was to take a place before there was a breach made, and that the danger whereto he would expoſe himſelf, would have no other effect, than his own death and ignominy, with the deſtruction of the whole Army. All the anſwer ſhe could get to theſe repreſentations, was, a good box o'th'ear, the King being ſtill bent upon his former reſolution of aſſaulting the Place, and to that purpoſe he had taken a Pole-Ax in his hand to lead them on. But the principal Lords caſt themſelves at his feet, and intreated him to grant them but one day more, wherein they promis'd to do all that lay in the power of men againſt the Place. They obtain'd their deſire, order'd the Whole Army to fall on, even to the boys, and carried the Place by ſtorm; but they loſt in the action above fifty thouſand men.

The good ſucceſs, which till that time had attended his deſigns, ſoon chang'd, after the executions of ſo many great perſons as he had put to death: and of this there was a remarkable inſtance in the loſs of *Bagdat*, which the *Perſians* were not able to maint ain againſt the *Turks*, who recover'd it out of their hands, twenty ſix years after they had taken it from them.

The onely good action he did during his whole reign, is, that he ſent back to their ſeveral Habitations thoſe poor people whom *Schach-Abas* had taken out of *Eruan*, *Nachtzuan*, *Chaletz*, and *Georgia*, to the number of ſeven thouſand, and had brought to *Ferabath*, where they were employ'd in great buildings, and liv'd in a miſerable ſlavery: yet were there not above three hundred that made their advantage of this good deed of his, all the reſt having periſh'd through miſery, and been ſtarv'd.

He took great pleaſure in drinking, and had a great kindneſs for ſuch as bore him Company in that exerciſe: but his ordinary divertiſements were Women and Hunting, not much minding matters of Government, or the adminiſtration of Juſtice to his Subjects. *Subject to wine.*

He had three lawfull Wives, one whereof was the Daughter of a Colonel; whoſe employment it had ſometime been to drive the Mules which brought water to the King's Kitchin, and *His Wives,*

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1637. came to be known to *Schach-Abas*, by a service he did him one day while he was Hunting, in helping him to some fair water, the weather being extremely hot, when no other could meet with any. This service was requited by the Present the King made him of the Village of *Bilou*, neer *Nachtzuan*, where this Mule-driver had been born. This was the first step of his advancement, and what made him noted at Court, where he found means to get an Office, which is no hard matter in *Persia* for such as have money, and having some time after taken an employment in the Wars, he prov'd so fortunate therein, that he got the command of a Regiment of a thousand men. *Schach-Abas* thought his Daughter so handsom, that he made a Present of her to his Daughter-law, *Sefi-Myrsa*'s Widdow, and appointed her to be brought up in order to a Marriage between her and his Son *Sain-Myrsa*, since named *Schach-Sefi*, who, at his coming to the Crown, accordingly Married her.

The second Wife was a Christian, the Daughter of *Tameras-Chan*, a Prince of *Georgia*; and this Marriage confirm'd the Peace which *Schach-Abas* made with that Prince.

The third was a *Tartar* of *Circassia*, the Daughter of *Bika*, and Sister to Prince *Mussal*, of whom we have often spoken heretofore. The Mother brought her as far as the River *Bustrou*, at the time of our Travels, and writ to *Schach-Sefi*, that she sent him her Daughter, not as a Concubine, or Slave, but as his lawfull Wife; That is was her hope he would look on her as such, and that she should find from him a kindness and affection equal to that she her self had expres's'd towards the Princess, his Mother, who, though she had been her Slave and had often undres's'd her even to her Stockins, had been treated, and look'd on by her, as if she had been her own Daughter; That, on the contrary, rather than her Daughter should be ill treated, she wish'd her drown'd, with all the misfortune that might happen to her, in the River *Bustrou*.

His Concubines. Besides these lawfull Wives, he had above three hundred Concubines; for, all the handsomest Maids all over *Persia* were brought to him. The greatest Lords themselves Present him with the Maids they either have brought up in their own houses, or are found among their relations. Of this we had an instance in our time in the *Calenter* of *Scamachie*, who having had some ill Offices done him at the Court, recover'd rhe King's favour, by presenting him with his own Neece, one of the greatest beauties of the Countrey, and a sum of money sent to the Chancellor.

The *Armenians*, to prevent the searches which are often made amongst them for Maids of twelve years of age, dispose of them in Marriage, if they are handsom, before they come to that age. By reason of this great number of Concubines, it happens, that the King lies with some of them but once, and then bestows them on those Lords of the Court who are most in his favour.

His death. *Schach-Sefi* dy'd in the year M D C X L I I. in the twelfth year of his reign, or, to speak more truely, his Tyranny. 'Tis conceiv'd his life was shortned by poyson, as the onely remedy they could make use of against his cruelties, which they must needs be afraid of, who had so many examples thereof perpetually before their eyes, wherein they found that neither Age nor Sex could secure any person from his inhumanities. As to his person, there was nothing of this cruelty to be read in his countenance, but on the contrary it was amiab'e, of a mild aspect, and his complexion so good as gave but little grounds to infer he had so barbarous a heart. He was of a mean stature, and very well shap'd as to his person, and at the time of our Embassy, he had but one Son, named *Abas*, who succeeded him in *May* the same year 1642. being then but 13. years of age: and he it is who now reigns.

Schach-Abas succeeds his Father.

The Kings of *Persia* have the Provinces and Cities of their Kingdom Govern'd by *Chans*, *Sulthans*, *Calenters*, *Darugas*, *Visirs*, and *Kauchas*, dignities and employments which are conferr'd there according to valour and virtue; and not in consideration of birth and extraction. Thence it comes that there are so many persons of such resolute courage, that they cheerfully hazard their lives, as knowing it is the onely way to get into the greatest charges of the Kingdom, which are neither hereditary nor venal in *Persia*. 'Tis true, the Children of these Lords are look'd upon, with some respect to their Fathers, and that they enjoy their Estates, but they are never advanc'd to their dignities, but purely upon the account of worth and services, from which they are inseparable. The King never makes any *Chan*, but with the title, he gives him where withall to maintain it, and that during his life, which many of them lose meerly that they might be depriv'd of their quality.

Dignities not Hereditary.

Every Province hath its *Chan*, and its *Calenter*, who have their several Habitations in the chief City. The *Chan* is as it were the Governor of the Province, and is entrusted with the administration of Justice, with the power of putting his Judgements in Execution, notwithstanding any Appeal. The *Calenter* hath the over-sight of the King's Demesn, and the Revenues of the Province, which he receives, and gives an account thereof to the Council, or, by order from the King, to the *Chan*. The *Daruga* is, in a Citie, and the *Kaucha*, in a Village, what the *Chan* is in respect of the Province. The *Daruga* do's also Execute the Function of the *Calenter* in his Jurisdiction, but with a dependence on the Governour of the Province. The King employes the *Chans* and *Sulthans* in the Embassies he sends to forein Princes; but

but they are not so chargeable to him as some conceive, in regard he finds but one half of the Presents which the Ambassador carries along with him, the Province, whereof he is Governour, being oblig'd to defray all the rest of the Charge. 1637.

Most of the *Chans* are oblig'd to maintain a certain number of Soldiers, who are to be ready to serve in the Armies, when any occasion requires: and in this is all the Revenue of the Province spent, not including what is rais'd by way of Imposition, which is carried into the Exchecquer. Besides that, they also send the King certain New-years-Gifts, which are very considerable. The Provinces and Cities, which have no *Chans*, and are Governed by a *Daruga*, as part of *Georgia*, the Cities of *Caswin*, *Ispahan*, *Kascham*, *Theheram*, *Hemedan*, *Mesched*, *Kirman*, *Ormus*, &c. maintain no Soldiers, but pay Taxes to the King. The order they observe, especially in the Frontier-Provinces, for the subsistence of so great a number of Soldiers, is such, that it is no hard matter to raise a powerfull Army in a short time. And indeed this the *Schach* makes very much his advantage of against the Potent Enemies he hath about him, and by whom he is in a manner encompass'd of all sides, as the *Usbeques Tartars*, the *Turks* and *Indians*. He is never at quiet with the former, concerning the Frontiers of *Chorasan*; with the *Mogul*, about those of *Candahar*, and with the *Turk*, about the Provinces of *Bagdat* and *Eruan*, for which they are in perpetual War, whence it comes that they often change Masters.

Their Armies consist onely of Horse; for the Infantery, which is, upon occasion, to serve on foot, is, in its march, mounted as our Dragoons. The ordinary Arms of the Foot are Musquets; but the Horse are Arm'd onely with Darts and Javelins. They have us'd Muskets and great Guns but since the reign of *Schach-Abas*, nor do they use the latter so much in the assault as defence of places; in as much as their Armies making ordinarily great dayes marches, and with little or no Carriages, it would be troublesom to them to take great Guns along with them, as such as would much retard their Expeditions. No slight or stratagem in War but they are apt enough to make their advantage of. At the siege of *Iruan*, in the year 1633. they had the invention of casting into the place, with their Arrows, small Glasses full of poyson, which so infected the air, that the Garrison was extremely incommodated thereby, and made incapable of handling their Arms, for the defence of the place. They call the General of the Army *Serdar*, a Colonel of ten or twelve thousand Horse *Kurtzibaschi*, him, who commands a thousand men, *Minbaschi*, a Captain of a hundred men, *Jusbaschi*, and a Leader up of ten men, *Ohnbaschi*.

The Persian Army consists onely of Horse.

Their Military Officers.

At the time of our being there, all the Military Commanders were persons of very mean extraction.

Areb, *Schan* of *Schiruan* was the son of a poor Countrey-man of *Serab*, and his first employment had been in the Train of Artillery, wherein he made such Discoveriers of his Conduct and Courage, that *Schach-Abas* bestow'd on him that Government, which is one of the most considerable in the Kingdom.

Aga-Chan was the Son of a Shepheard neer *Merrage*. This man ordered his business so well, at the siege of *Wan*, that his services were recompens'd with the Government of his Countrey.

Kartzschucai-Chan, was the Son of a *Christian*, of *Armenia*, and had been sold to *Schach-Abas*, who made him a *Chan*, and afterwards General of his Army. He acquir'd so great reputation in that employment, that the *Schach* himself would needs be his Lacquey, as we said elsewhere.

Salma-Chan, a *Kurde* by birth, had some time been an ordinary Groom.

Emir-Kune-Chan was the Son of one of that kind of Shepheards, who live in Tents or Huts upon the Mountains, & grew so famous at the siege of *Eruan*, that the King entrusted him with the Government of the whole Province. What a particular kindness *Schach-Abas* had for this person, may be guess'd by the ensuing story.

The *Turks*, who lay before the Citie of *Eruan*, having rais'd the siege, *Schach-Abas* got into the place, where he spent the best part of the night in drinking with *Emir-Kune*, wo grew so familiar with him, that taking the King by the Mustachoes, he kiss'd his very mouth, yet did not the King take it any way unkindly. *Emir-Kune* who remembred not what he had done in his Wine, was much astonish'd when some gave him an accompt of what had pass'd the next day, and so frightned thereat, that hanging his Cytimar about his Neck, he went in that posture to the King's Chamber door, according to the custom observ'd by such as know they have deserv'd death, and by that submission beg their Pardon. The King sent him word he might come in, whereto the other having made answer that he was not worthy to set his foot within the King's Chamber, having abus'd his goodness as he had, *Schach-Abas* comes out of the Room, and took off the Cymitar from about his Neck, and deliver'd it to him, as an assurance of his favour. But he strictly forbad him the drinking of any Wine ever after, in as much, as being got drunk, he knew not what he did. Some time after *Emir-Kune-Chan* having in a fight, been wounded in the Arm, and the Physicians having given it as their opinion, that

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1637. that abstinence would be prejudicial to his health, the King did not only take off the prohibition he had made him, but sent him a certain number of Mules loaden with the best Wine in the Countrey.

The Persians hate Cowards. The *Persians* hate and contemn Cowards, and the Officers who neglect their duty in the Wars are most severely punish'd. An instance hereof was seen in *Aliculi-Chan*, Governour of *Shoroſan*, who having let slip the opportunity of engaging *Tameras*, Prince of *Georgia*, though he might have fought him with advantage, *Schach-Abas* caus'd him to be dress'd in Woman's Cloaths, and so sent him to the Army, where he was walk'd up and down all day among the Soldiers. The allowance of a Horse-man is three hundred Crowns *per ann.* towards the keeping of himself and his Horse; and that of a Muskettier two hundred. They have the reputation not to be over-scrupulous in the keeping of their word, as was seen in the Capitulation they granted the Garrison of *Iruan*, which was very ill observ'd.

The Schach's Revenue. Those who speak of the Wealth of the King of *Persia*, think they speak of a vast and incredible sum, when they assign him a yearly Revenue of eight Millions of Gold, and imagine they raise the Reader into admiration, when they affirm that the Province of *Candahar* alone brings in ye arly near a Million of Gold; that the Cities of *Bagdat* and *Iruan*, with the Country thereabouts, pay in a manner as much, and that it hath been found by the Register's Office of the Chancery, that the King gets out of the Suburbs of *Ispahan*, and the Villages within the Baylywick thereof, near forty thousand Crowns. But those who know, that the Province of *Normandy* it self payes yearly such a sum as amounts to almost as much as all the King of *Persia*'s Revenue, will grant there is no hyperbole in what we have affirm'd. This Revenue was very much diminish'd in the time of King *Tamas*, when the *Turks* and other neighbouring Princes over-run *Persia*, so as that they were possess'd of several Provinces belonging to that Crown. Besides, there is hardly any Bridge or Passage, not only upon the Frontiers, but also all over the Kingdom, nay, in all Cities almost, but there is somewhat to be paid, without any distinction of persons, Foreiners or Natives. All Merchandises pay, and the King takes, upon every Bail of Silk, ten Crowns. There is no Horse sold, but pays xv. *d.* to the King; an Ox as much, and an Ass one half, and a Sheep, which are as thick as Ants all over the Countrey, iij. *d.* a piece. The King lets out the *Caravanseras*, which are in Cities, and are appointed for Lodgings for Foreiners and VVare-houses for Merchants, especially at *Ispahan*, where there are twenty five of them, of which not any payes less then five thousand Crowns *per ann.*

He Farms out also the Fishing of the Rivers, the Baths, and Stoves, the places of publick Prostitution, and the Springs of *Nefte*. He sells also the water which comes into the Fountains, and raises only from the River of *Senderut*, at *Ispahan*, the yearly sum of sixteen thousand Crowns. All the *Armenian* Christians, whereof there is a very great number in *Persia*, pay yearly a Poll-money, of two Crowns for every head. Nay, what is more, there is not a person, those only excepted, who are maintain'd by, or have some relation to the King, but payes a Tax proportionably to what he gets, even to the very Midwife, I say nothing here of the Presents brought the king from all parts, and which fall by several Chanels into the Prince's Treasury. The great Lords, though they make good the king's Revenue, yet abate nought of their own advantages, and find wayes to fleece the Countrey, so as that it is not to be admir'd there is so little wealth to be found among the people. For there is nothing so true as what a certain Emperour sometime said, that it is impossible the spleen should be swollen in any body, and that the other Members of the same body should not be wasted and become Hectick.

'Twas also *Schach-Abas*, who ordered the melting down of seven thousand and two hundred Marks of Gold for the making of the Plate we have mentioned elsewhere, which his Successors still produce at the entertainments they make Foreiners, and consists for the most part in Dishes, Pots, Flaggons, and other Drinking-Cups.

Officers of the Court. What we said before of the Military Officers, to wit, that they were most of them but meanly clad, is as true in those Officers who belong to the Court. For there was hardly any one, who could make ostentation of but ordinary Parentage.

Chancellor. The *Eatemad Dowlet*, or Chancellor, who was the President of the king's Council, the Soul of affairs, the principal Minister of State, and as it were Viceroy of *Persia*, was the Son of one who got his livelyhood by writing at *Mesanderan*, as we have said elsewhere. These Scriveners, as I may call them, are employ'd only in the Coppying and Transcribing of Books, in regard they have not as yet, ia this Countrey, the use of Printing, as we have in *Europe*. He is called *Eahtemad Dowlet*, in regard he hath the oversight of the kings Revenues and Treasury. This was the most self-concern'd person of all that ever had the management of publick affairs, as a Minister of State. For there was no business done at Court, whereof he made not some advantage; and there was no charge or employment to be gotten, but the person petitioning for it must have made his agreement with the Chancellor; whose exactions were, in this particular, excessive, not only upon the accompt of the Presents, which, being made by him twice

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every year to the Court, rendred the king himself in a manner a complice of his concussions, but also upon this consideration, that being an Eunuch, all the Wealth he got was at his death to fall to the king. 1637.

The *Kurtzi-baschi*, who had the command of ten thousand Horse, whom *Schach-Ismael* appointed as a standing Army, to be constantly maintain'd, named *Tzani-Chan*, was a Peasant's Son of *Schamlu*, who, in the time of *Schach-Abas*, had been a Menial servant to a Lord of the Court. These Horse, in time of Peace, retire to their own Habitation, yet are paid as duely as if they were in actual service, and meet not again till there be an Army on foot, enjoying in the mean time divers Privileges and Exemptions, which the other later kings of *Persia* have granted them. Kurtzi-baschi.

The *Meheter*, that is the Lord Chamberlain, or chief Gentleman of the Chamber, named *Schaneser*, was a *Georgian* born, of Father and Mother *Christians*. He had been carried away in his infancy, and sold to the Court of *Persia*, where they had made him an Eunuch, so that he needed not be Circumcis'd to receive the Character of the *Persian* Religion. He had been a Page, attending in his Chamber, to *Schach-Abas*, and was much in favour with *Schach Sefi*, upon this account, that being alwayes near the king's person, in all both Publick and Private Assemblies, nay, even within the *Seraglio*, he had the king's Ear, and knew how to comply with his humour, and make his advantage of the opportunities he had to speak to him, by which means he obtain'd those favours of him, which another could not have ask'd. Meheter.

The *Wakenhuis*, that is, the Secretary of State and of the King's Revenue, who having forty Clarks under him, perpetually employ'd, issues out all the orders and dispatches which are sent into the Provinces, and takes an account of all that's receiv'd towards the charge of the King's house, was called *Myrsa Masum*. He was a Peasant's Son of the Village of *Dermen*, in the Mountain of *Elwend*, near *Caswin*, where there are, among others, two Villages, to wit, *Dermen* and *Saru*, whence come the best Pen-men of any in the Kingdom, in regard there's not an Inhabitant but puts his Children to writing as soon as they are able to hold a Pen, and keep them so constantly employ'd therein, that even in the fields, and as they keep their flocks, they pass away their time in that Exercise. *The Secretary of State.*

Aliculi-Chan, who had the charge of *Diwan-beki*, that is, President of the Councel for the administration of Justice, was the Son of a *Christian*, of *Georgia*. He had been taken during the War which *Schach-Abas* had in those parts, and sold at *Ispahan*, where he had serv'd as a Lacquey, which had also been the condition of his two Brothers, *Rustam-Chan*, Governour of *Tauris*, and *Isa-Chan*, *Jusbaschi*, who were made Eunuchs as he was himself. The functions of his charge consisted principally in presiding at the judgement of Criminal causes, joyntly with the *Seder* and the *Kasi*, and the other Ecclesiastical and Secular Judges, whom they call *Schehra*, and *Oef*, under the Portal of the King's Palace, at the place named *Diwan-Chane*; and to be personally present at the Executions of Malefactors. Diwan-beki.

The *Kularagasi*, that is, Captain of the *Kulam*, or Slaves, who are sold to the King, to serve in the Wars upon any order they receive to that purpose, was called *Siausbeki*, and had been one of *Schach-Abas*'s Footmen. Of these *Kulams* there are about eight thousand, and are permitted to live at their own Habitations, as the *Kurtzi* are, and have the same pay; but they enjoy not the same Privileges or Exemptions, having nothing of that kind which is not common to them with the king's other Subjects. Kularagasi

The *Eischikagasi-baschi*, or Lord high Steward, who hath the over-sight of forty Stewards that serve under him, called *Mortusaculi-Chan*, was the Son of a heard-man, or one of those people whom the *Persians* call *Turk*, who have no setled Habitation, but remove their Tents and Huts to those places, where they think to find the best Grass for their Cattel. I said these *Eischikagasi* were a kind of Stewards, of whom there are at all times four or five at the Court, who stand at the door of the king's Appartment, and serve by half-years, under their *Baschi*, or Chief, who carries the staff they call *Dekenck*, and stands before the king when he eats in publick, on dayes of Ceremonies. He is also one of the two who take Ambassadors under the Arms, when they are brought to audience. We have already related, how *Mortasaculi-Chan* succeeded, in this charge, *Ugurlu-Chan*, whose head *Schach-Sefi* had caus'd to be cut off. *Imanculi Sulthan*, whom the king of *Persia* sent upon an Embassy to the Duke of *Holstein*, our Master, had the quality of *Eischakagasi*. Eischikagasi-baschi.

Schahe Wardi, who was *Jesaul Scebet*, or Master of the Ceremonies, was the Governour of *Derbent*'s Son, but his Grand-father was a Peasant, of the Province of *Serab*. The *Jesaul Scebet* carries also a staff, and his principal function consists in placing strangers at the king's Table, and at publick assemblies. *The Master of the Ceremonies.*

The *Nasir*, or Controller of the king's house, whom they also give the quality of *Kerek je-rak*, because he executes the function of a Purveyer, whose name was *Samambek*, was the Son of one of the ordinary Inhabitants of *Kaschan*. *The Controller.*

The *Tuschmal*, who hath the over-sight of all the Officers belonging to the king's kitchin, Tuschmal,

1637. was called *Seinel bek*, and was the Son of *Seinel-Chan*, whom the king kill'd with his own hands, in the preſence of his Mother.

Secretary of the Cloſet. The *Dawatter*, that is, the Secretary of the Cloſet, whoſe name was *Ugurlu-bek*, was the Son of *Emirkune-Chan*. He had, in that charge, ſucceeded *Haßan-beg*, who was kill'd by the king's order, becauſe he had been at Supper with *Talub-Chan*, as we related before. The word *Dawatter* is deriv'd from *Dawat*; which ſignifies an Ink-horn, in as much as the principal function of this charge conſiſts, in carrying the Ink-horn, and preſenting that part thereof where the Ink is to the king when he is to ſign any thing. For the king himſelf carries the Seal about his Neck, and Seals or Signs himſelf, by preſſing the Seal upon the Paper, after he had put it into the Ink.

Maſter of the Horſe. *Aly-baly-bek*, who was *Myra-chur-baſchi*, that is chief of the Gentlemen of the Horſe, or Maſter of the Horſe of *Perſia*, was a *Senkene* by birth, and his Father was a Drover, who traded altogether in Oxen.

Grand Faulconer. The *Mirſchikar*, or Grand Faulconer, whoſe name was *Choſrow Sulthan*, was a *Chriſtian*, an *Armenian* born, one, notwithſtanding his Religion, very much in the king's favour.

Huntſman. *Karachan-bek*, who had the charge of *Sekbahn-baſchi*, that is, Overſeer of thoſe who kept the Dogs for Hunting, or chief Huntſ-man, as I may call him, was alſo a *Sen-kene*, and the ſon of a Shepheard.

Jeſaulkor. The *Jeſaulkor* hath two functions, to wit, that of Grand-Marſhal of the Lodgings, and that of Judge of the king's houſhold. He marches before the king, as well in the Citie as in the Country, with a ſtaff in his hand, to make way. He hath under him ſeveral other *Jaſauls*, who are as it were Harbingers, and ſometimes is employ'd in the ſecuring of perſons guilty of Treaſon, and ſuch as are impriſon'd by the king's expreſs order.

The other Officers belonging to the Court, are,

The *Suffretzi*, that is the Carver.

The *Abdar*, who ſerves the king with water to drink, and keeps it in a Jarr ſeal'd up, to prevent any body's putting of poyſon into it.

The *Chazinedal*, or Overſeer of the king's Revenue.

The *Ambadar*, who hath the over-ſight of the king's Granaries.

The *Jeſaul Neder*, who keep the king's ſhooes, when he puts them off in the anti-chamber.

The *Mehemandar*, who conducts Ambaſſadors from one Province to another, till they come to Court, to their audience there, and ſo back to the Frontiers.

Beſides theſe, there are yet ſeveral other Officers, not ſo conſiderable as the precedent, as,

The *Kiſchitzi-baſchi*, Captain of the Guard.

The *Tzabedar*, Controller of the Artillery.

The *Tzartzi*, who publiſhes the king's commands.

The *Tzelaudar-baſchi*, who is as it were a Captain over the Grooms that conduct ſuch Horſes as the king would have led.

The *Kitaddar*, Library-keeper.

The *Meamar*, Ingeneer and Architect.

The *Muſtofi*, Purveyer for the Houſe.

The *Seraidar*, Surveyer of the buildings.

The *Klita*, Captain of the Gate.

The *Scherbedar*, Overſeer of the Conſerves and Spices.

The *Cannati*, Confectioner.

The *Omatzdar*, Governour of the Pages.

The *Schirtzi*, Cup-bearer.

The *Eachtzi*, who keeps the Gold-plate.

The *Achtzi*, Clark of the kitchin.

The *Eemektzi*, who bakes the bread which the king himſelf eats.

The *Forraſch*, who makes the fire.

The *Sava*, Water-bearer.

The *Bildar*, are ſuch as ſerve for Pioneers, when the king goes any journey, to make the wayes even, and ſteps for the ſafer treading of the Camels. They help alſo to pitch up Tents, and dig pits in the ground, whether to get water, or ſerve for Privies.

The *Schatir*, Foot-men.

The *Rica*, are men who carry Pole-Axes, and are alwayes about the king's perſon, as his Guards; but ſometimes they alſo do the work of common Executioners.

All theſe Officers have their Salaries and other Allowances, which are very duely paid them, not out of the Treaſury or Exchequer, but they are charg'd upon the Demeſn of certain Villages, whereof they themſelves have the diſpoſal, or they are aſſign'd them out of ſome part of the Taxes, or haply on the Tribute paid by common Proſtitutes.

The *Perſians* ſeldom meet about affairs, but the Cloath is lay'd. At the two Audiences the king gave us, as well at our comming thither, as our departure thence, we Din'd with him, and

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at all the conferences we had at the Chancellor's, we alwayes found a Collation of Preserves, and after that the Cloath was lay'd, and the Meat serv'd up. 1637.

When the King eats in publick, or comes into any assemblies, besides ten or twelve Lords of the Court, he is ordinarily attended by the *Hakim*, or Physician, the *Seder*, and the *Minatzim*. The Physician appoints what Meats he should eat of. The *Minatzim*, or Astrologer, acquaints him with the fortunate and unfortunate hours, and whatever he sayes is believ'd as Oraculous: and the *Seder*, who is the chief of their Ecclesiasticks, explicates to him those passages of the *Alchoran*, and such points of their Divinity, where there seems to be any difficulty. The King and the *Kasi* joyn together in the naming of the *Seder*, and they make choice of him among those, whom they think best skill'd in the explication of the *Alchoran*, and the Laws which depend on it. They take his advice not onely in Ecclesiastical, but also in Civil affairs, but especially in Criminal. He is shew'd the charge and proceedings against the Criminal, and he returns his advice seal'd with his Seal. The King for the most part follows it, adding these words, *This is the advice of the* Seder, *which we confirm*; then he orders his own Seal to be set thereto. *The Hakim, Minarzim, and the Seder.*

Civil causes are commonly try'd before the Secular Judges whom they call *Oef*. They are a kind of Lawyers according to their way, and they have for their chief the *Diwan-beki*, who ought to be well vers'd in the Law of *Mahomet*. Their Pleading dayes are *Monday* and *Thursday*, and the place where they meet for the administration of Justice, is a spacious Arch'd Hall under the Palace-Gate, where they hear both sides, and if the Causes be of importance, they report the same to the King, and acquaint him with the opinions of the Judges, whereupon the King decides them. *The administration of Justice.*

It is forbidden by their Law to put out money to use. Yet they stick not to do it; but if the Usurers be discovered, they are look'd on as infamous persons, and not admitted into the company of such as are of any quality, nay, they are also very severely punish'd. Of this we saw an example as we pass'd through *Ardebil*, where they had an odd way to take out a Man's Teeth, who, by way of interest, had taken one and a half in the hundred for a moneth's time. They lay'd him all along on the ground, and knock'd out his Teeth one after another with a little Mallet. They call this kind of Usurers *Sudehur*, that is, eaters of Interest of Usury, The *Persians* are permitted to lay out mony upon Lands, Gardens, and Houses, which they enjoy while they are out of their money, and if they be not redeem'd within the time agreed upon between the parties, they are forfeited to the Mortgagee. *Usury forbidden.*

Their punishments are cruel, and proportionable to the irreclaimable obstinacy of that people who are violently bent to Vice, and laugh at gentle chastisements, and moderate pains. The least Crimes are punish'd with mutilation of Members. They cut off the Nose, Ears, and sometimes the Feet and Hands of Malefactors, nay, they are put to death, by cutting off thier Heads. That defiling, which the *Latines* call *Violatio*, is not punish'd with death, but they think it enough to cut off the part which hath offended, to prove which, there needs onely the Woman's Oath, if she hath the confidence to reiterate it thrice. The two last Kings, *Schach Abas* and *Schach-Sefi*, have been rather cruel than severe in their punishments, as may be inferr'd from the examples we have already produc'd thereof, nay, they have been so far such towards some Criminals, that they have caus'd them to be ty'd between two boards and sawen asunder. *Schach-Abas* had sent into *Spain* one named *Teinksbeg*, who returning from his Embassy, and having not brought home all his Retinue, and the King understanding by the Interpreter, that his ill usage of them had caus'd many of his people to run away, he took the pains himself to cut off his Nose, his Ears, and a good piece of flesh out of his Arm, and forc'd him immediately to eat them, bloody and raw as they were. *Imanculi-Chan*, who was sent Ambassador to the Duke of *Holstein*, our Master, treated his Domesticks no better. For a very trivial fault, he caus'd a Spit red hot to be apply'd to the back of one of his Retinue; and he order'd another's fingers to be knock'd with the back of an Hatchet, till all the bones were bruis'd: which oblig'd five or six of his Train to leave his service, and return into *Persia* by the way of *Italy*: for which cruelties he had no doubt been punish'd at his return, had not the Chancellor made his peace with the King. *Their punishments.*

As to the Religion of these people, I could make a long digression, to give some accompt of that of the antient *Persians*, and shew how they ador'd the Sun, Moon, Venus, Fire, and other things, which they made Divinities; but it is besides my design, and therefore I shall onely say something of that of the modern, and the difference there is, between the Religion of the *Persians* and that of the *Turks*.

Both these Nations follow the Doctrine of that grand Impostor *Mahomet*, and acknowledge the same *Alcoran*; yet do's not that hinder, but they have a mortal animosity one against the other. And whereas their enmity is chiefly grounded on the difference of their Religions, we shall here briefly shew wherein it consists. *The Religion of the Persians.*

Monsieur *Busbeque* sayes in the third Letter of his Embassy to *Turkey*, that a man may judge of the difference of these two Religions, from the conversation he had with a *Persian Visir*, named

1637. med *Rustan*, who told him, that the *Persians* had a greater hatred for the *Turks*, and accounted them much more profane than the *Christians*; but he gives no other particular thereof. Others, who have written of the same subject, as *Paulus Jovius*, *Bizarrus*, *Minadous*, and a certain *English* Gentleman, named *Thomas Herbert*, have given no better an accompt of it; some, by reason of the little acquaintance they had therewith, and others out of negligence, having not deliver'd what they might have learn't during the aboad they made in *Persia*. I have had the curiosity to make a stricter enquiry into it, and to inform my self as well from such as I became intimately acquainted withall at *Scamachie* and *Ispahan*, by means of the Mathematicks, as by the reading of some Books, which I have compar'd with what I had learnt thereof my self.

The Etymology of the word Mussulman.

The *Persians* are as free to assume the quality of *Mussulman*'s as the *Turks*. This word is deriv'd from that of *Salama*, which comes from another *Hebrew* word, which signifies, *he hath deliver'd*, or *saved*. And the reason of it is, that the *Mahumetane* Religion, being to propagate it self by Arms, and the *Alcoram* ordering those to be persecuted and kill'd, who refus'd to pronounce this confession, *Ja illah illalahu*, *Mahumeda resul-alla*, that is, *There is no other God but one, and* Mahomet *the Apostle of God*, such as, by this profession, *saved* themselves from, or avoided death, were called *Mussulmans*, that is to say, the *saved* or *delivered*. But the present *Turks* explicate it otherwise, and affirm, that they who make profession of their Religion, are *Mussulmans*, that is, *sav'd* from eternal damnation. Whence it comes, that they do not call their Sons *Mussulmans*, till they are Circumcis'd.

Circumcision.

The Circumcision of the *Persians* is not celebrated, till the Children are seven, eight, or nine years of age, and then they intoxicate such as are to be Circumcis'd, with a certain drink, to make them insensible of the pain they are to endure, in the cutting of the Prepuce; and in this they agree with the *Turks*. But the difference between their Religion and that of the *Turks*, consists.

1. In that they explicate not the *Alcoran* after the same manner.
2. That they have not the same Saints.
3. That they have not the same Miracles.
4. That they have not the same *Mosqueyes*, nor the same Ceremonies.

The difference between the Religion of the Persians *and of the* Turks.

The very Principles of their Religions are contrary, in as much as *Mahomet*, having appointed by his last Will and Testament, that *Aly*, his Nephew, and Son-in-law, (for he was the Brother's Son and had Married his Daughter *Fattima*) should succeed him, as well in Temporals as Spirituals, *Ababeker*, *Omar*, and *Osman*, all three Father-in-law's of *Mahomet*, who were more considerable and powerfull then *Aly*, and had contributed much to the propagation and establishment of *Mahumet*'s Religion, usurped, successively one after another, the *Califate*, and Political Government of their Son-in-law, notwithstanding the opposition, which *Aly* and his friends would have made against it. 'Twas after their death, that *Aly* obtain'd the *Califate*, which yet he was not so possess'd of, but that it was pretended to, and, disputed against him, by the relations of the three last *Califs*. *Aly* did not change any thing in the *Alcoran*, and though he gave several Interpretations to the words of *Mahomet*, and explicated the sense of his Law, yet did he submit to his Authority, where it was clear, and where the Text admitted no explication, in so much that this occasion'd no change in the Religion.

The initials of the Religion of the Persians.

But about the year 1363. there happen'd to be at *Ardebil*, a very learned man, named *Sofi*, who pretended himself deriv'd from the Family of *Aly*, and gave out, that he was, in a right line, descended from *Musai Kasim*, the Son of *Hossein*, who was the Son of *Aly*. The austerity of his life, and the outward innocency of his demeanour, manag'd by an understanding that had the knack of making the most advantageous discoveries it could of it self, brought him into great reputation, and rais'd him to the quality of *Schich*. He slighted, at least in appearance, all the pleasures and enjoyments of this World, clad himself in a Sheep-skin, and would not wear any thing about him but what was of Wool. Some affirm, that he had the name *Sofi* given him, from the word *Suff*, which signifies *Wool*, though others are of opinion, and that with greater probability, that the true Etymology of his name is deriv'd from the word *Sefid*, which signifies *pale* and *white*, in as much as it is the custom of the *Persians*, many times, to give the sirname from the colour of the face, as the Chancellor of *Persia*, who liv'd at the time of our Embassy thither, was named *Saru Tagge*, from the yellowish colour of his countenance.

Sofi was the first who ventured publickly to teach and write, that the succession of *Mahomet*, which belong'd to *Aly*, his Nephew and Son-in-law, had been illegally usurped from him and his Posterity, by *Abubeker*, *Omar*, and *Osman*: That God, who had been very much offended at that procedure, had rais'd him the said *Sofi*, and had endu'd him with all qualities necessary for the restauration of the glory of *Aly*, which had been in a manner buried for many ages. And to make it appear, that *Aly* was a man after God's heart, he reviv'd a great number

number of Miracles, which he said had been suppress'd by the malice of the *Turks*: That *Aly* had given a true explication of the *Alcoran*, which his Successor, *Tzaferſaduck*, had reduc'd into writing, and that in those Commentaries there were many precepts contrary to the opinions of *Hanife*, whom the *Turks* follow, but much more rational. There is not any Nation in the World more inclin'd to change, and more addicted to Novelty, than the *Persians*. *Sofi*'s new Doctrine soon found credit among them, in so much that they forsook that of the *Turks*, in whom this Schism heightned the animosity which neighbourhood and perpetual Wars about the Frontiers had already but too much blown between those two Nations. However, the *Persians* made it their business to confirm the reputation of their *Aly*, and added to their Creed, whereof we spoke before, these words *Aaly welli Alla*, so that they said, *There is but one God*, Mahumet *the Apostle of God*, *and Aly*, Coadjutor *or Lieutenant of God*: Nay, they presume to affirm, that though *Aly* be not really God, yet he comes very neer him. And to prefer him even before *Mahomet* himself, they add hereto, that it was God's intention to bestow the *Alcoran* on *Aly*, and that it was by mistake it fell into the hands of *Mahomet*. But as to *Ababeker*, *Omar*, and *Osman*, they who at Prayer time call the people together (for the *Persians*, as well as the *Turks*, use no Bells) will be sure to Curse these three pretended Prophets, and to execrate them to the pit of Hell. They have commonly these words in their mouths, *Kiri Sekder deheni Ababeker*, *Omar*, *Osman*, *Hanifebad*, that is, *many Dogs stones stop the mouths of these Prophets*, which is an abomination to the ears of the *Turks*, who, upon this accompt are become irreconcileable Enemies to the *Persians*, especially since *Sedredin* and *Tzinid*, (whom some name *Gutnet*) express'd so great a zeal for the establishment and advancement of their Sect, which is, in process of time, grown so strong, that their *Schichs* are become *Schachs*, that is their *Prophets* have chang'd their quality into that of *Kings*. 1637.

The *Persians* not thinking it enough to have establish'd the *Sanctity*, nay, in some measure the *Divinity*, of *Aly*, were of opinion that he had communicated some part of that quality to those of his Family, and that they might bestow the denomination of Saints upon his first Successors, of whom there were related many Miracles, whereby their memories have been celebrated, and their Sepulchres enrich'd by the Presents sent into them. He had left two Sons, *Hassan*, and *Hossein*, who left *Seinel*, *Abedin*, *Mahumed-Bagur*, *Tzafer-Saduk*, *Musai-Casum*, *Risa*, *Mahumed-Taggi*, *Alli Naggi*, *Hossein Alkeri*, and *Mehedi*, whereof some, to wit, *Hassan*, *Seinel*, *Abedin*, *Mahumed Bagur*, *Mahumed-Taggi*, and *Alli Naggi*, are interr'd at *Medina*; *Tzafer Saduk*, at *Bagdat*, and *Hossein*, *Musai-Kasum*, and *Hossein Alkeri*, at *Kelbula* or *Kufa*. They affirm that *Mehedi* is not dead, but lies hid in a Cave neer *Kufa*, where he is to remain till the day of Judgement, which is to be, when his shooes, which he left at the entrance of it, and which are already turn'd half way, shall be quite turned towards the Cave, so as that at his coming out he may put his feet into them, to go and convert all the World to the Faith of the *Alcoran*. *The Saints of the Persians.*

On these twelve Saints they bestow the quality of *Imam*, or Prelate. To these, as also to the Institutor of their Sect *Schich-Sofi*, they address their Prayers and Devotions, and it is to the four Sepulchres of them, that they go on Pilgrimages, especially when their affairs permit them not to go to *Meca*, or *Medina*. They give the Pilgrims a Certificate or Testimonial, called *Sijaretname*, whereby they are not only known to be true *Mussulmans*, professing the true *Persian* Religion; but there is also a further particular advantage of these Testimonials, in that they save their lives, who are in disgrace with the Kings or Governours of the Provinces where they live. We have seen instances hereof in our Interpreter, whose name was *Rustam*, who took one of them, to avoid the punishment which he might have suffered for embracing the *Christian* Religion in *England*, and another in *Tzirrachan*, who took this course to save himself, as we have related elsewhere.

The *Persians* Celebrate every year, with great Ceremonies, the memory and death of *Hassan* and *Hossein*. The *Turks* deride them for it, and on the contrary, have a great Veneration for *Ababeker*, *Omar*, and *Osman*, and highly esteem *Hanife*, their chief Commentator and Paraphrast of the *Alcoran*. The *Persians* execrate the memory of the three former, and speak of the last as an Impostor, who hath made false explications of the *Alcoran*. They affirm, that *Hanife*, being a servant to *Tzafar Saduk*, was very carefull to preserve the water, wherein that Saint had wash'd his hands, which he carried into *Turkey*, rubb'd therewith the eyes of several blind people, who by that means recover'd their sight, and wrought divers other Miracles, the honour whereof belongs only to the Saints of *Persia*. They add to this, that *Schach Tamas*, after the taking of *Bagdat*, caus'd the body of *Hanife*, who had a very sumptuous Tomb there, to be taken up; and that he converted the *Masur*, or place of his Sepulture, into a Stable, and the Sepulchre into a Sink or common House of ease. *Their Festivals.*

There are many Authors have Commented on the *Alcoran*; but they who have had a particular illumination for that work, and have, in their opinion, best understood the Sentiments of *Mahomet*, are *Aly* and *Tzafar-Saduk*, whom the *Persians* prefer before all the rest. The *Turks* most esteem *Hanife*; and the *Usbeques Tartars*, as also the *Indians* follow the explication *Commentators upon the Alcoran.*

1637. tion of *Hembili*, and *Maleki*. The *Alcoran*, in many places, is not to be underſtood; not only in that *Mahomet* himſelf ſeems to have affected obſcurity, as not knowing himſelf what he would ſay; but alſo in this regard, that, many times, he alludes to ſtories which peradventure never happened, and whereof the Commentators certainly having no knowledge, have ſupply'd the defect with their own fictions, fables, and impoſtures, which have no likelyhood of truth in them. But not to digreſs from the *Perſians*, whom it is our particular deſign here to give an accompt of, it is a thing much to be admir'd, that theſe people, who are ſo ingenious, and ſo wiſe in their Generation, and ſo excellently well vers'd in the affairs of the World, could be brought to believe things ſo ridiculous, and the many fables, their Books of Devotion are fill'd with. As for inſtance, among others; that *Duldul*, (ſo they call *Aly*'s Horſe) was got of a Rock. That it was the Angel *Gabriel* who brought him the Sword, called *Dzulfakar*, wherewith he did ſo many great exploits: That with the ſaid Sword, he kill'd a Dragon that had ſeven heads; and cut a Devil to pieces. And that *Sulthan Mahomet Chodabende*, being one day a-hunting neer *Kufa*, diſcover'd thereabouts a Sepulchre with this Inſcription, *Under this place ly* Adam, Noe, and Aly, and that thereupon the *Sulthan* had ordered the building of the Citie of *Netzef*, where he had erected a Tomb in memory of *Aly*. But there is not any thing ſo ridiculouſly flat as the ſtory they relate of *Aly*'s drinking with the Angels in Paradiſe.

Miracles. And that there may be no ſcruple made of the ſupernatural, and as it were Divine power, attributed by them to the Author of their Sect, they relate a great number of Miracles wrought by him, which Miracles indeed are chargeable with ſome impoſture among thoſe of other perſwaſions, but in the Religion of the *Perſians*, they are the more impertinent, in that they make their Saints do them, without any neceſſity. As for inſtance, when they affirm, that *Schich Sofi*, being yet very young, and going to ſee *Schich Sahadi*, who was a great Saint, and a very wiſe man, and liv'd in the Village of *Sahedan*, in the Province of *Kilan*, he there took particular notice of the pains the Inhabitants were at in weeding their Grounds, and moved to compaſſion thereat, he commanded the Weeds not to peſter the Earth any longer. He was immediately obey'd. But *Schich Sahadi* obſerving it, ſaid to him; *I* ſee, Son, what thou art able to do; but thou art to conſider, that if thou eaſe theſe Peſants of the employment wherein they ſpend their time, they will be loſt through idleneſs. *Schich-Sofi* thought this ſo excellent a conſideration, that he preſently reſolv'd to ſerve that holy man, with whom he continu'd ſeven years, and learnt of *Sahadi* many noble things. It is upon this accompt, as they affirm, that the ſaid Village, to this day, enjoyes an abſolute and perpetual privilege and exemption.

They relate alſo that *Tamberlane*, whom they call *Temurleng*, deſirous to ſee *Schich-Sofi*, and to be aſſur'd whether his Sanctity was anſwerable to the great reputation he had acquir'd all over the Eaſt, reſolv'd to give him a Viſit, and to have an evident Demonſtration of the truth of his Doctrine, he bethought himſelf to make a tryal of it, with a reſolution to reſt ſatisfy'd as to his Sanctity, if he behav'd himſelf in three things as he expected he ſhould; to wit, 1. If he came not out to meet him: 2. If he entertain'd him with Rice, boyl'd, not in Sheep's Milk, but that of wild Goats: and 3. If the poyſon he would order to be given him, ſhould not kill him. Hereupon *Tamberlane* being come to *Schamasbu*, where *Sofi* then liv'd, went ſtreight to his Chamber. *Sofi* ſaw him well enough coming, but would not go to meet him, till *Tamberlane* had ſet foot within his Chamber: then *Sofi* roſe up, and ſaid to him, I know well enough what reſpect is due to the King, but it was your pleaſure I ſhould not meet you. I humbly crave your pardon. 'Tis a tryal you were pleas'd to make of me. This Complement paſs'd, he made *Tamberlane* ſit down, oppoſite to the Door, and caus'd to come of the neighbouring Forreſt a great many wild Goats, which were milked in *Tamberlane*'s preſence. At laſt *Sofi* perceiving they were going to give him poyſon; call'd for a clean ſhirt, which he put on, and having drunk the poyſon, he fell a dancing round the Room, according to the manner of the *Schichs*, and continu'd that exerciſe ſo long, till ſuch time as having put himſelf into a ſweat all over the body, he took off the ſhirt, out of which he wrung the ſweat, which the poyſon had made of a Green colour, and having put it into a Glaſs, preſented it to *Tamberlane*, to ſatisfie him that it had done him no harm. That thereupon *Tamberlane* made no further doubt of the truth of *Sofi*'s Doctrine; that he beſtow'd on him ſeveral Villages near *Ardebil*, and made him a Preſent of a great number of *Turks*, whom he was to inſtruct in his Religion.

The *Turks* believe not a word of all theſe Miracles; but however, they have a great Veneration for the memory of *Aly*. They acknowledge he was a near Kinſman of *Mahomet*'s, that he is truly an *Iman*, or Saint, and that he led a very exemplary life; and particularly that he was valiant, and a very good Horſman; and thence it comes, that, when they get on Horſ-back, they ſay *Iſa Aly*, in the name of *Aly*.

Their purifications. As the *Perſians* will not admit of any of the Laws and Ordinances which *Abubekar*, *Omar*, *Oſman*, and *Hanife*, affirm to be grounded on the *Alcoran*, ſo they alſo contemn all the Eccleſiaſtical Ceremonies of the *Turks*, and have particular ones of their own, which they believe to be as neceſſary, as any thing that is moſt eſſential in the buſineſs of Religion. For inſtance, when

when the *Perſians* intend to do their Devotions, eſpecially their Prayers, they prepare themſelves by external ablution as the Turks do, but after an abſolutely different manner. They turn up their ſleeves above the Elbow, waſh their hands, which they afterwards put, two ſeveral times upon the Arms, ſtroaking them from the Elbow down to the Wriſt. Then they ſtroak their faces only with the right hand. The *Turks*, on the contrary, take up ſo much water as they can hold between their hands, and therewith rub their faces, ſtroaking them three ſeveral times, from the Forehead down to the Chin, and afterwards from the Chin up to the Forehead. They waſh alſo their Noſes and Mouths, by drawing in with their breath the water, which, to that end, they take up between their hands. The *Perſians* ſtroak their Heads with a moiſt hand, from the Nape of the Neck to the Forehead, and afterwards the Feet up to the Ancles. But the *Turks* pour water on their Heads, and ſo apply their moiſt Hand to the Feet, which they are oblig'd to waſh, before they begin theſe Ceremonies: but this the *Perſians* do not. The *Turks* put the fore-finger into the Ear, which they afterwards rub all about with the Thumb, and then with the ſame fore-finger ſtroke their Heads from the Nape of the Neck, to the Throat. Theſe Ceremonies are perform'd in their Houſes, before they go out in order to the doing of their Devotions, in the *Moſquey*; whither the Women come not at all, out of a fear they might diſtract the Devotions of the men. The *Perſians* have a ſtone, wherewith they often touch their forehead, while they are at their Prayers; or haply they lay the ſtone upon the ground, and touch it with their foreheads. It is made of a greyiſh Earth, which is to be had about *Metzef* and *Kufa*, where *Hoſſein* was kill'd, and interr'd, near *Aly*, and thence it is that the ſaid ſtone derives all its vertue. The Figure of it is Octogonal, and it is ſomewhat above three inches Diameter, and contains, with the names of their twelve Saints, that of *Fattima*, their common Mother. They are made by the *Arabians*, who bring them into *Perſia* to be ſold. 1637.

The *Perſians* being come to the *Moſquey* begin their Prayers with *Alla Ekber*. When they Pray, their Arms hang down negligently, and they have their eyes faſten'd on the ground. On the contrary, the *Turks* have both their hands upon their Breaſts. The *Perſians*, afterwards, put their hands upon their Ears, and turn their faces to the South, out of this regard, that *Meca* and *Medina* are towards that Quarter, in reſpect of the Citie of *Ardebil*, where their Sect had its firſt Inſtitution and Original. There is ſome probability, that, in this particular, they would imitate the primitive *Chriſtians*, who, in their Prayers, turn'd their faces towards the Eaſt, to expreſs, that *Chriſt*, their Sun of Righteouſneſs, was riſen. Whence it came that the *Chriſtians* being charg'd in the time of *Severus* the Emperour, as if they ador'd the Sun, *Tertullian* vindicates them in his Apology, and gives an accompt of the true cauſe of that Ceremony. *Their Prayers.*

The *Perſians* having thus turn'd their faces towards the South, begin their Prayers with that of *Allhemdo lilla*. Having ſaid that, they ſet their Hands on their Knees, and in that ſtooping poſture they ſay the Prayer *Subhanna Rebbi*, and repeat the *Alla Ekber*. Then they kneel down, touch their foreheads with the grey ſtone, and repeat the foreſaid Prayer of *Subhanna Rebbi*, ſtretching out their Arms. After all this, they make the laſt Prayer upon their Knees, then riſe up, and turning to the left and right hand, they pronounce with a low voice, *Salom alekom*, *Salom alekom*, ſaluting the Angels who have aſſiſted them, and kept the Devil from diſturbing them in their Devotions, The *Turks* ſalute the Angels before they have quite made an end of their Prayers. The Religion of the *Perſians* obliges them to ſay their Prayers five times a day, to wit, in the morning at Sun-riſing, at noon, in the afternoon, in the evening, and as they go to bed. Their chief Prayer is the *Fatah*, and next to that, the *Allhemdo lilla*, which Tranſlated is to this effect. *Glory be to the Lord of all Creatures, to the King of the laſt judgement. We honour thee; we invoke thee; aſſiſt us in our neceſſities; Lead us in thy wayes; bring us into the path of thoſe to whom thou haſt done good, and not into the way of thoſe, upon whom thou haſt poured out thy wrath, nor into that of ſuch as thou ſuffreſt to go aſtray.* Amen.

And whereas all the Chapters of the *Alcoran* begin with theſe words, *biſmilla rahman rahim*, in the name of God, &c. the *Perſians* accordingly never undertake any thing, but they pronounce the *biſmilla*, and ſometimes ſay, *benahm ohnki nameſch heres tzanehaft*, that is, in his name, who is the refuge and protection of Souls, they expreſs a great attention and devotion in their Prayers; inſomuch that going ſometimes into the great *Metſchid Mehedi*, at *Iſpahan*, at the time when they were at Prayers, I could never obſerve, that they ſo much as took notice of me; but they had their eyes either faſtened on the ground, or lifted them up to Heaven, according to the ſubject of their Prayers. There are ſome among them, who pray with ſuch violence at their own houſes, that they put themſelves out of breath, and many times fall down in a ſwound. I remember to this effect a ſtory of one of my Neighbours at *Scamachie*, who was ſo earneſt in his Devotion, that having ſaid his Prayer very loud, and pronounc'd with all his might, above fifty times the word *Hakka*, which ſignifies, God, he at length could not pronounce it without a great deal of difficulty, and at laſt his voice quite fail'd him. There are ſome, who, at their Prayers uſe a certain kind of Beads, which they call *Moher Thebiſh*, conſiſting of three dozen, diſtinguiſh'd by ſo many great Beads. *They are very devout.*

Upon

1637. Upon *Friday*, which is their ordinary Feſtival, their *Chaltib*, or Preacher, gets up into the Pulpit, and reads certain Chapters of the *Alcoran*, with the explication thereof. They make no account at all of our Bible, and ſay it hath been falſify'd by the *Jews* and *Greeks*, and that for that reaſon God ſent the *Alcoran*, as a Corrected Bible, or the true word of God. While I was at *Scamachie*, I ſhew'd the *Minatzim Chalil*, the Pentateuck in *Arabick*. He knew the book well enough, but ſaid of it, *Chrabdur*, that is, it is a book that's corrupt and aboliſh'd; the *Alcoran* is much the better.

Their opinion concerning Heaven and Hell. They have very ſtrange and extravagant opinions concerning the Creation of the World, the firſt man, the ſtories of the Bible, the laſt judgement and eternal life. They affirm, among other things, that, at the beginning, God made ſeven Hells, & as many Paradiſes, but that to the foreſaid number there was an eighth Paradiſe added, upon the following occaſion. *Ath*, King of *Perſia*, and Grand-father of *Nimroth*, one of the moſt powerfull Princes of his time, grew ſo vain-glorious and proud, that he would be reſpected as a God: and to the end there ſhould not any thing of Magnificence be wanting, he lay'd out ſeveral Millions of Gold, in building the nobleſt and moſt Sumptuous Palace, that the Wit and Art of man could imagine, which was to ſerve him for a Paradiſe. But the King being upon his way to go and ſee it, and take poſſeſſion thereof, there roſe up ſuch a thick Miſt, which ſo cover'd the Houſe and Gardens that were about it, that it ſeemed to have quite vaniſh'd, ſo that it could never yet be found: and that this is the eighth Paradiſe, which God hath joyned to the other ſeven.

They dedicate their Children to Saints. The *Perſians* have alſo the cuſtom of dedicating or devoting their Children to ſome Saint, as ſoon as they come out of the Mother's Womb, to which Saint they are to be as it were Slaves as long as they live. As a badge of this ſlavery, they make a hole in their Ears, as ſoon as they are born, and thence it is they have the name of *Mahumedculi*, *Imanculi*, *Aaliculi*, that is, the Slaves of *Mahomet*, *Iman*, and *Aaly*. This they ordinarily do, when they are ſome years married before they have Children, or when the Children thrive not well. There are alſo ſome who devote them to a Monaſtical life, and promiſe to make them *Abdallas*. And yet if the Children that have been ſo deſign'd expreſs no inclination to a Monaſtical life, they may go to ſome holy place, and for a ſum of money be diſpens'd of their Father's vow.

Their Lent. They have alſo a Lent or Faſt, which laſts a moneth every year. They call it *Ruſch*, or, with the *Turks Orutz*, and they begin and end it, according to the preſcription of the *Alcoran*, with the Moon of the moneth *Ramaſan*. They obſerve it with ſomewhat more auſterity than the ordinary Faſts, in as much as they neither eat nor drink between Sun-riſing and Sun-ſet: but they have all the night to do what they pleaſe in, and they commonly ſpend it ſo well, that they never faſt leſs than they do at that time. For having ſufficiently furniſh'd themſelves with Meat and Wine in the night, they ly down in the morning, and ſleep away part of the day. Such as are unwilling to faſt, may, for money, get a diſpenſation.

The Kinred of Mahomet. There is in *Perſia* a ſort of people whom they call *Seid*, and they are of the Poſterity of *Mahomet* and *Aly*, and enjoy ſeveral particular Privileges and Exemptions. They do not ſhave their heads as the other *Perſians* do, but onely cut their hair about the breadth of two fingers, and let the reſt grow, which they tie up together in a treſs. They are not permitted to marry out of their own Family, in regard the Alliances they might make elſewhere would much diminiſh the King's Revenue. They are clad in white, and their ſhooes are low and flat-ſoal'd. They are forbidden not onely the drinking of Wine, but alſo being in the place where any is Drunk; ſo that if they are invited to any entertainment, the other Gueſts muſt be content with *Duſchab*, or onely water. The touching of a Dog renders them unclean. One untruth would forfeit all their Privileges; and whereas all the other *Perſians* ſwear by the name of God, *Aly*, *Schich-Sofi*, and by the *Beyamber ba embia*, that is, by the Poſterity of *Aaly*, theſe *Seid* have no other Oath than that of *Eulademen*, that is, by my birth. Thoſe of them who live in Cities are commonly rich, in regard they are poſſeſs'd of Lands and Villages, for which they pay not the King any thing, whence it comes they are ſufficiently proud and inſupportable. There are ſome who aſſume the quality of *Seid*, though they go from Citie to Citie, and live by Alms. They ſhew their Teſtimonials where they come, but they are for the moſt part Counterfeit, and ſuch as make uſe of them are accounted Impoſtors; and thence it is they call them *Cher-Seid*, that is, Saints-Aſſes. Some of theſe laſt mentioned carry, about them, ſome hair, in round boxes of ſilver, which they ſay was taken off *Mahomet*'s head, and have the ſleight to make the ſeveral hairs come ſtreight out at a little hole, perſwading the ſimple, that that is done by ſome ſupernatural and miraculous vertue. This hair they ſell at a very dear rate, and the *Perſians* make uſe of it in their Devotions, putting it upon their books, when they ſay their Prayers.

At *Kimas*, in the Province of *Kilan*, there was one of theſe Mountebanks, who having found out the trick of ſetting Cotton on fire by means of a Chryſtal cut half round, and held in the Sun like a burning-glaſs, would have people perſwaded by that Operation, which he affirm'd to be Supernatural, that he was of the Kindred of *Mahomet*. After our return to *Holſtein*, I ſhew'd the *Perſians*, whom *Schach-Sefi* ſent thither, that it was the eaſieſt thing in the

World

World to get fire from the Sun, and I lighted paper in the very depth of Winter, by means of a Chryſtall full of cold Water, or a piece of Ice, which I had made half round in a Pewter Diſh. They were aſtoniſh'd at it, and ſaid, that if I had done as much in *Perſia*, I ſhould have paſs'd there for either a great Saint, or a Sorcerer. 1637.

There is yet another ſort of Eccleſiaſticks in *Perſia*, who are thought to be deſcended from *Aly*, inſtead whereof the *Turks* have the *Dervis*, of whom the *Kuleſthan* makes many pleaſant ſtories. Theſe are called *Abdalla's*, and are a kind of Monks or Friers. They are very meanly clad, with a kind of ſleeve-leſs Coat, of ſeveral pieces, quilted like Mattreſſes. Some of them wear onely a hairy skin, having at the waſte, inſtead of a Girdle, a Serpent of braſs, given them by their Doctors, when they make their profeſſion, as a mark of their Learning. It is the *Suffibaſchi*, or chief of the *Suffi* who Conſecrates them in the *Sufficane*, at *Ardebil*, *Iſpahan*, and *Meſchet*. Theſe *Abdallas* trudge up and down the Markets and other publick places, to aſſemble the people, and Preach to them the Miracles of their Saints, and to curſe *Abubeker*, *Omar*, *Oſman*, and *Hanife*, as alſo the Saints of the *Usbeques Tartars*, of whom they relate ridiculous and obſcene ſtories, to make them abominable and deſpicable. This Contributes ſomewhat to the eſtabliſhment of their Religion, and heightens in the Children the hatred they have againſt the *Turks*, for thoſe are the chief Auditors of theſe Market-Lectures, and thence it comes, that theſe *Abdallas* are never ſeen neer the Frontiers of *Turkey*. There are ſome of them, who take whatever their Auditors give them, and thence it comes they are alſo termed *Kalanderan*; for after they have ſpent about half an hour in talking and telling of ſtories, much after the manner of our Mountebanks, they have ſome ſmall money given them, whereupon they diſmiſs the aſſembly, to go and Preach in ſome other place. They have in their hand a Hatchet or Scepter of wood, wherewith they make their Geſtures, and handle them, as thoſe in our parts, who ſhew tricks of Legerdemain, do their ſticks. They ſet out their Diſcourſe with all ſorts of Fables, and ſometimes bring in ſuch palpable lies, that ſome make no difficulty to interrupt them, and reproach them with their impudence. They are a lewd ſort of people, addicted to all manner of vices. Tipling-houſes and places of publick proſtitution are their ordinary retreats, and they are for the moſt part Buggerers and High-waymen. That they may commit their Robberies with greater ſafety, they go in the night time into Caves, and, Counterfeiting the neighing of Horſes, they make a diſcovery of what number paſſes by. Hence it comes, that there are few that will give them ſo much as Lodging, in ſo much that they are forc'd to take up their quarters in Chapels, built for that purpoſe neer the *Moſqueyes*.

Another ſort of Religious men.

I ſhall here relate, to this purpoſe, what happen'd, at the time of our Embaſſy, in the Village of *Lekere*, within three leagues of *Ardebil*, to one of theſe *Abdallas*, who addreſs'd himſelf to a young Woman, deſiring her to give him a night's Lodging. The Woman excus'd her ſelf upon the abſence of her Husband, and told him, that, another time, when her Husband were at home, he ſhould not be deny'd. The *Abdalla* finding the young Woman to his mind, and ſeeing her go out to milk the Kine, made his advantage of the opportunity, crept into the houſe, and hid himſelf under a bed, which the *Perſians*, in the Summer time, put on high Treſſels, as well to prevent the inconvenience they receive from inſects, as that they may make uſe of the floor to put their Corn upon. The VVoman being return'd from milking, deſir'd a young Maid of the neighbourhood to keep her company that night, and while they were at Supper, ſhe intreated the Maid, to reach ſome Cakes ſhe had lay'd upon the bed, which ſhe did, but finding the *Abdalla* lying under it, and imagining it was with the VVomans conſent and privity that he was come thither, ſhe would ſtay no longer with her. The *Abdalla* perceiving the Maid was gone, comes out, ſalutes the young VVoman, and deſires her to Lodge him, and having obtain'd that, made it his further intreaty, that ſhe would afford him part of her own bed. The poor Woman finding her ſelf alone, made as if ſhe conſented, and told him, ſhe would onely go into the next Room to get ſomewhat for his Supper: but as ſoon as ſhe was got in, ſhe lock'd the Door, and barricado'd her ſelf in with certain Bags of Rice. The *Abdalla* finding himſelf chows'd, lay'd hold of a little Child, and threatned the VVoman to kill it, if ſhe would not open the Door. The VVoman made anſwer, that her honour was dearer to her than her Child, and that her Husband, who would be the moſt injur'd in its miſcarriage, would get more of them. Upon that the *Abdalla* kill'd the Child with a broad Knife, which theſe Villains are wont to carry at their Girdles, and call *Bukdan*, cut him into four quarters, and beſet himſelf to force open the Door. To get into the Room, he made a hole under the Threſhold of the Door, and thruſt himſelf into it to get through; but ere he had quite paſs'd his head and ſhoulders, the VVoman cries out, and finding a Plough-ſhare in the Room, gave him ſo many ſtrokes over the head and neck therewith, that he dy'd of it. The Neighbours, coming in at the noiſe, and, immediately after the Husband, found this ſad Spectacle of the *Abdalla*, and, having got open the Door, the VVoman ſwounded in the Room. Being come to her ſelf, ſhe call'd to mind, that the Rogue, finding himſelf hurt by the firſt blow ſhe had given him, had begg'd his life, and told her that he had wherewithall to purchaſe it: whereupon the Hus-

1637. band took the pains to ſearch him, and to examine his ragged Coat, which had ſo many pieces about it, as made a ſhift to Lodge eight hundred *Chequines*, whereof the Peaſant made his advantage. The *Abdalla*'s body was burnt.

Their Interrments. The *Perſians* interr their Dead, within three hours after the Soul is gone out of the body, unleſs it be in the night time. They waſh the bodies before they are interr'd, and this Ceremony is perform'd, in the houſe, to perſons of quality, or in a place built in the Church-yard for that purpoſe, which they call *Mordeſchar Cane*, for the common people. I had the opportunity to ſee theſe Ceremonies at *Caſwin*, in our return from *Iſpahan*. 'Twas the body of a young man of about twenty years of age, whom they carried in his Cloaths, and before he was quite cold, ſinging all along, to the Church-yard, where they ſtripp'd him, and caſt him into a Ceſtern built about with Free-ſtone, about ſixteen foot ſquare. The Grave-maker having waſh'd the body all over, they put a clean ſhirt about him, wrapp'd him in a ſhrowd of Cotton Cloath, and lay'd him on a Bier, to be carry'd to the Grave, which was not far thence. Perſons of quality have this further Ceremony done them, that at their coming out of the Bath, the body is ſet upright, and they pour Camphir water, which they call *Kafur*, upon the head, whence it runs down all over the body, all the Overtures whereof are ſtopped with Cotton. Then they lay it near the Grave, and the Prieſt having read ſome paſſages of the *Alcoran*, raiſes up his head a little, which he preſently lets down again, and then he is put into the Grave without any Coffin. The Graves are made very hollow, and ſome are vaulted, and others cover'd with boards. the body is laid down on the right-ſide, with the face towards the Weſt, upon this accompt, that the *Perſians*, among other things, are of a perſwaſion, that at the laſt Judgement, the Sun and Moon ſhall be very ſad, and that the Sun coming to the Weſt ſhall ſtand ſtill, and that both thoſe Planets ſhall become as black as Coal. That then the Angel *Gabriel* ſhall come and beat the Sun and Moon, and force them to return from the Weſt to the Eaſt, and that the laſt judgement ſhall begin at the Weſt. Then the Prieſt, having taken up a little earth in his hand, read another paſſage of the *Alcoran*, went ſeven paces from the Grave, then return'd to it again, and having read another paſſage, retir'd with all the company. After theſe Ceremonies, perſons of quality are wont to make a Feaſt, the third day after the interrment, but without any Wine, and if the deceas'd hath left much Wealth behind him, they make another Feaſt on the ſeventh, and another on the fortieth day, as alſo at the *Nauruz*, at the *Kurban*, and at the *Rameſan*, being ſure to diſtribute ſome Almes among the Poor.

The reaſon why they make the Graves ſo hollow, and ſtop up all the Overtures of the body, is, the belief they are of, that when the Prieſt goes ſeven paces from the Grave, two Angels, named *Nekir* and *Munkir*, come into it, and, if the Overtures were not ſtopped, might be incommodated by ſome uncleanneſs. They believe, that, during that time, the Soul returns into the body, that ſhe raiſes it into a ſitting poſture, that it may give the Angels an account of all its Members had done in this World. Then he makes theſe queſtions to the deceas'd; *In whom haſt thou believ'd?* whereto it anſwers, In one onely God, my Heavenly Father. *Who is thy Prophet?* Mahomet. *Who is thy Imam?* Aaly. If he anſwers pertinently to the queſtions, and can give any account of the uſe of his Members, there is no doubt made but he is ſav'd, and that the Angels thereupon ſeize the ſoul, and abſolutely ſeparate it from the body. There are only perſons of age who are ſubject to this examination; Children being not oblig'd to give any account of their Faith.

The *Perſians*, to ſhew that *Abathalib*, *Aly*'s Father, is infallibly ſav'd, affirm that he was, before, named *Emiram*, and that he dy'd before *Mahomet*. Being buried, and the Angels having ask'd him who was his Prophet, he made anſwer, it was *Mahomet*; but when they ask'd him who was his Saint, he was at a loſs, and knew not what to ſay, for he knew not then that his Son *Aly* ſhould become ſo great an *Imam*. Whereupon the Angel *Gabriel* going to *Mahomet*, bid him ſend *Aly* to *Abalhalib*'s Sepulchre, and to ſay to him, Father I am thy *Imam*, and ſhall draw thee to me at the day of Judgement: and that thence it comes, they gave *Emiram* the name of *Abathalib*, that is, the ſeeking Father, in as much as the Father had ſought, and found his *Imam*.

The interrments of great Lords and perſons of quality are performed with great Pomp, and the body is accompany'd by a great proceſſion. We made mention, in the fift book of this Relation, of a Gentleman of *Scamachie* who had drunk ſo much Aquavitæ, that he dy'd of it the next day. The Ceremonies of his interrment were as followeth.

In the firſt place, in the head of the Proceſſion, there marched ſix men carrying Banners, and great and long Poles, much like thoſe we had ſeen at our entrance into that place, with this difference only, that thoſe at this Funeral were wreath'd. Next marched four Horſes, the firſt whereof carried the Bow and Arrows of the deceas'd, and the other three ſome part of his Cloaths. After theſe, one of his Menial ſervants, mounted on an excellent Mule, carry'd his *Mendil*, or *Turbant*. This man was follow'd by two men, carrying on their heads, certain Towers, which they call *Nachal*, adorn'd with great Plumes of Feathers, who danc'd and leap'd to the ſound of the Muſick, which came after them, and conſiſted of Tabours, and Cop-

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per baſins, which they ſtruck one againſt another. Between this Muſick and the Dancers, there were carried eight Diſhes of Preſerves, having each of them a Sugar-Cake in the midſt, cover'd with blue paper, which is the colour of their Mourning, and about every Cake three Wax-Candles lighted. Next marched divers of the *Suffi*, who were diſtinguiſh'd from others by their white *Turbants*. Then follow'd two bands of Muſicians, who with all their might ſung the *La illa illaha*, and the *Alla Ekber*, accompanying their cries with ſuch diſtorted Countenances and Poſtures, as *Scaramuzza* himſelf would be much troubled to imitate. Then follow'd three young Boyes, having their right ſhoulder and arm naked, and their foreheads and arms ſo ſcratch'd, that the blood trickled down to the ground. Laſtly, there follow'd three men, carrying each of them a Tree, whereto they had faſten'd certain red Apples, and the Treſſes of hair, which the ſaid Gentlemans three Wives had either pluck'd or cut off their heads, as alſo certain pieces of red and green paper. Theſe went immediately before the body, which was carried by eight men upon their ſhoulders; and upon the Bier there was a very fair Garment, lined with the precious skins of the Buchar-ſheep. Behind the Corps there follow'd four men, carrying, in a very high Chair, a young Lad, who read certain paſſages of the *Alcoran*, and the Proceſſion was clos'd with the Relations and Friends of the deceas'd, who went along with the body to a certain place of the Citie, where it was to remain, till ſuch time as it ſhould be transfert'd to *Bagdat*, to be diſpos'd near their *Imams*. 1637.

THE TRAVELS OF THE AMBASSADORS FROM THE DUKE of HOLSTEIN INTO MUSCOVY, TARTARY, and PERSIA.

The Seventh Book.

1637. HAving given an account, in the precedent Book, of all we thought worthy our observation in the City of *Ispahan*, during the abode we made there, as also of all we could learn of the State of the Kingdome of *Persia*, and the Inhabitants thereof, and their manner of life, at least as far as was consistent with the relation of our Travells; it shall be our business in the subsequent to set down the particulars of our return, and to reconduct the Ambassadors into their Countrey.

Some of the Retinue take Sanctuary.

All things being set in order for our departure, there hapned a difficulty which occasioned no small distraction. The King of *Persia* had commanded *Abasculi Chan*, our *Mehemander*, to conduct us, in our return, through the Province of KILAN, out of this consideration, that the said Province being one of the best and most fertile of all the Kingdome, it was his pleasure we should pass through it; as well that we might be eye-witnesses of the riches of it, and give an account thereof in *Germany*, as that we might find there those conveniences, which we had not met withall in our coming thither, and which we should hardly light upon elsewhere. But in regard the Inhabitants of *Kilan* are cruel and barbarous, whereas all the other *Persians* are civil and obliging, it rais'd an apprehension in some, that the King had given those orders purposely to ruine us, and it was reported, that his Majesty, being incens'd against the Ambassador *Brugman*, who in several Occurrences had demean'd himself insolently and imprudently, intended to make those people the instruments of his revenge upon him, and all of us. And this it had been the more easie for him to do, in that he needed only to awaken the resentments of the Governours of *Derbent* and *Scamachie*, whom the Ambassador *Brugman* had indiscreetly affronted at our first passage that way. Most of our people were so prepossess'd with this apprehension, and had given so much credit to the report, which was spread up and down the Citie, to that effect, that five of our Retinue went and took up their Quarters with *Lyon Bernoldi*, in the *Alla-Capi*, or Sanctuary, to wit, the Captain of our ship, *Michel Cordes*, his Mate, one of the Pages, the Chirurgeon, who afterwards went along with *Mandelslo* into the *Indies*, and one of the Guard.

We

We left *Ispahan*, on the 21. of *December*, towards the evening. Most of the *English* Merchants accompany'd us above a League out of the Citie, to a certain place, where they gave us a Collation, at the foot of a pleasant green Hill; which done, they took leave of us, and return'd to the Citie. The same night, we travell'd three Leagues, to a Village named *Reschman*, where we continu'd all the next day, as well for some reasons, not fit to be discover'd as in expectation of the *Postanick*, or *Muscovian* Envoy, who was to take the same way, and accompany us. The *Augustine* Fathers of *Ispahan* and F. *Ambrose*, Prior of *Tiflis*, came thither also, to take their leave of us, and afterwards, *Monsieur Malon*, the most considerable person among the *French* Merchants, came also to make us his Complements. Monsieur *Mandelslo* came also to the said place, as well to take his final leave of us, as to acquaint us, that the King of *Persia* had appointed *Imanculi Sulthan*, *Eischickagasi*, or one of his Stewards, for the Embassy he intended to send to his Highness the Duke of *Holstein*, our Master; that he carried along with him a Present amounting to five and twenty thousand Crowns, and that he was taking his leave, in order to his departure from the Court, within a few dayes after. 1637. DECEM. *The Ambassadors leave Ispahan.*

The 23. after we had taken leave of our friends, not without the shedding of some tears, we got on horse-back, and reach'd that day to the *Caravansera* of *Dombi*, five leagues from our former lodging.

The next day, we got five leagues further, and took up our lodging at night in a *Caravansera*, called *Serdehe*.

The 25. being *Christmas*-day, we saw, neer the Village of *Kaskabath*, within two leagues of *Serdehe*, how the King was encamped there under several Tents, which being of divers colours, made a very delightfull show. The Ambassadors sent thither the Sieur *Francis Murrher*, who understood the *Turkish* language. He made the King so handsom and respectfull a Complement, that his Majesty openly express'd how much he was satisfy'd therewith. In the mean time we pass'd on, and went and lodg' in the little Citie of *Natens*. *Come to* Natens.

The 26. we travell'd on, and took up our Quarters at night in a *Caravansera*, named *Chotzakassim*.

The 27. we came to the Citie of *Kaschan*, where the difference which happen'd between the Ambassador *Brugman* and our *Mehemander*, put us to much trouble. For the *Mehemander*, thinking it a disparagement to him to be domineer'd over by the Ambassador, would have return'd to the Court, to make his complaints of the ill treatment he receiv'd from us; and had done it, had it not been for the Ambassador *Crusius*, who reconcil'd them, but it was his business for four dayes, which we spent to no other purpose at *Kaschan*. We found the weather there very fair, and hot enough, though it were in the very depth of Winter. Kaschan.

M. DC. XXXVIII.

JANUARY the first, we Celebrated the beginning of our New year by the firing of our great Guns, which were discharg'd three times, and afterwards by a Sermon and the ordinary Prayers. In the after-noon, we got on horse-back, and reach'd that day five leagues, to the Village of *Sensen*. JANUA.

The 2. we got five leagues further, and took up our Quarters at night, at *Kasmabath*.

The third, we came to the Citie of *Kom*, where we were assign'd lodgings, in very fair houses neer the *Basar*, upon the complaints we made of the losses we had receiv'd in our former passage that way, when we were quarter'd in certain old ruin'd houses, where we had many things stollen from us. Kom.

We continu'd there all the 4 *th.* and the *Mehemander*, to show he had forgotten all former differences, treated us so well that day, that we had all the reason in the World to be assur'd thereof. The *Muscovian* Ambassador, who seem'd willing to have a little debauche, oblig'd us to pass away the night with him.

Jan. 5. we travell'd five leagues, to a *Caravansera*, named *Schaferabath*. But ere we were all got out of the Citie of *Kom*, we found the Sun eclips'd soon after his rising. It was not quite three degrees above the Horizon, when the Moon depriv'd us almost of all light of it, and so overshadow'd it, that, to my judgement, in the greatest obscurity, the eclipse was three parts of four.

Neer this *Caravansera*, and on our right hand, we discover'd the Mountain of *Kilissim*, which is not very high, but encompass'd of all sides with several barren and stony Hills, which produce nothing but Salt, as do's also all the neighbouring Champaign, which is all white, by reason of the Salt and Saltpeter. This Mountain, as also, those of *Nachtzuan*, *Kulb*, *Urumi*, *Kemre*, *Hemedan*, *Bisetan*, and *Suldus*, supply all *Persia* with Salt, which is digg'd out of them as out of a Quarry. The *Persians* speaking of the Mountain of *Kilissim*, have this expression, *Kim keder kelmes*, that is, those who go it up come not down; an equivocation wherein many of our people have been mistaken, in so much that they have set down in their *The Mountain of Kilissim.*

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1638. Journals, that the ſaid Mountain is ſo dangerous, that ſuch as go up it, never come down again. Whereas the true meaning of thoſe words is onely this, that they who go up that Mountain, come not down, that is, that as long as they are getting up they do not come down, in as much as both cannot be done at the ſame time. The *Perſians* affirm indeed, that *Schach-Abas* one day commanded one of his Huntſ-men to go up to the top of it, and that he did ſo, and made it appear by the fire he made there, and that he never return'd thence, and that it could never be known what became of him: but this is onely a made ſtory.

Brugman *hurt.* The ſixth, we continu'd our journey, but ere we were well got out of our Quarters, the Ambaſſador *Brugman*'s horſe fell down under him, in a very plain way. He had not onely the right Arm put out of joynt by the fall, but his brains were alſo ſo diſorder'd, that we thought he would hardly ever be his own man again. But indeed we had all a ſad day's journey of it, in regard moſt of our horſes tir'd, nay, mine falling down dead under me, I was forc'd to make uſe of my man's, who went afoot, and carried the Portmantle upon his head. We lodg'd that night, at *Saba*, where we ſtay'd all the next day, to give the Ambaſſador *Brugman* ſome reſt, to recover his ſenſes.

Come to Saba.

The 8. we left *Saba* betimes in the morning, and travell'd that day nine leagues, to a *Caravanſera* named *Choskera*. In our way, we loſt one of the Mules, which being ſtray'd ſome diſtance from the reſt, had been driven out of the way by ſome Peaſants. They were purſu'd to the next Village, where the Mule was found, with ſome part of its burthen, in a houſe, among a great many Women, who had made a ſhift to unload the beaſt, but finding themſelves ſurpriz'd, and fallen into the hands of ſtrangers, they cry'd out as if they had been undone. The Thieves were got away, ſo that all could be done, was to bring away the Mule with what was left.

As ſoon as we were lodg'd in this *Caravanſera*, the Ambaſſador *Cruſius* gave order for the ſeizing of certain Sea-men who had committed ſeveral inſolences at *Saba*; but they put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and endeavour'd to make an inſurrection in the Retinue, in ſo much that we were oblig'd to diſarm them by force, and to put them into Irons, wherein they continu'd till our coming to *Scamachie*. In all this quarter, and till we came to the Mountain of *Kilan*, the weather was cold enough, and the Snow upon the ground was above half a foot deep.

Meet with an Ambaſſador from the King of Poland. *Jan.* 9. having travell'd about three leagues, neer an old uncover'd *Caravanſera*, named *Hetzib*, we met with a Lord whom the King of *Poland* ſent Ambaſſador to the King of *Perſia*. His name was *Theophilus de Schonberg*, a perſon, though well advanc'd in years, of a very good countenance. He was a *German* by extraction, and yet in the diſcourſe that paſs'd between him and the Ambaſſadors, which laſted above an hour, he ſpoke altogether in Latine: but taking leave of us, he diſcover'd himſelf to be a *German*. He told us, among other things, that the King his Maſter had given him a Retinue of 200. perſons, but that the great Duke of *Muſcovy* would not permit him to paſs with ſo many: which had occaſion'd him to ſtay ſix moneths at *Smolensko*, whence he had been forc'd to ſend back moſt of his people, and reduce them to the number he then had about him, which was, 25. perſons.

He alſo deliver'd us ſome Letters from the *Armenian* Archbiſhop, whom we had met at *Aſtrachan*, and told us, there were arriv'd in that Citie ſome Proviſions which had been ſent us from *Niſenovogorod*.

We ſaw that day, on our right hand, a very fair Countrey-houſe, which the King had built upon the Hill call'd *Kultebe*, for the convenience of hunting. We intended to lodge the next night at the Village of *Araſeng*, and to travel that day but ſix leagues, but the Inhabitants told the Harbinger whom the *Mehemandar* had ſent thither, to take up Quarters, that they would not receive us, and that if we attempted to lodge there by force, they were able to prevent it, and make us repent our raſhneſs, not diſſembling the deſign they had, to cut all our Throats, if we came within the Village, They had not forgotten the affront which the *Kaucha*, or Judge of the Village, had receiv'd, at our firſt paſſage that way, from the Ambaſſador *Brugman*, who having deſir'd water to waſh his hands, and the poor man having brought him troubled water ſuch as the Brook did afford, caſt it in his face, and the pot at his head; ſo that we were forc'd to travel on. The Villages of *Dowlet*, *Abath*, and *Ketziſan*, taking example by that of *Araſeng*, in like manner deny'd us entertainment, and forc'd us to travel on three leagues further, to the Village of *Kulluskur*, through ſuch a bad and ſlippery way, that moſt of our Horſes were ſeveral times on their Noſes, nay, it was day ere ſome got to the Quarters.

I was lodg'd at the Parſon's of the Pariſh, and ſent ſeveral times to deſire him to come in and Sup with me. But he would by no means come, and walk'd all night without Doors, grumbling that his houſe was profan'd, by drinking Wine in it, and eating ſuch Meats as are forbidden by the Law of *Mahomet*.

Jan. 10. we had another ill day's journey, in regard the ground being frozen, the beaſts we rode on were ſo tir'd, that moſt of our people were forc'd to march afoot. Nay ſome were not

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able to perform the journey, whom we were afterwards oblig'd to send for. We lodg'd that night at the Village of *Membre*. 1638.

The 11. we came to the Citie of *Caswin*, where we were forc'd to continue nine dayes, till fresh Horses and Mules could be got for the prosecution of our journey. Neer the Ambassadors lodging there was a great Tree, full of Nails and Pebble-stones, which are so many marks of the Miracles, that one of their *Pyrs* or *Beats*, who lies interr'd under that Tree, is wont to do at that place, in healing the Tooth-ach, Agues, and several other Diseases. Such as are troubled with the Tooth-ach touch the aking Tooth with a Nail or Pebble, which they fasten to the Tree as high as they can reach with their mouths, and hope by that means to get ease. They, whose imagination is so strong as to be ever the better by this kind of Cure, express their acknowledgement thereof by tying certain Ribbands to the boughs of the Tree; though in other respects these Miracles are not done *gratis*, but are very beneficial to a certain Religious man, who hath the keeping of the Tree, and makes his advantage of the Offerings and Alms made there. This profit, which is enough to maintain one man, hath encourag'd several Mountebanks and Impostors, to expose their Cheats, in dressing up Trees with these trifles, and finding Sepulchres of *Pyrs* where there never were any.

Come to Caswin.

The superstition of the Persians.

The 15. The *Postanick*, or *Muscovian* Ambassador, made a great entertainment for our Ambassadors, and the chiefest of their Retinue, and treated us very Magnificently. It was in Commemoration of the birth-day of *Knez Juan Basilouits*, one of the chief Ministers of *Muscovy*, whose favour he courted.

Jan. 20. we left *Caswin*, and leaving on our left hand, towards the Northwest, the way of *Solthania* and *Ardebil*, which we had taken at our coming into *Persia*, we took that of *Kilan* directing our course Northward. We travell'd that day four leagues, for the most part over Hills, manur'd and sowen, and lodg'd, at night, in the Village of *Achibaba*, at the foot of a Mountain, on our right hand.

Leave Caswin.

We were told, that Village was so call'd from an antient man of that name, who liv'd in the time of *Schich-Sefi*, and obtain'd it of him, in memory of a Miracle which God had done in his person, in reviving in him and his Wife, who were each of them neer a hundred years of age, the heat of younger years, in so much that they had a Son, who had bestow'd on them the Tomb, which they shew'd us, under a great Vault.

The 21. we pass'd through a fruitfull Country but somewhat uneven, to the Village of *Tzitelly*, by some called *Kellabath*, that is, a place fit for the breeding of Cattel; so far as that the Grass, which there is excellent good, and grows very plentifully, invites the Inhabitants of *Caswin* to drive their Heards into those parts. The *Vice-Daruga* of *Caswin*, who accompany'd the Ambassadors to this place, and Supp'd with them, entertain'd them a long time, and much to their Diversion, with the relation of his life, and told them, he had been carried away in his Infancy out of *Georgia*, which was his Countrey, in the time of *Schach-Abas*, during the War he made in those parts, and that he had been transferr'd to *Caswin* with his Father and Mother, who were then alive, and still *Christians*, though, in appearance, forc'd to embrace the Religion of the *Persians*.

He told us also, that *Abasculi* made his advantage of our journey, as well as other *Mehemandars*, to exact Provisions and other conveniences from the places which lay in their way; but that there was not one half employ'd for the service of the Ambassadors. They made him a Present of certain Ells of Cloath and Satin.

The 22. we travell'd seven leagues, all over Mountains and Rocks, interwoven with a Brook, which thereabouts ran winding up and down, so as that we were forc'd to cross it above thirty times, ere we got to the Village of *Kurtzibaschi*, where we lodg'd that night. The next morning, we travell'd all along Mountains, which were not very high, but delighted the eye by a diversity of colours, Red, Yellow, Green, and Blue, which afforded a very pleasant prospect. But about noon, we could see nothing but Rocks, dreadfull for their height and steepiness, and, in the evening, we came to the River *Senderuth*, which we cross'd by a Bridge, that joyns the two Mountains through which it runs. We discover'd from the top of the Mountain, some pleasant and fruitfull Valleys, at least if I may so call the other lower Mountains, which are till'd and cultivated, and appear'd to us from the top of the Mountain as little Hillocks. This Village belong'd heretofore to a *Kurtzibaschi*, or Colonel of a thousand Horse, who gave it his own name, and was seated in a very pleasant place: but the houses were built onely of Earth and Canes, whereto there adjoyned certain shepheards Huts, where with we made the best shift we could.

The 23. we travell'd two leagues, very good way, along a Forest of Olive-Trees, at the end whereof, we came to a place, antiently called *Fauces Hyrcaniæ*, but by the *Persians*, in the time of *Alexander* the Great, as it is indeed to this day, *Pylas*. The passage is very narrow, and serves for a Gate to the Province of *Kilan*. At the entrance of it, joyn two swift Rivers, which fall down with a dreadfull noyse through the Rocks, under the name of the River *Isperuth*, though before their joyning together, the greater of the two had the name *Kisilosem*,

Fauces Hyrcaniæ.

1638. *Ioſein*, and paſſing under a ſtone bridge, in order to its falling into the Province of *Kilan*, it there again divides it ſelf, and by two ſeveral Chanels, falls into the *Caſpian* Sea.

A Caravanſera upon a Bridge.

This is a very fair Bridge, built on ſix Arches, each whereof hath a ſpacious Room, a Kitchin, and ſeveral other conveniences, lying even with the water. The going down into it is by a ſtone pair of ſtairs; ſo that this Bridge is able to find entertainment for a whole *Caravanne*.

A Dreadful Road.

At the end of the Bridge, the road divides it ſelf. One way leads through a delightful and even Countrey, into the Province of *Chalcal*, and ſo to *Ardebil*, the other goes ſtreight into the Province of *Kilan*, and this laſt is the moſt dangerous and moſt dreadfull way of any, I think, in the World. It is cut out of a Mountain which is pure Rock, and ſo ſteepy, that they found it a hard matter to make way enough for the paſſage of one Horſe or Camel loaden, nay, in ſome places they have been forc'd to ſupply it with Maſon's work, where the Rock fell ſhort.

On the left hand, the Rock reach'd up into the Clouds, ſo as that the top of it could not be ſeen; and on the right, there was a dreadfull Abyſs, wherein the River made its paſſage, with a noyſe, which no leſs ſtunn'd the ear, than the Precipices dazzled the eye, and made the head turn. Not one among us, nor indeed of the *Perſians* themſelves, durſt ride it up, but were forc'd to lead their Horſes by the Bridle, and that at a diſtance looſely, leſt the beaſt, falling, might drag his Maſter after him. The Horſes came very gingerly, but the Camels ſtumbled not at all, and were ſure to ſet their feet in the ſteps, which had been purpoſely cut for them in the Rock. At the top of the Mountain, we came to a houſe, where certain duties are paid. The Receiver thereof made us a Preſent of ſeveral fruits, and we wondred much, conſidering the time of the year, to ſee the Hedges all over the Valleys, flouriſhing, and full of bloſſoms.

Summer and Winter the ſame day.

But this very Mountain, which was ſo ſteepy, teadious, and dreadfull on the one ſide, had ſo pleaſant and delightfull a deſcent on the other, that it was no hard matter for us to forget the fright and trouble we had been in, in coming it up. It was all over clad with a reſplendent verdure, and ſo planted with Citron-Trees, Orenge-Trees, Olive-Trees, nay, Cypreſs-Trees, and Box, that there is not any Garden in *Europe* could more delight the eye, nor more ſurpriſe and divert the ſmell. The ground was in a manner cover'd with Citrons and Orenges, inſomuch that ſome of our people, who had never ſeen ſuch abundance of them, made it their ſport to fling them at one another's heads. But what we were moſt aſtoniſh'd at, was, in one and the ſame day, to ſee Winter chang'd to Summer, and the cold, which we had been ſufficiently ſenſible of in the morning, turn'd to a heat, which in a manner accompany'd us into *Europe*.

We lodg'd that night, at the foot of a Mountain, upon the River *Iſperuth*, at the Village of *Pyle-rubar*. 'Tis true the houſes were little and incommodious, and ſcatter'd up and down without any order; but there was not any but had its Garden, and Vineyard, its Citron-trees, Orenge-trees, and Pomegranate-trees, and that in ſuch abundance, that the Village being cover'd therewith, we could hardly ſee any of the houſes. It was encompaſs'd of all ſides with a very high Mountain, ſave only, that on the South-weſt ſide of the Valley, there was a little Plain.

The Provence of Kilan deſcribed.

It may be ſaid of this part, as indeed of all the Province of *Kilan*, that it is a kind of terreſtrial Paradice. In the fifth Book of theſe Travels, we gave an account of its extent, of the other Provinces whereof it conſiſted, and of its principal Cities; whereto we think fit to add in this place, that the Province of *Kilan* extends it ſelf like a Creſcent, all along the Caſpian Sea, and that it is encompaſs'd like a Theatre, with a high Mountain, out of which ariſe ſeveral Rivers, which refreſh the plain Country, and make it very fruitfull, but in ſome places, eſpecially towards the Sea, ſo fenny; that the whole Province becomes by that means inacceſſible. But *Schach-Abas* hath remedied that inconvenience, by a bank or cauſey, which runs quite through the Country, from *Aſtarabath* to *Aaſtra*; ſo that now people may travel without any inconvenience, and that with any kind of Carriage, Horſe, Camels, Wagons, &c.

Its Fruits.

There is no Province of all *Perſia* ſo fertile and ſo abundant with Silk, Oyl, Wine, Rice, Tobacco, Lemons, Orenges, Pomegranates, and other Fruits. The Vines there are excellent, and as big as a man at the Waſte: but in regard they are commonly planted at the foot of ſome tree, the branches ſpread themſelves up the tree, even to the extremities of the boughs, ſo that the Vintage becomes ſo much the more difficult. For he who is to gather the Grapes, is oblig'd to faſten to the top of the tree a rope, having at the other end a ſtick as if it were to ſwing withall, upon which he having ſeated himſelf, is drawn and ſwings as it were from one tree to another, and from one bough to another, to gather the bunches.

The Mountain which encompaſſes it and ſpreads its extremities to the *Caſpian* Sea-ſide, is ſo cover'd with trees, that the whole Province ſeems to be enclos'd by a continued Foreſt.

The neighbouring Sea, and all the Rivers of this Province are ſo well ſtor'd with Fiſh, the grounds with Cattel, and the foreſts with all ſorts of Veniſon and wild Fowl, that the Inhabitants have not only wherewithall to live deliciouſly themſelves, but may communicate of their abundance to their Neighbours. Which is contrary to what *John de Laet*, writes, after *Johannes*

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Schemhe basar
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nes de Perſia, to wit, that *Meſanderan*, which is part of the Province of *Kilan*, is ſo cold a Country, that the fruits thereof hardly come to their full maturity. We know by experience, that there is no Province in all *Perſia*, where the air is better and more temperate than in *Meſanderan*, and that it produces the beſt and faireſt Fruits of any place in the Kingdom. Whence it came, that *Schach Abas*, who knew it very well, preferr'd this Province before all the reſt of the Kingdom, and had ſuch a kindneſs for it, that, willing to make it his ordinary reſidence, he there built the City of *Terabath*, where he died. 1638.

The Inhabitants of this Province, eſpecially the *Kilek*, who live between *Kesker* and *Meſanderan*, are ſelf-conceited, hardy and apt to attempt any thing. They had heretofore their particular King, nay even to this day, the King of *Perſia* is not ſo abſolute there, as in the other Provinces of his Kingdom; as well in regard they need not much care for any Trading with their Neighbours, ſince they have at home whatever is neceſſary, as that the Countrey being in a manner inacceſſible, they may eaſily avoid entertaining the Forces which might be quarter'd upon them. There are but four wayes to come into the Province, and all very narrow: the firſt comes from *Choraſan*-ſide, by the way of *Aſtarabath*; the ſecond, from *Meſanderan*, by the way of *Ferabath*; the third, by *Pyle-rubar*, and the fourth, by *Lenger Kunan*. *The Kilek.*

All theſe waies are ſo narrow, that they hardly afford paſſage for a Camel. Such as are afoot, as alſo horſe-men, ſometimes venture to get into it by the way of the Mountain; but the way there alſo is ſo intricate, that the paſſages being maintainable by a few people, and the *Caſpian* Sea not being able to bear great ſhips, the Inhabitants have no enemies to fear but the *Coſaques*, who ſometimes fall into the Country in the night, to ſurpriſe and rifle certain Villages upon the Sea-ſide.

We were then told, that it was not above eight and thirty years, ſince *Schach-Abas* had reunited that Province to his Crown; but that aſſoon as his Soveraignty was acknowledg'd there, the *Kilek*, finding that *Schach-Sefi*, his Succeſſor, ſignaliz'd the initials of his Reign by the executions of the chiefeſt perſons about the Court, revolted, took up arms, and choſe a King, whom the *Perſians* call *Karib-Schach*. *Revolt.*

This *Karib* was born in the Village hf *Lechtenſcha*, but deſcended from the antient Kings of *Lahetzan*, in the Province of *Kilan*, and found credit enough in the Country to raiſe an Army of 14000. men. His firſt action was the taking of the City of *Reſcht*, where he ſeiz'd on the King's money, as he alſo did in all the other Cities of the Province, whereof he had poſſeſs'd himſelf of all the avenues. The King of *Perſia*, who was then at *Caſwin*, coming to hear of this revolt by the other Governours of the Country, Commanded *Saru*, *Chan* of *Aſtara*, *Mahomed*, *Chan* of *Kochtum* and *Seberabath*, *Heider*, *Sulthan* of *Keinlubeſar* and *Tanchabun*, and *Adam*, *Sultan* of *Meſanderan*, to ſet upon *Karib-Schach* of all ſides. To that end they divided their forces into three Bodies, and went with two of them ſtreight towards him, intending to make uſe of the third, in caſe of neceſſity, as a reſerve; but they found him ſo well poſted, that they were forc'd to retreat with loſs. *The hiſtory of Karib-Shach.*

Karib-Schach, inſtead of improving this firſt advantage, which might have given reputation to his Arms, grew ſo inſolent thereupon, and withall ſo negligent, that he permitted his people to enlarge their quarters to the adjacent Villages, where they fell to merriment and making good cheer, while he continued with ſome few about him at *Kiſma* and *Fumen*. The *Chans* who obſerv'd all his actions, had no ſooner notice of it, but they got together again their three Bodies, which made an Army of above 40000. men, with which they ſet upon the forces of *Karib-Schach* in their quarters, and gave them an abſolute defeat.

As to *Karib* himſelf, he had the time to get into a Garden, where he hid himſelf, behind one of thoſe trees which produce ſilk, and which thoſe of the Countrey call *Tut*; but he was there diſcover'd by one of the Domeſticks of *Emir-Chan*, who knew him by his Cloaths. He intreated that *Thebni*, or Servant, to ſave his life, by furniſhing him with his Cloaths, and promis'd him, in requital, a good ſum of mony, beſides the Preſent he made him in hand of a great many Jewels. The Servant made as if he conſented, but aſſoon as he got on *Karib*'s Garment and Sword, he ſaid to him, It is I who am now King, and thou art but a Traytor, and thereupon calling to ſome of his Camerades, he ſeiz'd upon him, and put him into the *Palenk*. *Schach-Sefi* would needs ſee him, and had him brought to *Caſwin*, where he then was, making his entrance into it, accompany'd by five or ſix hundred Curtezans, who inceſſantly jeer'd him in his Royalty, and did him a thouſand indignities and affronts.

They began his execution by a very extraordinary puniſhment. For *Schach-Sefi* caus'd him to be ſhod, hands and feet, like a Horſe, and told him he did it for his eaſe, in regard that being accuſtom'd to go upon the fat and ſoft ground of *Kilan*, he would otherwiſe hardly endure the ſtony and rugged wayes of *Perſia*. Having ſuffer'd him to languiſh in that condition three dayes, they brought him to the *Maidan*, where they ſet him on the top of a Pole, and kill'd him with Arrows. The King having ſhot the firſt, oblig'd all the Lords of the Court to follow his example, bidding thoſe that lov'd him do as he had done. Upon that word, he was immediately *Aſtrange puniſhment.*

1638. ſo cover'd with Arrows, that there was no ſhape of a man to be ſeen. The body was left in that poſture three dayes, expos'd to the ſight of all, and then it was taken thence and interr'd.

Saru Chan, Governour of *Aſtara*, had expreſs'd moſt zeal, courage, and conduct in that War, whereby he got ſo much into favour with *Schach-Sefi*, that the ſav'd the eſtate and life of a rich Merchant, who was unfortunately engag'd in *Karib*'s revolt. He liv'd at the Village of *Leſchtenſa*, and if he did not openly declare for *Karib*, certain itis, he knew of his deſign, and neglected to give norice of it to the Court: ſo that they were going to extirpate him and his family, and to confiſcate his Eſtate, which amounted to above a hundred thouſand pounds *ſterl*, to the King's uſe, had not *Saru-Chan*'s interceſſion procur'd his pardon.

The Kilek diſarm'd. Aſſoon as this revolt was appeas'd, the *Kilek* were diſ-arm'd, and they were forbidden to buy Arms, upon ſo great penalties, that ever ſince that time they have not dar'd to have any, not ſo much as a *Sefir*, or Ring, wherewith the *Perſians* bend their Bows, ſo far were they from being allow'd Fire-arms, Swords, Bows or Arrows. They are only permitted the uſe of a certain Inſtrument like a Hedg-bill, which they call *Das*, having a handle of wood four foot long, wherewith they cut wood, dreſs their Vines, and do ſeveral other things. The people called *Taliſch*, who live between *Kesker* and *Meſanderan*, who expreſs'd their fidelity, and affection to the King's ſervice, in the War againſt *Karib*, have, on the contrary, the privilege of uſing all ſorts of Arms.

Their habit. The *Kilek* wear a ſhorter Garment than the other *Perſians*, by reaſon of the moiſture and mooriſhneſs of the Country. They are not of ſo yellowiſh a complexion as the reſt of the *Perſians*, but of a much clearer, in regard the air there is much more temperate, than in other parts of the Kingdom. The Women of the *Taliſch*'s are the handſomeſt of any in *Perſia*, and cover not their faces as much as the others do. Maids have their hair ty'd up in 24. or 25. treſſes, which hang down over their backs and ſhoulders, but married Women have but ten or twelve. Their Garments are ſo ſhort before, that they hide not their Smocks, and inſtead of ſhoes, they were Sandals of wood, which they faſten with a ſtring to the heel, and, with a button or latchet of wood, between the great toe and the next to it: but in regard the ground is very fat there upon any rain, they commonly go bare-foot as well as the men. The Caps worn by the *Kileck* are of a coarſe Cloath, but thoſe of the *Taliſch* are of black Lambskin. Theſe two people have each of them their particular Language, which differs from the *Perſian*, only as to Dialect; though there be ſo little rapport between that of *Kilan* and that of the *Taliſch*, that they have much ado to underſtand one the other. For example, to ſignify a Dog, a *Perſian* will ſay *Sek*, a *Kilek Seggi*, and a *Taliſch Spech*. There is no Province in all *Perſia*, where the Women take more pains than they do in that of *Kilan*. They are commonly employ'd in ſpinning, and making Stuffs of Cotton, Flax, and Silk, as alſo in making *Duſchab*, and Syrrop of Wine, which they ſell by jarrs, and tilling the ground for the ſowing of Rice, about which the men and women have their ſeveral employments. For the men hold the Plow, and make the trenches to keep in the water, for the watering of the ground: The women carry the Corn to field. The men ſow the ground, going backwards as they caſt the ſeed into it: The women weed it. The men cut it, and the women bind it. The men bring it into the barn, but the women thraſh and ſell it. They all profeſs the *Turkiſh* Religion, and are of the Sect of *Hanife*.

They receiv'd us ſo kindly, that it was generally wiſh'd by us we might have made ſome ſtay there: but we were forc'd to depart thence the 24. of *January*. We went, at firſt, along the River ſide, having on our left hand a foreſt of Olive-trees, which gave us a pleaſant ſhade, againſt the heat of the Sun, which prov'd very great that day. Within a league of *Pyle-rubar*, we ſaw, in the midſt of the River, upon a great Rock, the ruins of a Caſtle, and the remainders of a Bridge, both which they ſaid had been pull'd down by *Alexander* the Great. We afterwards paſs'd over another Mountain, or rather a very high and craggy Rock, at the foot whereof we came into a very ſmooth way, enamell'd with green, and ſpread over with new ſpringing graſs, checquer'd with Violets, which extremely delighted not only the ſmell but alſo the eye. We came at night to a Village, where we ſaw the Sepulchre of *Iman Sade*, in a little Chapel built at the foot of a hill, which lay on our right hand. All the houſes of the Village were cover'd with ſlats and tiles, as they are in *Europe*, by reaſon of the rains, which, it ſeems, are more frequent in thoſe parts than any where elſe.

Come to Reſcht. The 25. we got five leagues, and came at night to *Reſcht*. The way at firſt, was ſomewhat uneven and wooddy: but after a while, we found it planted with thoſe trees which bear ſilk, and at laſt we came to a plain and ſmooth way, having on both ſides Corn-grounds, interwoven with ſeveral deep trenches, ſuch as thoſe which in *Flanders* they call *Water-gangs*, into which they let in the water by Sluces, and there keep it, for the watering of their grounds, when the heat hath dry'd up the ſources of the Rivers, nay indeed for the overflowing of them, when need requires. They had indeed been at the pains to make Bridges over thoſe moats or trenches, but they were ſo ill kept in repair, that many of our people fell into the water. The

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Inhabitants of the Country mind only the husbandry of Rice, and they have each of them his house at the end of his piece of ground, about two or three hundred paces distant one from the other. 1638.

The City of *Rescht* is the Metropolis of all *Kilan*, and of a considerable bigness, but open of all sides like a Village, and the houses of it are so hid within the trees, that a man at his entrance into it may think, he is rather going into a Forest than a City, since there is no seeing of it, till a man be within it. It lies two leagues distant from the *Caspain* Sea, and the *Arabians*, in the Catalogue of their Cities, name it, *Husum*, and place it at 85. degrees, 10. minutes latitude. The houses of it are not so well built, nor so fair, as those of the other Cities of *Persia*, but they were all cover'd with tiles as ours, and not any but had adjoyning thereto a great number of Citron-trees and Orenge-trees, which had then on them their second fruit, ripe, of that years growth. *A description of the Province of Kilan.*

The *Maidan*, or Market-place, is very spacious, and full of shops, where are sold all sorts of Commodities, especially Provisions, which are very cheap there, upon which accompt it was, that our *Mehemander* treated us very magnificently during the aboad we made there, which was five daies: The City of *Rescht*, though the greatest af all the Province, hath no *Chan*, or chief Governour, but only a *Daruga*, whose name, at that time, was *Alyculi-Beg*.

Jan. 26. the Inhabitants of *Rescht* celebrated a Festival, in honour of *Aly*, with the same Ceremonies in a manner, as we had seen at *Scamachie*, on the 7. of *February*, the year before: and this Feast happen'd then in *January*, in regard the *Persians* regulate their Feasts according to the Moon. They borrow'd of us a Drum, wherewith they made a mad kind of noise in their Procession. The Preacher, who made a long relation of the Miracles of *Aly*, concluded his Sermon with these blasphemous words, That, if *Aly* were not really God, he at least came very neer the Divinity: *Aly Chodda nist, amma ne dures Choddai.* *A feast in honour of Aly.*

We were here shewn the Sanctuary, which *Schach-Abas* had ordered to be built, at the place, where *Sefi Myrza*, his Son, had, by his command, been kill'd by *Bebut-beg*, as we have related in the precedent Book of these *Travels*. *Sefi Myrzas' Sanctuary.*

Jan. 30. we left *Rescht*, the weather rainy. We saw nothing at all that day but a Plain, which brought us not only to our lodging that night, but also to the Frontiers of the Province of *Kilan*, which is very even on that side. All the way was planted on both sides with Box, and those trees which bear silk, and cross'd by many small Rivers, whereof such as were considerable enough to have a name, are, the *Pesi-chan*, half a league from the City of *Rescht*, then that of *Chettiban*, and somewhat less than a league thence, those of *Pischeru* and *Lissar*, all which have Bridges, rais'd very high, by reason of the frequent inundations of the Rivers, and so untoward to pass over, that they put a man into a fright: and notwithstanding all our care, yet could we not prevent the Horse, which carried the Physicians baggage, from falling into the River, whence we had much ado to get him out, by reason of the Fens on both sides it. The last River we cross'd that day is called *Tzonus*; and they are all well stor'd with fish, in so much that the King farms out the fishing of them, which brings him in yearly very considerable sums. Having travell'd four leagues that day, we came at night to *Kisma*, neer the Town of *Fumen*, or *Pumen*, where *Karib-schach* was defeated, and taken, as we related before. *Leave Reschts.*

January the last, we got four leagues further, our way being planted all along with those Trees which bear silk, and whereof there was so great a number, that they made a Forest. We saw also that day great Vineyards, according to the *Persian* way.

Having travell'd about four leagues, we met with the *Calenter*, or King's Lieutenant in the Government of *Kesker*, who came to meet us, accompany'd by thirty Horse. He had led after him a Mule, loaden with Wine, Conserves, and other refreshments, wherewith he treated the Ambassadors, and oblig'd them to make a Collation in the field.

The *Chan*, who was coming after him, accompany'd by a hundred persons of quality on Horse-back, receiv'd the Ambassadors with great civility, and conducted us to the little Citie of *Kurab*, where he invited us to his own house, and treated us with Fruit and Conserves, making it his excuse, that their Fast permitted him not to keep us company, and entertain us with flesh. The Collation ended, he had us all conducted to the Lodgings he had taken up for us, ordered certain Gentlemen to wait on the Ambassadors, and sent them a Present of four wild Boars. *Come to Kurab.*

The *Chan*'s name was *Emir*, and he was son to a *Georgian Christian*, born at a Village neer *Eruan*. He had been Circumcis'd in his youth, and had some time been *Cup-bearer* to *Schach-Abas*, who had bestow'd that Government on him, in recompence of the service he had done him at the siege of *Eruan*, and had given the reversion of his place of *Cup-bearer* to his Son. He was an eloquent person, and obliging, and took much delight in talking of the Affairs and Wars of *Germany*, and our manner of life. He told us he could not forbear loving the *Christians*: but we were told one very extraordinary thing of him, and horrid to relate, to wit,

1638. that having some time been in a teadious Disease, which having caus'd an universal contraction in all his Members, the Physicians had order'd him one of the most extravagant remedies that ever were heard of, which was, *ut rem haberet cum cane fœmina.*

Kurab *Metropolis of the Province of* Kesker.

This little Citie of *Kurab* lies within two leagues of the *Caspian* Sea, as that of *Resche* do's, and is hid within its Trees. They who call it *Kesker*, give it the name of the Province, wherein it lies. In this place was born *Schach-Sefi*, who reign'd at the time of our Embassy. For his Mother was brought to bed in this Citie, upon occasion of a journey which *Schach-Abas* took into *Kilan*, wherein she follow'd him, along with *Sefi Mirsa* her Husband. The house, wherein he was born, belong'd to a rich Merchant, named *Chotza Mahmud*; but in regard a Prince, Heir to the Crown, had his birth there, it was converted into a Sanctuary.

FEBRUA *The Ambassadors leave* Kurab.

February the first, we left *Kurab*, about ten in the morning, having very fair weather, save that the heat was greater than we could have wish'd. *Emir-Chan* conducted us a league or better out of the Citie, where he took leave, intreating us to be carefull of his *Calenter*, who had order to accompany us through his Government. This *Calenter* was a young man, of an excellent good nature, and diverted us in our way, by shooting with the Bow, and shewing tricks with a half-pike, at which exercise he had an admirable sleight.

Having travell'd two leagues, we were got to the *Caspian* Sea-side, whence we saw the Countrey, which is all cover'd with Trees and Forests towards the North and South, spreading it self like a Crescent a great way into the Sea, on the right hand, from about *Mesandcran*, and *Ferahath*, and on the left, from about *Astara*. We travell'd about a league along the the *Caspian* Sea-side, and lodg'd at night, upon the Torrent *Nasseru*, in a house called *Rhassseru-kura*, which had but two Chambers in all, so that being streightned for room, most of our people were forc'd to ly abroad, at the sign of the *Seven-Stars*.

The 2. we travell'd six leagues or better, along the Sea coast, going North-westward. We cross'd over that day fourteen little Rivers, or rather so many great brooks, and among others, those of *Sehibern*, *Dinatsar*, *Chalessera*, *Alarus*; and *Nabarrus*. The River of *Dinatsar*, which is about the mid-way, serves for a common Frontier to the Goverments of *Kesker* and *Astara*, which oblig'd the *Calenter* of *Kesker*, who had accompany'd us so far, to take leave, and recommend us to the conduct of the *Calenter* of *Astara*, who waited for us on the River side. The Canton is called *Kargaru*. The *Calenter* carried us out of the highway, and conducted us through Corn-ground to a Village named *Sengar-hasara*, where we lodg'd that night, and found, brought thither, before us, five wild boars which they had hunted, purely upon our accompt, and for our entertainment. All the Forests of those parts are well stor'd with them, in regard the *Persians*, not daring to eat them, are not much inclin'd to the hunting of them.

The 3. we departed betimes in the morning, in snowy and rainy weather, and continu'd our way along the *Caspian* Sea, drawing towards East-north-east. Our way lay so neer the Sea, that the Horses many times went into the water up to the Girts, nay some of our people fell, horse and man, into the water: so that this prov'd one of the worst dayes journey we had, especially for this, that, after we had travell'd seven large leagues, we were forc'd to lodge that night in a wretched Village, named *Hove-lemur*, where all we could get was only a house over our heads.

The 4. we were upon our way again very betimes in the morning, having receiv'd fresh horses. We travell'd four leagues along the Sea-coast, going towards the North. Then we pass'd through a Forest of two leagues, and, in that space of ground, met with two and twenty Rivers; whereof the chiefest are called *Lome*, *Konab*, and *Beskeschan*. The Bridges we were to pass over, were so bad, that many of our company fell into the water, nay there were three Peasants and four horses drown'd, and six more died by the way.

The *Chan* of *Astara*, with a troop of 200. horse, met us within half a league of the Village, where we were to take up our quarters, and accompany'd the Ambassadors to their lodgings, which he had taken up for them in houses scatter'd up and down among the trees. The name of the Village, as also of the River, which runs through it, is *Choskedehene*. The word *Choskedehene* signifies, dry-mouth, and they have given it that name, for this reason, that, the Sea is so shallow there, that the Fish cannot get into the River. The *Chan* lives at *Astara*, which place hath its name from the Province, and is an open place without any walls, as *Resche* is, within a quarter of a league of the *Caspian* Sea. His name was *Saru-Chan*, a person furnish'd with all the qualities requisite in a Governour of a Province.

Feb. 6. which was the last day of their Lent, he made a great entertainment for the Ambassadors, whereat he discover'd not only the magnificence of his disposition, but also the excellency of his wit, by the noble discourses that pass'd between him and the Ambassadours. Among other things, he gave them all the particulars of the War, occasion'd by *Karib-Sehach*'s revolt, wherein he had been in person, and had brought away his table-cloath, which, being of green Satin with Gold-flowers, was laid at this entertainment. That service, with other he had done upon several other occasions, had rais'd him so much into the King's favour, that he had

had appointed him for the Embaſſy into the *Indies*, whither he was to go the following Spring, to which end he had already received his diſpatches. He confirm'd to us what we had been told before, of the danger we might fear from the *Coſaques*, adding thereto, that it was not two years ſince they had plunder'd the City of *Reſcht*, and that it were not amiſs we ſtood on our guard, and had our Arms fixt. 1638.

The Vines in theſe parts are ſo big, that they exceed a man's bulk. I have ſaid as much before, though I believe ſome will hardly believe it: but beſides that all who travell'd with us, are eye-witneſſes of this truth, I may allege, to make good what I affirm, the Authority of *Strabo*, who ſaies the ſame thing of the Vines of *Margiana*, which is part of the Province of *Choraſan*, and adds thereto, that no ſtock almoſt but yields an ordinary pail-full of Wine; which is very certain, and yet I have ſome reaſon to doubt of what he further affirms, that the bunches there are above four foot long.

We ſaw neer *Aſtara* at the foot of the mountain of *Schindan*, the Village of *Schich-Sahadan*, which enjoyes an abſolute exemption, granted it, upon the accompt of the Sepulchre of *Schich-Sahadan*, *Aly*'s Maſter,

Febr. 7. we got ſeven leagues further, along the Sea-ſide, and came, by a very ſteight paſſage, into the Province of *Lengerkunan*. The only way to come into it is by a Bank, rais'd between the mountains and the fenns, beſides which there is no other paſſage. At the end of the ſaid bank, we came to the River *Serdane*, and afterwards to the Town of *Lenkeran*; upon the River *Warſaſaruth*. This Town, as alſo all the adjacent Country, derives its name from the eaſy anchorage of ſhipping thereabouts, though, to ſpeak rigorouſly, there is no haven in thoſe parts, but only a kind of Bay, between two Capes, or Promontories, which reach a great way into the Sea, one on *Lenkeran*-ſide, which is cover'd with trees, on the other on *Kiſilagats*-ſide, on which there is nothing but canes. But the Sea thereabout is ſo ſhallow, that little Veſſels can hardly get in there; and when they are in, they ly expoſs'd to the violence of the Eaſt-wind. *Come to the Province of* Lengerkunan.

Georg Dittander ſaies, in the Relation of his *Travels*, that, in the year 1603. there came to that place by Sea an Ambaſſador from *Rudolph* II. Emperour of *Germany*, and that he died there with moſt of his retinue: but the Inhabitants thereabouts, from whom I would have inform'd my ſelf of that particular, knew nothing of it. The *Kurtzibaſchi* hath the revenue of the Countrey allow'd him as part of his pay; though our *Mehemandar* and the *Perſians*, for what reaſons I know not, would have perſwaded us, that it belong'd to the *Chan* of *Ardebil*, and depended on his Government. We were receiv'd there by a *Viſir*, or Secretary, who had the over-ſight of the Demeſn in thoſe parts.

We continu'd there the 8. 9. and 10. as well to refreſh the Camels, which the ill and ſlippery waies had almoſt wearied off their legs, as in expectation of the reſt of our retinue, who were not yet come up with the baggage, and with them freſh horſes, for the better proſecution of our Journey.

The 11. we left *Lenkeran*, and travell'd five leagues on to *Kiſilagats*, croſſing that day four great Rivers, to wit, thoſe of *Kaſiende*, *Noabine*, *Tzili*, and *Buladi*, the three former over Bridges, and the laſt, which was very broad, in little Boats, ſwimming over the horſes. At our coming out of the River, we were forc'd to travel with much inconvenience, for half a league or better, through the water, which the adjacent Sea had forc'd up there, and to ſend the Baggage by Sea, in ſix great Fiſher-boats. The Sea-ſide, in thoſe parts, is cover'd all over with Canes, as are alſo the Iſlands along the Coaſt, where the *Coſaques* ſome times lye in ambuſh, to ſurprize and ſet upon the ſhips which paſs that way, as alſo in expectation of an opportunity to croſs over to the Continent. *Leave* Lenkeran.

At our coming out of the ſaid water, we found the Lord of that place, who was come to meet us, accompany'd by a hundred perſons on horſ-back.

The little City of *Kiſilagats*, that is, *red*, or *gilt wood*, hath no walls, no more than any of the other Cities of thoſe parts, and lies in a plain, half a league, or better, from the Sea, towards the North-weſt, upon a little River, called *Willeſchi*. *Sulfahar-Chan* ſold it heretofore to the *Chan* of *Ardebil*, by whom it was left to his Son, *Hoſſein Sultan*, who ſtill enjoyes it. The mountain of *Kilan* preſented it ſelf to our ſight, towards the Weſt-north-weſt, ſinking by degrees into little hills, towards the Countrey of *Mokan*. At the foot of the mountain, there were ſeral Villages, among others, thoſe of *Buladi*, *Matzula*, *Buſter*, and *Thaliskeran*, and abundance of trees, planted in a ſtreight line, along a vaſt piece of Meadow-ground, where there was excellent Paſture for Cattel. I conceive this to be the place which *Strabo* ſpeaks of, when he ſays, that, towards the *Portæ Caſpiæ*, there is a fertile plain, very fit for the breeding of Horſes. He adds, that it is able to keep fifty thouſand breeding Mares, which number the Kings of *Perſia* were wont to have kept there. But this is not true, at leaſt there is no ſuch thing now: though a Military Officer of the Duke of *Holſtein*'s, who made it his bragg, that he had travell'd into *Tartary*, though he had not been beyond *Aſtrachan*, being queſtion'd concerning the truth of this breeding-place, had the confidence to affirm, that what *Strabo* had ſaid of it, was very certain. *The City of* Kiſilagats.

About

1638. About these parts, and in the neighbouring Mountains, are the Countries of *Kuawer*, *Maranku*, and *Deschiewend*, and the Village of *Dubil*, otherwise called *Chatifekeka*, the Inhabitants whereof were extirpated, by the expres's command of *Schach Abas*, for the abominable lives they led. They had their meetings in the night time at some private houses, where, after they had made good cheer, they blew out the Candles, put off their Cloaths, and went promiscuously to the work of Generation, without any respect of age or kindred, the Father many time having to do with his own Daughter, the Son, with the Mother, and the Brother, with the Sister. *Schach Abas* coming to hear of it, ordered all the Inhabitants of the Village, to be cut to pieces, without any regard or distinction of age or sex, and peopled it with others. I conceive, it is of the Inhabitants of these parts, that we are to understand what *Herodotus* affirms, of their going together, without any shame, and publickly, after the manner of Beasts. Over against *Kisilagats*, and about three leagues from the Continent, there are two Islands named *Kelechol* and *Aalybaluck*. The latter, which is three leagues, or *Farsangs* in length, hath its name upon this accompt, that *Aly* being there one day, extremely put to it for fresh water to quench his thirst, God immediately caus'd to break forth out of the ground a Spring of fresh water, which is to be seen there to this day.

The Inhabitants of a Village extirpated.

A false Miracle of Aly.

Febr. 12. we travell'd on, through a plain Country, but cros's'd by several small Rivers, the chiefest whereof were the *Uskeru*, and the *Butaru*, and we lodg'd at night, at *Elliesdu*, a Village seated at the entrance of the Heath of *Mokan*, at the foot of a hill, which is very fruitful, as is also the rest of the Country, on the mountain-side. It belong'd to a Military Officer, named *Beter Sulthan*, who had his ordinary residence at a place six leagues thence. The houses of this Village were very wretched ones, as being built only with laths nail'd acros's, and plaister'd over with clay. They were inhabited by Souldiers, on whom the King bestows the revenue of his Demesn in these parts, with certain Lands which they are oblig'd to cultivate.

A barbarous action of the Ambassador Brugman.

In this Village, the Ambassador *Brugman* caus'd a *Persian* to be kill'd with cudgelling. His Groom would have gone into the first house he came to, with one of the led-horses: the *Kisilbach*, or Soldier, who was the Master of it, told him, that his house was free from quartering, and that besides, he had no convenience for the entertainment of horses, whereupon, having a stick in his hand, he therewith struck the horse over the head, but very slightly. The Ambassador *Brugman*, who saw this contestation, was so enrag'd at the resistance of the *Kisilbach*, that he immediately alighted, and ran in to him.

The *Kisilbach*, who said afterwards that he knew him not, and was far from imagining, that an Ambassador would engage himself in such a business, and, as a Soldier could not brook an affront in his own house, stood upon the defensive, and gave the Ambassador such a blow over the arm with his stick, that he was forc'd to cry out for help.

His Domesticks came in upon the noise, and gave the *Kisilbach* such a beating, that he was mortally wounded, and had much ado to crawl into the next house, to avoid their further fury. The Ambassador, notwithstanding all this, would needs make his complaint to the *Mehemandar*, of the insolence of the *Kisilbach*; whereto the other reply'd, that he knew not what to do in the business; that he had no power over the *Kisilbachs*; that the Superiour Officer was not there, to give him satisfaction, and, withall this, that he who had injur'd him, had receiv'd such a chastisement, as he thought he could hardly ever recover, and that if he were not satisfy'd, he might do himself what further satisfaction he thought fit. *Brugman*, presuming upon this permission, immediately sent to plunder the *Kisilbach*'s house, and order'd his horse and arms to be brought away. The next day, he got together all the retinue, and caus'd it to be publish'd by sound of Drum, that all should get on horse-back, in order to their departure out of the Village, and that all who should stay there, after the Ambassadors were gone, might do it at their own peril.

Not one of the Company knew his design, no, not his Collegue; but it was soon discover'd, when he himself, being got on horse-back, and making a halt before the Ambassador's Lodging, told the *Mehemandar*, that he should bring forth the man, who had struck him the day before. The *Mehemandar* told him, he was so dangerously wounded, that he was not able to rise; but the Ambassador not satisfy'd with that answer, order'd him to be brought thither in a Coverlet, and, notwithstanding the mediation of the other *Persians*, who with great submissions begg'd the *Kisilbach*'s pardon, he commanded an *Armenian*, who was an Interpreter for the *Turkish* Language, named *Mark-Fileroffein*, to beat him with a great Cudgel, after the same manner as he had been beaten the day before.

Causes a Kisilbach *to be kill'd in cold blood.*

This mercileſs Rogue gave him one blow over the arm, and another upon the side, wherewith he dispatch'd the poor *Kisilbach*, who stirr'd a little afterwards; but when the *Armenian* would, by order from *Brugman*, have prosecuted the execution, he found the man quite dead. The Ambassador seeing him in that posture, said, 'tis very well, he hath what he deserv'd; and thereupon turning to the *Mehemandar*, and the other *Persians*, he told them, that if *Schach-Sefi* did not revenge him for the affront he had receiv'd, he would return again in a short time, so well attended, that he should do himself satisfaction. The other Soldiers made it appear by their demeanour,

meanour, that they wanted neither will nor courage to expreſs their reſentment of the injury done them, and cut all our throats, and I know not whether it were the preſence of the *Mehemandar*, that prevented them from doing it; but certain it is, that it would have been no hard matter for them to do it, and that it was the effect of a miraculous providence, that we eſcap'd that misfortune. 1638.

We travell'd that day, which was the 13. of *February*, two leagues over the Heath of *Mokan*, and lodg'd, that night, at *Oba*, in Shepherds hutts. The *Mehemandar*, who had ſtaid behind in the Village, overtook us at night, and brought us word that the *Kiſilbach* was dead, and demanded of the Ambaſſador *Brugman*, the Horſe, Arms, and other things, which he had from the deceas'd perſon, to be ſent to his Widdow and Children, whom he had left in a very ſad condition.

I obſerv'd that morning, thatthe Sun roſe towards Eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, and conſequently, that the Load-ſtone declin'd 24. degrees from the North towards the Weſt, and at *Oba*, I found the Sun, at noon, at the height of forty degrees, forty eight minutes, and conſequently, that the elevation of the Pole, under that Meridian, was thirty nine degrees, twenty eight minutes.

The Sea-coaſt lay from South-weſt to North-eaſt, and we had a ſight of the mountain of *Scamachie*, towards the North.

As concerning the Heath of *Mokan*, it is held to be ſixty *Farſangs* in length, and twenty in breadth. The *Turks* call it *Mindunluck*, that is, *a thouſand wayes*, or *thouſand holes, at which the ſmoak comes out*, and the *Perſians*, *Mogan*, or *Mokan*. It is inhabited by ſeveral peoples and families, whoſe Predeceſſors, having born Arms under the command of *Jeſid* againſt *Hoſſein*, were baniſh'd into this Deſert, and they are not permitted to live either in Cities or Villages. In Summer, they encamp at the foot of the Mountain; and in Winter, they lodge in Tents upon the Heath.

They ſubſiſt by their Cattel, but ſo poorly, that it is as much as they can do. Whence it comes, that they are called *Sumek Rajeti*, either for that, *from bone to bone*, that is, from Father to Son, they are ſubject to the King no otherwiſe than as the moſt miſerable Slaves are, or that they have hardly left them wherewith to cover their bones. They are a kind of Savages, and their chief families are called *Chotze Tſchaubani*, *Tekle*, *Elmenku*, *Hatzikaſilu*, *Sulthan baſchelu*, *Carai*, *Ardenduſchenlu*, *Chaletz*, &c. I ſpeak in another particular Treatiſe of the origine of theſe families, and the manner of life of theſe people.

The 14. we travell'd three leagues, drawing towards the North, and lodg'd at night among the *Hatzicaſilu*. We ſaw, in a Chapel by the way, the Sepulchre of *Bairam Tekle Obaſi*. He was the famous Robber, who liv'd in the time of *Schach Abas*, who coming to be head of a ſtrong party of Toryes, did abundance of miſchief to the *Baſſa* Tzakal *Ogli*, who was entred *Perſia* with a *Turkiſh* Army, inſomuch that there hardly paſs'd a day, but he ſent ſome *Turks* heads to the King. *A Robber General of an Army.*

Theſe little advantages, and the booty he got, improv'd his retinue to the number of twelve thouſand men, who did the *Turks* more miſchief than the Royal Army could. *Schach-Abas* requited his ſervices, by honouring him with the quality of *Chan*, and beſtowing on him the revenue of certain Villages, and ſome Lands, to maintain the new Dignity.

We lodg'd that night in Hutts, and were hardly laid down, ere we heard the noiſe of a great volley of ſmall ſhot; which gave us a hot alarm, and oblig'd us to put our ſelves into a poſture of defence, in expectation of ſome engagement. We thought at firſt, that the *Kiſilbachs* had a deſign to revenge the cruelty, which the Ambaſſador *Brugman* had exercis'd the day before on one of their Camerades; but we underſtood ſoon after, that what had been done, was by order from the *Muſcovian Poſlanick*, purpoſely to frighten the Ambaſſador *Brugman*, though he would make us believe, it was to honour him, out of an imagination he ſeem'd to have, that it was the ſaid Ambaſſador's birth-day.

The 15. we travell'd eight leagues along the Heath, and lodg'd within a quarter of a league of the River *Aras*.

We intended to take up our quarters that night at *Tzauat*; but underſtanding that *Areb*, *Chan* of *Scamachie*, was lodg'd there with his whole Court, and that he would ſtay there all the next day, we alſo reſolv'd to continue the 16. at the place where we were.

We had ſome reaſon to be diſtruſtfull of *Areb-Chan*, by reaſon of what had happen'd between us at our firſt paſſage: but he made it appear that the *Perſians* have this alſo common with all Generous minds, that they can forget injuries. For he did us no unkindneſs; nay, on the contrary, as long as we were in his Government, he let ſlip no occaſion of obliging us, laying the cauſe of our miſunderſtanding one the other, on the Interpreter *Ruſtan*, who had forſaken us, and, as he ſaid, had made him ſeveral bad reports of us, not doubting but he had ſaid as much to us of him, and proteſting that if he had him, his head ſhould go off for it. He order'd us to be receiv'd by a Perſon of Quality of his retinue, upon the firſt news were brought him of our being come to the River *Aras*, and made us a Preſent of three baggs of Wine, which came

1638. to us very ſeaſonably, in as much as that day, and the day before, we had been but poorly treated. *Aetzebeg*, who had been our *Mehemandar* at our former paſſage, came alſo to viſit the Ambaſſadors, and preſented them with an excellent Greyhound-bitch.

The 17. we croſs'd over the famous River *Araxes*, near *Tzauat*, where they had made a Bridge of Boats, which they call *Tziſſi*. The antient Hiſtorians and Geographers ſpeak ſo differently of this River, that I conceive it will not be amiſs I ſaid ſomewhat here of it by the way.

The River Aras. True it is, moſt of them put it in the Province, wherein it really lies, but they are miſtaken in the deſcription of its Courſe, in as much as they do not well underſtand *Q. Curtius*, who ſpeaks of it in two ſeveral paſſages, but in a different ſenſe. For in the 5. Book he puts it in *Perſida*, and ſayes its courſe is Southward; and in the 7. Book, he makes it paſs through *Media*, and to fall into the *Caſpian* Sea. Nor does *Strabo* expreſs himſelf more clearly. *Raderus*, in his Commentaries upon *Q. Curtius*, thinks to make theſe paſſages very clear, by ſaying, that the River *Medus*, into which the *Araxes* fall, hath its courſe, at firſt, from North to South, and that it falls into the *Caſpian* Sea. But he is miſtaken; for it is impoſſible, that River ſhould make its way through the dreadfull mountain *Taurus*, which is many leagues in breadth, and which runs through all *Perſia*, nay indeed all *Aſia*, and paſs from *Perſepolis* towards the *Caſpian* Sea. But the truth is, there are two Rivers of the ſame name of *Araxes* in *Perſia*; one, in *Media*, the other in *Perſida*. As to that which paſſes by the walls of *Perſepolis*, now known by the name of *Schiras*, *Q. Curtius* calls it *Araxes*, as he gives to the *Jaxartes*, which paſſes to the Frontiers of the *Scythians*, the name of *Tanais*, and that of *Caucaſus* to the Eaſtern part of the mountain *Taurus*, for which it would much gravel him to ſhew any reaſon.

The *Perſians* call that which is in *Perſida*, *Bend-Emir*, by reaſon of a great Miracle, which they believe *Aly* did there, and it falls into the Ocean near the *Perſian* Gulf. That which we croſs'd over in the Heaths of *Mokan*, ſtill keeps its name, which is deriv'd, if we may credit *Euſtathius*, from the Greek word Ἀφύσσειν, which ſignifies to *pluck*, in as much as, when it overflows, it plucks up, and carries along with it whatever lies in its way. It riſes out of the mountains of *Armenia*, behind the great *Ararat*, and receiving into its Chanel, the waters of many other Rivers, the chiefeſt whereof are *Karaſu*, *Senki*, *Kerni*, and *Arpa*, it goes near *Karaſu*, a great way into the Land, and falls ſoon after near *Ordabath*, with ſuch a noiſe, as is heard above two leagues thence, in the Plain of *Mokan*, which lies very low, in compariſon of *Armenia* and *Schirvan*.

Its courſe there is very ſlow, and after it is joined, viz. 12. leagues above *Tzauat*, with the River *Cur* or *Cyrus*, (which is as big as it ſelf, and comes Northwar'd out of *Georgia* or *Gurtziſtan*) it falls into the *Caſpian* Sea. Whence it appears, that *Ptolomy*, and thoſe who follow him, are miſtaken, when they affirm, that the *Araxes* and the *Cyrus* fall into the *Caſpian* Sea by two different chanels; as alſo when they ſay, that the City of *Cyropolis* was that which is now called *Scamachie*. This is inferr'd by *Maginus*, from the degrees of Latitude which *Ptolomy* gives him. But if it were ſo, we muſt put theſe two Rivers, not above, but below the City, towards the South, in as much as we found their Conflux or meeting together, which the *Perſians* call *Kanſchan*, at thirty nine degrees, fifty four minutes, and *Scamachie*, at forty degrees, fifty minutes, that is, thirteen leagues thence, and under another Meridian. And indeed we found ſuch a diſtance between them, when we travell'd thoſe parts. Nor is there any other River, eminent enough or big enough, within nineteen dayes journey of *Scamachie*, on either ſide of it, to deſerve that name.

The 17. we took up our Quarters at *Tzauat*, where we were receiv'd, and magnificently treated by the *Mehemandar*, whom the *Chan* had ſent to us. This Villtge derives its name from the *Arabian* word *Tzauat*, which ſignifies a *paſſage*, in regard that, at the croſſing of this River, people are oblig'd to ſhew their paſs-port, which is done, to prevent the entrance of the *Turks* into the Kingdom.

The 19. we travell'd eight leagues, for the moſt part, over barren Lands, and a deſert Country, cover'd with Reeds, and lodg'd, that night, at the foot of the mountain of *Scamachie*, in three *Matzuchs*, or round Hutts, which had been purpoſely ſet up there for us. That day dy'd our Painter, whoſe name was *Thierry Nieman*, after he had been ſhaken ſeveral months together by a quartane ague, whereto a flux joyning carried him away in four dayes. He died by the way in a Wagon, and in ill weather. We had him buried the 22. before the City of *Scamachie*, in the Church-yard belonging to the *Armenians*, with the ordinary Ceremonies of our own Country.

The mountain of Scamachie The 20. we were upon our way betimes in the morning, that we might, in good time, paſs over the mountain of *Scamachie*, which extends it ſelf in thoſe parts like a Creſcent, towards the Eaſt, from the Sea, along the River *Cyr*, and it is called there, *Lengebus tachi*, by reaſon of a Village, named *Lengebus*, which is upon the opof the mountain.

The rain, which was then ſo cold, that we thought Winter coming on again, had ſo broken

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the high-wayes, that this was one of the saddest dayes journey we had ever since our first set- 1638.
ting forth.

The Ambassadors, and such others as were well mounted, got to the City ere day-light was shut in, but it was very late ere the rest reach'd it; nay some got not thither till after mid-night, some, not till the next morning.

The Camels, which being so heavily loaden, where not able to get up so narrow and slippery a way as is that of the Mountain, came not till eight dayes after. The *Chan* had assign'd us the same Quarters we had had, at our former passage that way; so that we were all lodg'd at the houses of the same *Armenians*, our antient Landlords. They receiv'd us very kindly, and as to the Ambassadors, the *Chan* sent them a Supper from his own Kitchin.

For my own particular, I had several Presents sent me from my friends, and Tutors, as *Maheb Aly*, the *Molla*, *Imanculi*, and *Chalil*, who sent me several dishes of Apples, and Grapes, and came to see me the next day, to examine how I had improv'd my self in their Language.

Feb. 22. The *Chan* and *Calenter* came in person to see the Ambassadors, and invited them and their retinue to a Supper. In the evening, the *Chan* sent horses, to bring them to the Palace. He treated us magnificently; and entertain'd us with very civil discourses, and such as were the more obliging, in that we afterwards found the effects of them, during our aboad at *Scamachie*, where we continu'd five weeks; during which, we had the divertisement of several hunting matches, and were treated a great Feasts, which the *Chan* made from time to time purposely for us. *The Chan treats the Ambassadors.*

Alexi Savinowits, Ambassador of *Muscovy*, made a great and sumptuous entertaiment on the first of *March* in commemoration of the birth of the Great Duke, his Master. MARC.

The 3. 6. and 10. the *Chan* treated us at his own Palace, to celebrate their *Naurus*, or Newyear. *Chalip*, the *Minatzim*, or Astrologer, belonging to the *Chan*, sent me, for my new-years-gift, a fat Lamb.

March 14. *Areb-Chan* receiv'd an assurance of the continuance of the King's favour towards him, according to the custome, by the Present of a new Garment: in as much as when the *Chans* and Governours have made their ordinary Presents, the King sends an expres to them, to assure them, either of his favour or displeasure; whereof the Ceremony is this. The King's Envoy or Expres, being come within three or four leagues of the City, sends a Messenger, to give the Governour notice of it, and to let him know he brings him good news. The Governour, who many times is not sure to return again, takes his leave of the City, as if he were not to come thither any more, and goes a league out of the City, to meet the Envoy, accompany'd by all his friends. *How the K. of Persia assures the Chans of his favour.*

As soon as the Envoy sees the Governour coming, he makes a halt, and the Governour alights, and puts off his Sword, Garment, and Turbant, and in that posture approches the Envoy, who hath in a Box cover'd with some rich Tapistry, a Letter of grace, with a new Garment, or else an order to bring the Governour's head. If the Kings favour be confirm'd to him, he receives from the Envoy, the new Garment, which he kisses at the collar, touches with his fore head, and then puts it on.

If the Envoy hath an order to bring away the Governour's head, he presently hath it cut off, puts it into the Box, and immediately returns. There are diverse examples of these executions in the time of *Schach-Abas*, as also in that of *Schach-Sefi*, The former caus'd to be executed after this manner, *Ahmad*, *Chan* of *Hemedan*, *Kaban*, *Chan* of *Orumi*, and *Baisunkur Sulthan*, Governour of *Magasburt*; and the later put to death, by an Envoy, *Jarali*, *Sulthan* of *Maku*, and *Moral*, *Sulthan* of *Bajesid*. But this last caus'd them to be strangled, and afterwards to be flead, and order'd their skins, fill'd with Hay, to be set in the high-way, because they had over-easily deliver'd up those places wherewith he had entrusted them.

Areb-Chan intreated the Ambassadors to be present at an action, which he knew could not be otherwise than advantageous to him, in so much that he had got a large dose of drink, ere he went out of the City. He was mounted on an excellent Roan horse, without any Arms, causing to be led before him several other gallant horses with rich trappings, and having about his person fifteen of his Guard, with their Carabins, and a retinue of about four hundred men besides the Ambassadors, and the *Calenter*, who accompany'd him with their Domesticks. He march'd in this order, as far as the King's Garden, without the City, halting several times, to make the Company drink, and causing several young Lads to dance in the mean time. His two Sons, whereof the elder was but 20. years of age, and the younger 18. both very handsome well shap'd persons, follow'd him with most of the Inhabitants of the City, and certain men on horse-back, who were cover'd with Lynxes-skins, and the furres of *Buchar*-Sheep, and carried on the tops of long Poles, certain *Turks* Heads fill'd with Hay, and the Colours, which *Areb* had taken from them.

He alighted before the Garden, and found the King's Envoy at the entrance of it, attended by three Servants, and holding the Box in his hand. The *Chan* being come within ten or twelve

1638. paces of the Envoy, he very cheerfully put off his Garment and Turbant, but perceiving the Envoy stood a while, without saying ought to him, he began to be a little startled and out of countenance, till the Envoy said to him, *Ai*, *Areb-Chan*, whereto *Areb* answer'd, *Nedier-sen*, what saiest thou? The Envoy continu'd, *Schach Sefi ne chalet kunderdiwe rakem*, *Schach Sefi dusti sen*, that is, "*Schach Sefi* sends thee a Garment, and a Letter of Favour; thou "art certainly belov'd of the King. Whereto the *Chan* reply'd very couragiously, *Scahung dowletti berkarar*, *olsumwe birkuni minkun olsun men scahung birkari kulim*: that is, "May the King's "Wealth continue for ever, and may every day of his be as a thousand; I am one of the King's "old Servants.

He thereupon took the Garment, with very great submission. It was of Sea-green Satin. The Envoy help'd him to put it on, with a Rochet of cloath of Gold, a Girdle, and Turbant.

The Envoy had, for his pains, a Present of certain *Tumains*. Then the *Casi*, or Judge, made a Prayer for the King's health, which ended, the *Chan*'s Steward, cry'd out, *Schach dowetine*, *Kasiler kuweline*, *Chan saglukine*, *alla dielim*; that is, "We pray for the prosperity "of the King, the success of his Soldiers, and the health of the *Chan*, whereto all the people answer'd, *Alla*, *Alla*, *Alla*.

These Ceremonies ended, the Trumpets sounded, and the Tymbrels were play'd on, and and the *Chan* return'd to the City, causing to be carried, before him, the *Turks* heads and Colours, which, at his coming thence, had march'd after him. The *Chan* invited the Ambassadors to Dinner; but he himself had drunk so liberally, that he was forc'd to rise from Table, and the Company soon after withdrew.

Armenian *Ceremonies.* The 22. being *Maundy Thursday*, the *Armenians* performed the Ceremony of the washing of Feet, in memory of the beginning of our Saviour's Passion: They all came to Church, where the Priest wash'd the right foot of the Men, and the left foot of the Women, and made thereon the sign of the Cross, with Butter, which had been consecrated to that purpose: And that done, he was cast into a Chair by twelve men, who rais'd him up into the air, with exclamations of joy, and kept him there, till he had promis'd to treat them with a Dinner.

The Armenians *begin the year at Easter.* The 25. the *Armenians* began their year, and in regard that day fell on their *Easter*, they made a great Procession out of the City. The *Chan* would needs see it, and made a great entertainment for us, during which, the *Armenians* stood with their Banners, Crosses and Images before his Tent. Which they did only to please the *Persians*, in as much as, when the *Muscovian* Ambassador, who was troubled to see those poor people stand there so long in that posture, sent them word, that they might be gone with their Images, they made answer, that they ought not to stirr thence, without express order from the *Chan*. The *Armenian* Women gave us the divertisement of their dancing, in three Companies, which successively reliev'd one another. The *Chan* gave us another kind of sport, by letting loose among the People, two Wolves, ty'd to long Ropes, to be drawn back when they pleas'd. He caus'd also the head of one of those wild Beasts which they call *Ahu*'s to be cut off at one blow with a Cymitar. That was done by this sleight, first they gave the Beast a blow over the back, which made it lift up the head, so that they could hardly miss it. That night I was stung by a Scorpion.

The Ambass. intended for Holstein *comes to* Scamachie. The 26. came to *Scamachie*, *Imanculi*, whom the King of *Persia* sent Ambassador to the Duke of *Holstein*, our Master. The *Chan* invited him to Dinner with our Ambassadors. The next day, they had a long conference together, for the regulation of our journey, for which we set all things in order.

The 29. *Imanculi Sulthan* came to visit the Ambassadors, to take leave of them, and to assure them, he would follow within eight dayes. *Abasculi-Beg*, our *Mehemandar*, took also his leave of us, and return'd toward the Court, and we had another appointed us, named *Hosseinculi-Beg*, who was ordered to conduct us to the Frontiers of *Persia*.

The Ambassadors leave Scamachie. The 30. we left *Scamachie*, accompany'd by the *Chan* and *Calenter*, who, with a great body of horse, brought us half a league out of the City, where he treated us magnificently. Having mutually taken leave with the greatest expressions of civility, the *Chan* return'd, with his Company, to *Scamachie*, and we took our way towards *Pyrmaras*, whither we came in the evening, after we had travell'd, that afternoon, three leagues.

March the last, we were on our way by eight in the morning, and we got that day six leagues, all over mountains, whence we had not the sight of so much as one Village. At night we came into a Valley, to the Village of *Cochani*, where we lodg'd.

APRIL. *April* 1. we travell'd seven leagues, over hills and dales, till we came to the Village of *Babel*, otherwise called *Surrat*, from the fruitfulness of the Country, especially by reason of the abundance of Millet growing there, beyond what any other part of *Persia* affords.

The 2. we got out of the mountain into the plain Country, leaving the Rock of *Barnuch* on the right hand, and coming within a quarter of a league of the Sea. We saw, as we pass'd by, within the space of five hundred paces, above thirty sources of *Nefte*, which is a kind of Medicinal Oil. There are, among the rest, three great ones, into which they go down by sticks, plac'd there to serve instead of a Ladder, fifteen or sixteen foot into the ground. A man, stand-

Sources of Nefte.

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ing above at the pits mouth, might hear the Oil coming out in great bubbles, ſending up a ſtrong ſmell, though that of the white *Neſte* be incomparably more pleaſant than that of the black: for there are two ſorts of it, but much more of the black, than of the white. We travell'd that day ſix leagues, and lodg'd at night, at the Village of *Kiſicht*, not far from the Sea. 1638.

The third, we got two leagues, and lodg'd at night at *Schabran*, having paſs'd over three little Rivers.

There lives in the mountains of theſe parts a certain people, call'd *Padar*. They live only by rapine, and courſe up and down the high-wayes for twenty leagues about, to rob Travellers. We were told, that, the day before, they came to the Village, to inquire how ſtrong we were, how we march'd, and what Guard we kept in our quarters. *Padars a ſort of people.*

The *Mehemandar* and the Inhabitants advis'd us to keep a ſtrong Guard, and to keep cloſe together, as well in our march, as at our quarters. Whence it came, that ever after, we kept ſtill in ſight of the Baggage. The Inhabitants of *Schabran* are, in their Language, called *Kurs*, which occaſion'd the miſtake of diverſe of our people in their Journals, who thought they were the people called *Kurdes*. But it was a great overſight, in as much as the *Kurdes* live in *Kurdeſthan*, which is the antient *Chaldæa*, a Province far diſtant from that we now ſpeak of.

Apr. 4. we travell'd four leagues through a hilly, yet very delightful, Country. We overtook by the way a *Caravanne* of *Muſcovian* and *Circaſſian* Merchants, who were very glad of our Company, to ſecure them againſt the incurſions of thoſe Robbers.

There appear'd one of them, who would have taken notice of our march, and ſtrength; but the *Mehemandar* immediately commanded out ten or twelve *Perſians*, who purſu'd him into the Wood, where they loſt him. He had ſtoln an Ox, and being forc'd to leave him behind, the *Mehemandar* made a Preſent of him to the Ambaſſadors.

In the afternoon, we came to *Miſchkar*, a Village lying in a fenny place, within two leagues of *Niaſabath*, where our ſhip was wrack'd. The inhabitants of the Village, who took us for enemies, had left all, and were got into the Woods: but underſtanding afterwards upon what accompt we came, they had the confidence to return to their houſes. We found in the houſe of one of their Prieſts, many fair Manuſcripts.

The fifth we travell'd eight leagues, through woody roads, and deſerts, to the Village of *Koptepe*. We ſaw by the way the Sepulchre of one of their Saints, named *Pyr Schich Molla Juſuf*, and met with a party of five and twenty Horſemen, well mounted and well arm'd. They ſaid they were Country people of the adjacent Villages, and that they were forc'd to go in ſtrong parties, and to travel ſo arm'd, to ſecure themſelves againſt the Robbers thereabouts: but they look'd more like ſuch themſelves. For we underſtood afterwards, that the inhabitants of the Village, where we lodg'd that day, were *Padars*. Their houſes were built upon the aſcent of certain little hills, half within the Earth, being encompaſs'd about with a knot of trees, which made a delightful proſpect from one houſe to another.

The 6. we travell'd three leagues, all through a continu'd Foreſt, and we croſs'd the three Rivers of *Koſſar*, *Sambur*, and *Kurgane*. That of *Sambur* is the moſt conſiderable, and riſes out of the mountain of *Elbours*, dividing it ſelf at this place into five branches, the chanels whereof were ſo broad, that our horſes, as we paſs'd through, had not water up to half the legs.

The 7. having gone three leagues, we came to the moſt antient City of *Derbent*. There came to meet us only a certain number of *Kiſilbachs*, in regard the Governour, *Scahewerdi Sulthan*, between whom and his horſe-men there was ſome difference, durſt not come out of the Caſtle, leſt the *Kiſilbachs* ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of it. *Come to* Derbent.

The *Perſians* put this City at 85. degrees longitude, and I found it at forty one degrees, fifty minutes, latitude. It is in length, reaching from Eaſt to Weſt, about a league; and in breadth, four hundred and fifty ordinary paces. Derbent *deſcribed.*

It ſerves for a Gate to the Kingdom of *Perſia* on that ſide, for, on one ſide it reaches to the foot of the mountain, and on the other, to the Sea, which is ſo neer, that ſometimes the waves beat over the walls.

The *Perſian* Authors, as alſo the Inhabitants of the City, affirm, that it was built by *Iſcander*, that is, *Alexander* the Great; not ſuch as it is now (for that honour is due to their King *Nauſchirvan*) but only the Caſtle, and the Wall, which encompaſſes the City on the South-ſide. Theſe walls are very high, and at leaſt five or ſix foot thick, and viewing them at a diſtance, a man would think them built of the beſt and faireſt kind of free-ſtone; but coming neer them, he finds that the Stones are made of Muſcle-ſhels, and pieces of free-ſtone beaten and molded like Brick, which time hath reduc'd to a hardneſs beyond that of Marble.

I found upon one of the Gates which are remaining of the building of *Alexander* the Great, a *Syriack* Inſcription, of three lines, and in an other place certain *Arabick* words, and ſtrange Characters, but ſo eaten out by time, that they were not legible. The Caſtle, where the *Chan* lives, is upon the top of the mountain, and kept by a Garriſon of five hundred men, who are of two ſeveral Nations, *Aſumrumlu*, and *Koidurſcha*. The ſecond quarter of the City is at the

1638. foot of the mountain, and the most populous; but the lower part of it is very much ruin'd, since *Emir Hamse*, the Son of *Chadabende*, recover'd the City, out of the hands of *Mustapha*, the *Turkish* Emperour, to whom the Inhabitants had voluntarily submitted themselves.

The lower part, and that which reaches to the Sea, is about two thousand ordinary paces in compass; but it lies desert, having no houses, but converted into Gardens and Corn-fields. It was heretofore inhabited by *Greeks*, whence the *Persians* call it, to this day, *Scaher Junan*, that is, the *Greek City*.

All this coast is pure Rock; upon which score it is very dangerous for Vessels. It serves for a foundation to the walls of the whole City, which are so broad, that a Wagon may easily be driven on them. The mountain above the City, is cover'd with wood, where there may be yet seen the ruins of a wall, above fifty leagues in length, which, as we were told, had sometime serv'd for a communication between the *Caspian* and *Euxine* Seas. In some places it was some five or six foot high, in others, but two, in others, there was no track of any. There might be seen also on other hills, the ruins of several old Castles, whereby it might be judg'd, that they were built four square. There were two undemolish'd, and had garrisons in them. There are also several redoubts of wood, upon all the avenues.

The most remarkable thing about this City is the Sepulchre of *Tzumtzume*, of whom the *Persians* relate this story, after their Poet *Fiesuli*, who hath left in writing.

The Fable of Tzumtzume. They affirm, that *Eissi* (so they call our Saviour *Jesus Christ*) coming one day into those parts, found in his way a dead man's skull, and desirous to know whose it had been, pray'd to God, with whom he was in great favour, to raise that deceased person to life again, which God accordingly did, and then *Eissi* asked him, who he was. He made answer, his name was *Tzumtzume*, that he had been King of all that Country, and so powerful, that he consumed every day in his Court as much salt as forty Camels were able to carry. That he had forty thousand Cooks, as many Musicians, as many Pages with Pearls in their ears, and as many Servants. But says *Tzumtzume* to *Eissi*, Who art thou? And what Religion dost thou profess? Whereto *Christ* made answer, I am *Eissi*, and my Religion is that which saves all the World. If it be so, reply'd *Tzumtzume*, I am of thy Religion; but I pray thee let me dy assoon as may be, for, having been heretofore so powerful, it would extremely trouble me to be here now without a Kingdom and Subjects. *Eissi* granted his request, and immediately permitted him to dy; and at this place is his Sepulchre, over which there is a great tree, and, adjoining to that, there is a Scaffold erected, ten foot high, and sixteen, square.

We took notice, on this side of the City, of about five or six thousand Tombs, cover'd with stones, much larger than the ordinary stature of men, all half round, Cylinder-wise, and hollow within. They had all of them *Arabick* Inscriptions, and it is reported, that antiently, yet since the time of *Mahomet*, there had been, in *Media*, a King named *Kassan*, by birth, an *Okus*, (a people living in *Thabesseran*, behind the mountain of *Ebbours*) who being ingag'd in a war against the *Tartars* of *Dagesthan*, whom they call *Lesgi*, was desirous to give them battel in that place; but that he was there defeated, and that he caus'd the Officers then kill'd to be buried in the Tombs which are yet to be seen there. Towards the Sea-side, there were forty others compass'd by a wall, but much bigger than any of the fore-mentioned. These, as the Inhabitants affirmed, were the Sepulchres of so many great Lords, and holy Persons, who had been kill'd in the same battel. Every Sepulchre had its Banner.

The *Persians* name these Sepulchres *Tziltenan*, and the *Turks* and *Tartars*, *Kerchler*. The *Persians* and *Tartars* do their devotions at them, in so much that this place was heretofore very famous, both for the many foundations, and charities given thereto: but now it is kept by an antient man, who makes a poor shift to live upon the Alms that are given him.

King *Kassan*, who liv'd many years after this Battel, is interr'd neer *Tabris*, neer a River, named *Atzi*, that is, *bitter waters*. The Tomb of Queen *Burla*, his wife, is to be seen neer the Fortress of *Urumi*, and they say it is forty foot long.

Apr. 13. we saw several *Tartars*, as well men as women, coming to do their devotions there, which consisted in going, one after another, to kiss the Sepulchres of these forty Saints, upon which they set their hands while they pray'd. It was the tenth day of their *Silhatza*, on which they make a commemoration of the sacrifice of *Abraham*.

There are not any Christians at *Derbent*, but the Inhabitants are all *Mussulmans*, unless it be some few Jews, who pretend to be of the Tribe of *Benjamin*. It is accordingly a place of no Commerce, save only that the *Tartars* bring thither a great many stoln Children, or haply such *Turks* and *Muscovites*, as they have taken upon some occasion or other, and there sell them, to be carried further into the Kingdom.

The Soldiers who kept the Garrison there, as also the Citizens, were a proud, daring, and insolent sort of people, so far from treating us with any civility, that, on the contrary, they did what they could to pick a quarrel with us.

The *Mehemandar* himself gave us notice before-hand, to stand upon our guard: whence it came, that, on the 8. after Sermon, the Ambassadors order'd, upon several penalties, that none

of

of their retinue, ſhould, either in word or deed, give occaſion of offence to any Soldier, or Inhabitant, nor relieve any perſon whom they ſhould find engag'd in any quarrel with them, leſt they ſhould take occaſion, from a particular difference, to fall upon the whole Company. 1638.

The 9. the *Chan* of *Tarku*, who had given the Ambaſſadors a viſit, at their former paſſage that way, ſent us word, that the way we were to travel through the Country of the *Tartars* of *Dageſthan*, was very dangerous, deſiring us to make uſe of the Convoy he proffer'd us. The Ambaſſadors, conſidering that thoſe proffers were made by a *Tartar* of *Dageſthan*, and that there were no more ſafety in his Company, than among the Robbers themſelves, return'd him their thanks, and ſent him word, that they would not put him to that trouble. However we thought it prudence, to make our advantage of the notice given us of the danger we might fall into among thoſe *Barbarians*, and we order'd a view to be made of our Arms, and found, there were among us, two and fifty Muskets and Firelocks, nineteen caſes of Piſtols, two braſs Guns, and four murthering-pieces, all well fixt, and fit for ſervice. *The Chan of Tarku proffers to convoy the Ambaſſadors.*

Having ſtaid ſome time for *Imanculi*, who had promis'd to follow us within a few dayes, and finding our ſelves in a place, where the Governour, inſtead of ſupplying us with proviſions, forc'd us to buy all at a dear rate, the Ambaſſadors reſolv'd the 12. to give order for their departure, commanded the Baggage to be made ready, and deliver'd every man his allowance of bread for four dayes, in as much as there was no great likelyhood we ſhould find much at the places we were to travel through. *They take order for their departure.*

The 13. we were got on horſe-back, and ready to march, when word was brought, that the Governour had ſhut the City-gate. This news ſomewhat ſtartled us, and oblig'd the Ambaſſadors to ſend the *Mehemandar* to him, to know the reaſon of his ſo doing. His anſwer was, that, having receiv'd intelligence, that *Oſmin*, a *Tartar*-Prince, not far from *Derbent*, intended to ſet upon us by the way, and put us to an exceſſive ranſome, or take away all we had; and that being reſponſable to the King for what might happen to us, he thought it not fit we ſhould go thence without a Convoy, which being not to be had that day, he deſir'd us to ſtay till the next. *The Governour hinders it.*

We knew the Convoy he intended us, would ſerve us in no ſtead, and that the care he took proceeded not from any kindneſs he had for us; but it was fit, we put on the beſt face we could upon it. and acknowledg'd our ſelves oblig'd to him. Only we ſent to deſire him, in regard we were all mounted, to permit us to encamp without the City, and there expect the Convoy. He was content we ſhould do ſo; whereupon we went and encamp'd a quarter of a league without the City, near a Vineyard, upon the ſide of a ſmall River, which ſerves for a common Frontier, between the *Tartars* of *Dageſthan* and the *Perſians*.

We found near that place the Sepulchres of two other *Mahumetan* Saints, óne, that of *Pyr Muchar*, in the plain, at the foot of the mountain; the other, that of *Imam Kurchud*, within the mountain. They ſay the later was of kin to *Mahomet*, and that he alwayes ſate at his feet, to be inſtructed by him. They add, that he liv'd three hundred years after *Mahomet*'s death, and that he retir'd to King *Kaſſan*, whom he diverted by his playing on the Lute, and inceſſantly animated to make a war againſt the *Leſgi*, by the ſongs he ſung to that inſtrument; but that at laſt, preſuming to preach to thoſe *Barbarians*, who were *Pagans*, in hopes to convert them to the *Mahumetan* Religion, they kill'd him. *Other Saints Sepulchres.*

His Sepulchre is in a Cave cut within the Rock. There is alſo another hollow place in the ſame Rock, where there is a Coffin, made of four boards nail'd together, and rais'd about four foot from the ground. I ſaw it over-night, and found at it, an old woman, who had the keeping of the Sepulchre; but the next day, I found it ſet forth with a Carpet of *Brocado*, and the floor cover'd with Mat, for their convenience who came thither to do their Devotions.

There reſorted thither many Women and Maids from the City, and other places, who went all bare-foot into the Cave, kiſs'd the Coffin, and, having ſaid their prayers, made their offerings to the old Woman, to whom they gave ſome Butter, Cheeſe, Milk, others, Bread, Mony, Wax, and the like The night following we heard here a confus'd and dreadful noiſe, much like that of perſons ſinging, dancing, and weeping, all at the ſame time. I never heard any thing ſo barbarous.

Apr. 14. we expected our Convoy till three hours after Sun-riſing; but ſeeing none came, we ſet forward, obſerving the following order. *Leave Derbent.*

The three Lieutenants, with their Souldiers, having their matches lighted made the Vanguard.

Next them, follow'd a Field-piece, of two pound and a half Bullet, upon a carriage with four wheels, and then the four Murthering-pieces, with all things belonging to them, in a Wagon.

Then marched the Camels, loaden with the baggage, having on both ſides ſome of our retinue, commanded by the Ambaſſador *Cruſius*, and in the head of them a Trumpetter.

Next

1638. Next the Baggage, came the other Field-piece, and after that, the Ambassador *Brugman*, who brought up the Rear, consisting of all the rest of the Company.

In this order we left the Frontiers of *Persia*, to go into those of the *Tartars* of *Dagestban*.

The Tartars of Dagesthan

Ptolomy, and his followers, affirm, that this Country is part of that *Albania*, out of which *Q. Curtius* would have to come *Thalestris*, Queen of the *Amazones*, who came to *Alexander* the Great in *Hyrcania*, to get of him that kindness, which Women will not often beg, though they ever so much desire it. The *Persians* call these people *Lesgi*, and they name themselves *Dagesthan Tartar*, that is *Mountain Tartars*, from the word *Tag*, or *Dag*, which in their Language, signifies a *Mountain*: because they live between the mountains, and in the plain, at the foot of the mountains, which are twenty or thirty leagues distant from the *Caspian* Sea, toward the West.

They inhabit all along the Sea-coast, Northward, as far as *Terki*, about forty leagues, taking the way we came. The mountain it self, in some places, comes within half a league of the Sea, and in some it is two or three leagues from it, there being in the plains very fruitful and pleasant fields, unless it be towards the Sea-side, where it is all heathy and barren.

The Inhabitants are of a yellowish and dark complexion, inclining to black; they are well set and have strong limbs, dreadfully ugly in their faces, and wear their hair, which is black and greasy, falling down over their shoulders. They are all barbarous and savages.

Their habit. Their cloathing is a long close Coat, of a grey or black colour, of a wretched coarse cloath, over which they wear a Cloak as coarse, or haply of Sheep-skin. On their head they wear a square Cap, made of several pieces of cloath, and their shooes are of Sheep-skin, or Horse-hide, all of one piece, and sow'd to their feet over the instep, and at the sides.

They are circumcis'd, and have all the other Ceremonies of the *Turks*, professing the *Mahumetan* Religion; but are so slenderly instructed therein, that it is not to be wondred, they have so little devotion. They live by the Cattel they breed, whereof the Women take care, while the men go up and down a-robbing, making no conscience to steal away the children of their neerest relations, to sell them to the *Persians* and others. Whence it comes, that, even among themselves, they live in perpetual distrust one of another.

Their Arms. Their defensive Arms, which they put on and off, with their Cloaths, are, a Coat of Mail, a Head-piece, and a Buckler; and the offensive are the Cymitar, Bows and Arrows, and the Javelin, there being not any so poor among them but is furnish'd with these Arms. They put all Merchants to a ransome, and sometimes rob them of all; so that the *Caravannes* which pass that way, are either so strong as to make their party good against these Tories, or go by Sea to avoid them.

They fear neither *Persians* nor *Muscovites*, in regard no Army is able to follow them into the mountains, into which they retreat when they are pursu'd.

The Prince of the Tartars. All this Country is not subject to one Prince; on the contrary, every City, almost hath its particular Lord. They call him who is the chiefest among them the *Schemkal*. He succeeds his Predecessor by an odd way of election. For, upon the death of the *Schemkal*, the other Lords *How chosen* or *Myrsas* meet, and sit down in a ring, into which the Priest of the place casts a golden Apple, and the person who is first touch'd thereby is made *Schemkal* Yet is not his power so absolute, but that the other Lords participate thereof, they having only for him a certain respect and compliance, and that not very great.

The Country of Osmin. We came into this Country, as we said before on the 14. of *April*. We travell'd that day five leagues, passing through several Villages, and pleasant fields, and lodg'd at night in the Country of *Osmin*, whom some call *Ismin*, at a Village named *Rustain*, which was also the name of the Lord of it. He sent to meet us his son, attended by fifteen persons on horse-back, well arm'd, who after the first Complement, fell off on the left hand, and went into a Wood, and we took the right. We quarter'd in the fields near a Village, fortifying our selves with the Baggage, and securing our selves against the surprises of those Robbers, by a good number of Sentinels, plac'd at all the avenues.

The young Prince return'd to our Quarters in the evening, but visited only the *Muscovian* Ambassador, only to learn of him who we were, and what there was to be gotten of us. We intended him a Present of 12. Duckats, and three pieces of *Persia*-Satin, had he honoured the Ambassadors with a visit; but he thought it enough to do it by two of his Officers, whereupon we only saluted him with the firing of two great Guns, charg'd with bullets, just at his departure from the *Muscovian* Ambassador's to take horse.

The 15. we prosecuted our journey, through a hilly Country, and had in our way good Hunting. There started so many Hares, that, in a short time, we took nine.

The Lordship of Boinack. Having travell'd six leagues that day, we came, at night, into the Seigneury of *Boinack*, and lodg'd near a Village of the same name, upon the ascent of a hill, which was so steepy towards the Sea, that we were secure as to that side, and we fortify'd our Camp with the Baggage, which we drew up like a half-moon well flank'd. The Lord of *Boinack* hath not many Subjects, but in recompence, abundance of Cattel, wherein all his Wealth consists.

The

The Ambaſſador *Brugman* was incens'd at the people's looking on us, as a thing they had never ſeen before, and would have had ſome Muskets diſcharg'd among them, but without bullets, only to frighten them, and was enrag'd that thoſe he ſpoke to would not execute ſo impertinent a command, which no doubt had coſt us all our lives. For thoſe Barbarians, who were wicked and daring, and diſcover'd that they wanted only a pretence to ſet upon us, grumbled that any ſhould think it much they ſtood there, and were confident enough to tell us, that the ground, they were then upon, was rather theirs, than ours, and that they had as much right to be there as we had: That we might have forborn threatning them; that they acknowledg'd we were too ſtrong for them; but that upon the leaſt ſign the *Schemkal* ſhould give them, they would come with ſuch a force as were able to diſpatch us all, though we were twice as many. That they car'd for neither the King of *Perſia* nor Duke of *Muſcovy*, that they were *Dageſthans*, and acknowledg'd no Superiour but God. They would not, at firſt, ſuffer us to go for water, without paying for it; but finding that the Well where it was to be had, was within the reach of our great Guns, and that we ſet things in order to force our way to it, they retreated and left us. 1638. *Brugman's impertinence.*

The *Schemkal* ſent us word late over-night, that we ſhould not offer to go away the next morning, till he had ſearch'd our baggage, to ſee whether we carried any Merchants goods. The Ambaſſadors return'd him anſwer, that they were not Merchants, but Ambaſſadors, and that conſequently they might paſs all places without paying: That they would ſtand upon their privilege, and that if the *Schemkal* offer'd them any violence, they ſhould do what were conſonant to the law of Nature and Nations to prevent it. But we heard no more of him.

I heard ſince, that the *Poliſh* Ambaſſador, whom we met in our journey out of *Perſia*, and of whom I gave ſome account before, coming to lodge, in his return, at the ſame place, had quarrell'd with the Inhabitants of *Boinak*, and was kill'd with all his retinue, only three Servants excepted, who got back to *Derbent*, whence the *Mehemandar*, who had conducted him thither, carried them to the Court. During their ſtay there, the King allow'd each of them three *Abas*'s a day, till he found a convenience to ſend them home, which he did afterwards, upon an Embaſſy which the Great Duke of *Muſcovy* had ſent to him. *A Poliſh Ambaſſador kill'd.*

The 16. we departed betimes in the morning, and came, long before night, into the Territories of the Prince of *Tarku*, where I narrowly eſcap'd falling into the hands of thoſe Barbarians. For, hearing that we were not above a quarter of a league from the Sea-ſide, I left the Company, taking along with me the Maſter's Mate, *Cornelius Nicholaſon*, to go and obſerve the ſituation thereof: but we were hardly got thither, ere we diſcover'd at a diſtance two *Tartars*, follow'd, within two or three hundred paces, by eight more, who, aſſoon as they perceiv'd us, made all the haſte they could towards us; but we ſoon recover'd the Road. The two firſt ſeeing us retreat, purſu'd us in full ſpeed, with their Javelins in their hands; till the other eight, doubting, it ſeems, that we might not be alone in thoſe parts, got up to a hill, to take a view of the Country, and ſeeing all our Company, from which we could not be above a Musket-ſhot diſtant, they call'd to the other two, to give them notice it was in vain to purſue us. Whereupon, they rode on gently, and came all together to the Company, ſaluted it, admir'd our Cloaths, and would needs ſee our Piſtols, but were not permitted to handle them. *The Author like to be taken by the Tartars*

We met that day with ſeveral parties of *Tartars*, ſome appearing before us, ſome behind us. Some only paſs'd by, others accompany'd us a quarter of a league or better. Some try'd whether we would ſuffer them to croſs us in our march; but we would not permit it.

Having travell'd ſeven leagues that day, we came at night before the City of *Tarku*, and encamped without the City, near a Fountain, within a quarter of a league of the Sea. *Come to Tarku.*

The next day, *Apr.* 17. the Lord of the place ſent his Brother, accompany'd by three perſons of quality, to complement us, and make proffers of his friendſhip and ſervices.

The *Chan* himſelf, being ſick, could not come in perſon, which the Ambaſſadors underſtanding, they ſent their Phyſician to him, as well to return their thanks for his civilities, as to offer his aſſiſtance, for the recovery of his health. He made uſe of him, and found ſuch eaſe, that ſome dayes after, he ſent to complement the Ambaſſadors, and thank them for the care they had had of him.

He was a Lord, of about 38. years of age, named *Surchon Chan*, and pretended himſelf deſcended from the Kings of *Perſia*, with whom he held ſo good correſpondence, that when the *Dageſthans* are ingag'd in a war amongſt themſelves, he implores the aſſiſtance of the *Schach*, who fails not to back him. His authority is very conſiderable among them, yet not ſo abſolute, but that ſeveral *Myrſas*, of his kindred, participate of the Government. Nay he had a Nephew, a younger Brother's ſon, who was Lord of ſome part of the City.

The City of *Tarku*, the Metropolis of all *Dageſthan*, lies within the mountain, between ſteepy rocks, which are ſo full of ſhells, that they ſeem to conſiſt of nothing elſe, there being not the ſpace of a hands breadth, but a man meets with five or ſix of them, moſt, about the bigneſs of a Wall-nut-ſhell. The Rock is as hard as flint, yet is there good paſture upon the top of the mountain. *Tarku the Metropolis of Dageſthan.*

Our

1638. Out of these Rocks there rise several pleasant springs, which fall into the City several waies. The City is not wall'd. It may contain a thousand houses, built according to the *Persian* way, but not so well. These *Tartars*, as also those of *Boinak*, and the others who live more Northerly, are called *Kaitack*: but those who live behind *Tarku*, in the mountain, towards the West, are named *Kamuk*, or *Kasukumus*, who have, most of them, their particular Lords.

The Inhabitants of *Tarku* are as barbarous & mischievous as those of *Boinak*, but the women and maids were more civil. They go with their faces uncover'd, and are not kept in such restraint, as those of the *Persians*. The maids have their hair ty'd up in forty tresses, which hang down about their heads, and they were not shy of being seen, nor of having their hair felt.

A German living among the Tartars.

We met here with and old man, named *Matthias Magmar*, born at *Ottingen* in the Dutchy of *Wittenberg*, who having left off his trade of weaving, to go into the wars of *Hungary*, fell into the hands of the *Turks*, who had sold him to these *Tarters*. He was circumcis'd, and had almost forgot the *German* tongue; yet he told us he was a *Christian*, and believ'd one God and three persons. He also said the Lords Prayer, but with much ado.

The proffers of friendship and service which *Surchou Chan* made us, had rais'd us into some confidence, that we were safe under his protection: but we found since, that we were in greater danger there, than we had been any where before. For, during the five weeks we were among the *Tartars*, all their discourse was of robbing, rifling, killing, and cutting of throats. We desir'd the *Mehemandar* to go along with us to *Terki*, upon the frontiers of *Moscovy*, or, at least, to leave us the Camels and other conveniences for carriage, considering the little likelyhood we had to get any of the *Tartars*, and we should requite his kindness with a considerable sum of mony. But he told us, that he had expres order to bring us only to *Tarku*, and that if he went any further, it might endanger his life: That we might treat with the Camel-drivers, and that he would assist us what he could do in it: but instead of obliging us in that, he took them all along with him that night, unknown to us. This sudden departure of his startled us the more, in that, the next day, two women, who sold us milk, and pretended to be *Muscovites* born, and *Christians*, and that they had been stoln away in their yourh, & maried iu that Country, came to tell us, that the *Tartars* intended to kill us all, out of an imagination, that we carried along with us a vast treasure; That the Inhabitants of *Osmin* and *Boinak* had sent word to *Surkou Chan*, that we had pass'd through their Country, and that, instead of paying the duties for our Merchandises and Baggage, we had been so insolent as to threaten them, and give them ill words: That they had resolv'd to set upon us, to kill all the aged persons, and make the rest Slaves, and, to that end, had sent Messengers to *Surkou Chan*, and that there was one gone from him to the *Schemkal*.

The Ambassadors in great danger.

We put the best face outward before those women, and made as if we were not troubled at any thing the *Tartars* could do, in regard we knew not how far we should credit their relation. However we thought good to make our advantage of it, upon this reflection, that we found no order taken for our departure thence, and that there came thither a party of forty *Tartars* of *Boinak*, & that Messengers pass'd to and fro, as if it were in order to the execution of some great design.

The Ambassadors having call'd together the chief of the retinue, & represented the danger we were in, put it to the question what were best to be done. It was urg'd, that it had been more prudence to treat those Barbarians kindly, than to have exasperated them, as had been done, but since there was no recalling of what was past, that the only way was to take courage, and sell our lives at the dearest rate we could: That, having, on both sides of us; inaccessible Rocks, the Sea behind, and the *Tartars* before us, it would be more honourable for us to dy nobly, than fall alive into the hands of the *Tartars*.

Our greatest misfortune was, that there were differences among our selves. The Ambassador *Brugman* carried on his private designs, and found fault with whatever others advis'd, especially those among us who any way pretended to Learning. Certain it is, that, instead of contributing his endeavours to our preservation, he would have contriv'd our ruin, could he have done it, without danger to himself.

We understood since, that it was really the design of the *Tartars*, to set upon us, and that they had done it, if the *Schemkal*, out of hopes to have the whole booty himself, and trapann'd us an other way, had not prevented them. He sent an Expres to tell us, that we should take our way over rhe Bridge of Boats, above the City of his ordinary residence, & that if we took any other, even that of the Sea-side, where we might have cross'd the River by Boat, he should treat us as Enemies.

The Messenger he sent us, having concluded his discourse, rose up, and would have been gone; but the *Muscovian* Ambassador taking him by the arm, said to him; "Friend, go and "tell thy *Schemkal*, that he is not to appoint us our way; we shall take that we think fit: "'t is true, it well be no hard matter for him, to cut off a handful of people; but let him know, "that the *Czaar*, who is most concern'd in this Embassy, will resent it, and revenge our "deaths, with the greatest cruelty imaginable. This sharp and resolute answer made the *Tartars*

quit

quit the design they had to set upon us, as they intended, and oblig'd them to change their manner of proceeding: So that, *Apr.* 20. we were visited by four *Tartar*-Princes, who din'd with the Ambassadors in their Tent, and were not ill treated, considering the place we were then at. All their discourse was only of robbing and stealing, and selling men: nay one of them said that, all the week before, he had stoln but one poor Girl. After they were gone, the Prince of *Osmin*'s Brother came to visit us. He express'd somewhat of civility, and made us great proffers of his services. After him, came the *Daruga* of the City of *Tarku*. We ask'd him, why we were not furnish'd with conveniences of carriadge for our Baggage. He ingenuously told us, that we were not to expect any, till we had made a Present to *Surkou Chan*. The next day, there was one sent him, to wit, a pair of gold Bracelers, a pound of Tabacco, a Pistol, a Firelock, a barel of Powder, two pieces of *Persia*-Satin, and several sorts of Spices, with this message withall, that a barel of Aquavitæ should be sent him, as soon as we came to *Terki*. This Present took him so, as that he presently promis'd we should have all conveniences, for mony, and invited the Ambassadors to come and dine with him. It was taken into consideration whether they should go, or not; but at last, it was resolv'd they should, taking along with them four other persons. 1638.

A Present sent to Surkou-Chan.

Who invites them to dinner.

The cloath was laid upon the ground, according to the *Persian* way, and the whole entertainment consisted in four dishes, wherein there were little slices of Mutton, drawn upon sticks, some Whitings, and Curds, and in four other lesser dishes, Rice, with pieces of Mutton in it, and raisins of the Sun. The Carver sate in the middle of the dishes, and having broke a long thin Cake, he cast a piece of it to every one of the Guests. He also tore the pieces of Meat and the Fish, but all was done only by his hands, which were as black as his face; so that the fat running between his fingers, and mingling with the dirt from which it took another colour, almost turn'd our stomacks.

Particulars of the entertainment.

But there was a necessity we should comply. Our drink was only water, in great glasses, and afterwards Aquavitæ, in silver Cups. After dinner, they would needs hear our Mulick, which we sent for; and after a divertisement of three hours, there was meat brought in again. I observ'd, among other things, the Liver and Rump of a Sheep, which was all fat, and weigh'd at least five or six pound.

One of the Carvers, (for at this second treatment there were three) minc'd the meat very small, salted it well, and serv'd every man by handfuls. The meat look'd as if it had been chew'd before, yet was it not so bad, as against our stomacks. After the treatment, we return'd to our Quarters.

The next day, *Apr.* 21. one of the other Princes, named *Imam Myrsa*, invited the Ambassadors to dinner. He was very young, as being not full eighteen years of age, and born between a Brother of *Surkou Chan*'s, and a woman, by birth a *Kasamuka*. His Servant told us, that *Surkou Chan* usurp'd the Principality from him, and that his life was in some danger, by reason of his Uncle.

Another Tartarian Feast.

The cloath was laid in a great Hall, where we sate down, with *Imam Myrsa*, and some other Lords of the Country, in Chairs, at a low Table. We were better treated, than we had been the day before, and the Meat was better dress't. Among other dishes there was brought in a whole Lamb roasted, whereof every one carv'd himself what he pleas'd. They used no knives but tore the Meat in pieces, and I observ'd that when one had left any Meat about the bone, his next neighbour took it up; and pick'd it, and many times it went to a third and fourth hand, till at last, he who could find nothing about it would try what there was within, and get out the marrow.

Their drinking Vessels are of Cows-horns, and their drink a sort of liquor called *Bragga*, which they make of Millet, and, in colour and consistence, looks like the lees of beer. They think it very delicious, and drink freely of it, as they do also of Aquavitæ, and grow of a sudden so drunk, that notwithstanding the presence of their Prince, they made such a noise, as would have drown'd Thunder it self.

The *Tartars* having thus treated us, we took leave of them, well satisfy'd with the cheer they made us.

Some daies after, the Ambassadors were treated by another Prince, named *Emir-Chan*, who also gave them a visit. But all these *Barbarians* did in this kind, was only to get Presents from us.

The 23. the *Daruga* got us some Waggons for the Baggage. We immediately loaded them, intending to be gone the next day: but in the evening, *Surchou-Chan* sent us word, that he had certain intelligence, that *Sultan Mahmud* (so was the *Schemkal* call'd) had possess'd himself of all the passages of the River *Koisu*, with a design to stop us, and put us to a ransom, and that hindred him from permitting us to depart.

Late in the evening, there came neer *Tarku* twenty horse-men, well mounted and arm'd, who encamped close by our Quarters. The Ambassadors, accompany'd by some Musketteers, went to them, to know whence they came, and what their design was. They made answer, that

1638. the Prince of *Osmin* had sent them to the *Schemkal*, to tell him that certain forein Ambassadors, friends of the King of *Persia*, and *Czaar* of *Muscovy*, being come into his Territories, he had suffered them to pass without paying any toll or duties, and to intreat him, to do him the same favour; which the *Schemkal* had promis'd to do, provided they carried no Merchants goods. We gave not so much credit to this intelligence, as to neglect keeping a strong Guard, and having our Arms in readiness.

The 24. these *Tartars* departed before day, and presently after, there came to us, two Messengers from *Sulthan Mahmud*, who asked the Ambassadors why they did not prosecute their journey, promising all the favour and assistance lay in his power, for their passage, provided they took the way he appointed them. These Messengers were hardly gone, ere *Surkou-Chan* came to visit us. The Ambassadors asked him, why he hindred their departure, he told them, that the Horses and Oxen, we had hired, were ready, and that we might be gone when we pleas'd, giving it him under our hands, how that we would needs depart, notwithstanding the notice he had given us of the designs of the *Schemkal*, in as much as otherwise he should be responsible to the King of *Persia*, and Great Duke of *Muscovy*, for the misfortunes might happen to us: That he knew the *Schemkal* better than we did: That he car'd for neither God, nor Devil, nor any forein Prince at all: That he never observ'd his word: That it was his only sport, to rob, and shed blood, and that it were better stay eight dayes longer, within which time he promis'd us a sufficient Convoy, without which we could not pass through the Prince's Country, if we resolv'd not to hazard our lives, and lose our Baggage: That ere that time were expir'd, the *Persian* Ambassador would come thither, with Letters of Commendation from the King, without which he durst not undertake to convoy us, lest he should thereby disoblige all the other *Tartars*.

The Governour of Terki refuses a Convoy.

This discourse put us into a great perplexity, considering that the arrival of the *Persian* Ambassador was uncertain, and that in the mean time, we might fear the same thing from *Surchou-Chan*, which he would have us apprehend from the *Schemkal*. We sent an Express to the *Weywode* of *Terki*, to desire him to send us a Convoy of *Strelits*, such as might secure us against the attempts of the *Tartars*; but he would do nothing. *Surchou-Chan* sent an Express to *Derbent*, to know of the Ambassador, how long it would be ere he came to *Tarku*: but he sent us word, some dayes after, that the man he had dispatch'd for *Derbent* was return'd, but had been so indiscreet as to put the Letter, deliver'd him by *Imaneula Sulthan*, into his Quiver, and going to shoot at a beast by the way, had dropp'd it, so that he had been forc'd to send him back again. All these proceedings added more and more to our jealousie; but what most startled us, was, the sudden departure of certain *Armenian* Merchants, who having joyn'd with us, out of hopes of travelling with greater safety in our Company, went into the City, upon notice given them, that two hundred *Tartars* intended to set upon us. Besides, the inconveniences we endur'd by reason of ill weather heightned our affliction: for the continual rains had not only sunk through our Tents and Cloaths, but also hindred us from making any fire, to warm us, and dress our Meat. No condition, for misery, could be compar'd to that we were then in, forsaken by all, destitute of all things, even advice and resolution, insomuch that we durst not go into the *Tartars* hutts, *Surkou Chan* himself having given us notice, that we might run the hazard of being carried away and sold. Nay, *Apr.* 27. one of our Soldiers, a Scotchman, named *William Hoye*, being got a little too far from the Quarters, was carried away by the *Tartars*, so clearly, that we could never learn any news of him, though we made great inquiry. We heard since, that he was carried to the Fortress of *Sachur*, within five or six leagues of *Tarku*.

The same day, there hapned to us another misfortune, in that, some of our people being shooting with Bows and Arrows, our Canonier, going somewhat near the Mark, to take up an Arrow, was shot into the Belly, whereof he died the next day.

The *Muscovite*, whose mishap it was to hurt him, had so sensible a remorse of what had happened, that he desired to be put to death, but the business being taken into consideration, it was found done by chance without any design; whereupon he was set at liberty. We interr'd the deceas'd, by the advice of certain *Tartar*-women who were *Christians*, in the place where our horses stood, and made a Grave without the Quarters, into which was put an empty Coffin, it being certain that the *Tartars* would, after our departure thence, dig up the Carcass, to give it their Dogs. There died also a rich *Muscovian* Merchant. His body was inbalm'd, and brought to *Terki*, where it was buried, in the Church-yard, belonging to those of his Religion. Amidst all these afflictions and misfortunes, the *Tartars* came every day to get our Musick plaid upon; which was somewhat like that of the *Israelites*, at the waters of *Babylon*.

MAY. *The Schemkal grants them passage.*

May 1. we dispatch'd a man to *Sulthan Mahmud*, to desire passage. Our Messenger return'd the next day, accompany'd by four *Tartars*, who told us from the *Schemkal*, that he wondred much to hear, that *Surchou-Chan* would perswade them, he was a famous Robber and faithless person: that he had given him no cause to dress him in such a Character, and that he should take occasion to resent it. For us, he proffer'd all his Credit, and his Subjects, for the advancement and safety of our journey; and that if we durst not trust him, he was ready to send

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us three of the principal Lords of the Country as hoſtages, whom we ſhould either take along with us, or leave with *Surchou-Chan*, till we were out of his Juriſdiction. 1638.

Theſe unexpected proffers put us to ſome difficulty what we ſhould do: but hearing, that *Sulthan Mahmud* liv'd otherwiſe than his Father had done, who, having diſhonour'd his Country by continual robberies, had reform'd his life, and, to expiate his ſins, went on pilgrimage to *Meca*, and to *Mahomet*'s Sepulchre, we accepted of his proffers; and that the more willingly, in that the 6. following, we receiv'd Letters from *Derbent*, wherein the *Perſian* Ambaſſador ſent us word, that being oblig'd to continue there till he had receiv'd his diſpatches and the Interpreter he expected from the Court, and thinking it would be a moneth longer ere he came to *Tarku*, he left it to our choice, whether we would expect him, or proſecute our journey. Upon this, we preſs'd *Surchou-Chan*, to give order for our departure; which he did, after the receipt of another Preſent, which he had the boldneſs to beg himſelf, and ſecurity given, for the return of the Horſes and Oxen, which carried our Baggage, by two of the *Schemkal*'s hoſtages, whom we left with him, taking the third along with us.

May 12. we left *Tarku*, upon the dangerous word of *Sulthan Mahmud*. We had agreed 15. dayes before with the Waggoners of *Tarku*: but when the Baggage came to be loaden, they fell from the former agreement, and made us pay much more than we had promis'd them. They would have done the ſame for the Saddle-Naggs; but the Ambaſſadors would not condeſcend: which occaſion'd ſome of our people, nay of the chiefeſt, to foot it, the two firſt dayes, not without abuſes and jeers from their enemies.

We travell'd that day two leagues, through a plain and even Country, but deſert, to a Rivulet which ſerves for a common Frontier, between *Sulthan Mahmud*, and the Prince of *Tarku*. We met by the way certain *Tartar* Lords, who intreated the Ambaſſadors to lend them our Phyſician, to viſit one of their friends, who was ſick not far thence. The Phyſician ſeeming unwilling to go, out of a fear he ſhould never return, they left two of their Company, as hoſtages, with us, and brought him back after mid-night. All our Supper that night was, only Bread and troubled Water.

May 13. being *Whitſunday*, we travell'd four leagues, through a very woody Country. We thought that day, we ſhould have been left by the way; for the *Muſcovian* Ambaſſador having cudgell'd one of the Waggoners, all the reſt would unteam, and return homewards: but with much intreaty and fair words we got them to ſtay. We paſs'd over the night in the Wood, and thoſe who were deſirous to ſleep, lay down ſupperleſs.

The 14. we got but one league, to the River *Koiſu*, which, in my opinion muſt be that which *Ptolomy* calls *Albanus*. It riſes out of mount *Caucaſus*. Its Water is thick and troubled, and its courſe very ſwift. It is at leaſt as broad as the *Elbe*, & in that place, it was above twenty foot deep. *The River* Albanus.

The Town or Village of *Andre*, where *Sulthan Mahmud* liv'd, ſtands upon a hill, on this ſide of the River. Near the Village, there is a Spring of ſeething Water, which falls into a Pool, and makes the water thereof very fit for bathing. The Inhabitants of it are for the moſt part Fiſher-men, and we ſaw them in great numbers upon the River-ſide, about their employment.

They thruſt a ſharp hook baited, which is faſten'd to a long pole, to the bottom of the River, and by that means take abundance of Sturgeons, and ſuch like fiſh.

I heard they had an odd cuſtom at their Weddings, which is, that all the men bidden thereto ſhoot each of them an Arrow into the floor, and leave them there, till they either rot, or fall of themſelves, whereof I could never learn any reaſon.

As ſoon as they perceiv'd us, they came to the River-ſide, and proffer'd to help us over, and to facilitate the getting over of the Baggage, they joyn'd two Boats together, over which they laid a hurdle, ſtrong enough to bear a Wagon. They demanded two Crowns for the paſſage of every Wagon, and we had about ſeventy; and perceiving we made ſome difficulty to give it them, and that we choſe rather to make a bargain with them for all together, they paſs'd over to the other ſide, where they fell a jeering and laughing at us. We ſaw there alſo the *Schemkal*, ſtanding at the entrance of the Wood, accompany'd by a great number of perſons on horſ-back: ſo that we knew not what caſe we were in.

We made hutts of boughs of Trees, upon the River ſide, and had ſeveral private Aſſemblies, in regard there was not any publick, in relation to the holy time of Whitſuntide. Such as profeſs'd Letters met at the Ambaſſador *Cruſius*'s, where we dined, having no other drink than *Oxicrat*, that is, a beveridge of Vinegar and Water, which was increas'd by the tears we ſhed, reflecting on the difference there was, between our preſent condition, and that we ſhould be in at our return into our dear Country.

The 15. we intreated the *Muſcovian* Ambaſſador to croſs the River, which he did, and ſpoke to the *Schemkal*, according to the inſtructions we had given him, and prevail'd ſo far, that the *Tartars* were content to take two *Tumains*, which amount not to above forty Crowns, for the paſſage of all the Company and the Baggage.

We croſs'd the River the ſame day, and the Ambaſſadors immediately caus'd their Tents to be pitch'd, and fortify'd the Quarter with the Baggage, which was defended by the Artillery.

1638. Soon after the *Schemkal*, accompany'd by two of his Brethren, and a retinue of 50. perſons on horſe-back, gave them the firſt viſit. He was about 36. years of age, ſtrong, bulky, and of a good countenance. He had on a Garment of green Satin, over a Coat of mail, and over that a Cloak, of extreme coarſe cloath. His Arms, as alſo thoſe of the reſt of the Company, were the Cymitar, Bows, and Arrows. Beſides a Preſent of certain Sheep and Lambs, he caus'd ſome of his people, to bring thither a great Chauldron, full of Sturgeon, cut into little pieces, and boil'd in water and Salt, whereto there was a ſawce of freſh Butter and Sorrel. I may truly ſay, I never made a better meal, and that all the delicates of *Perſia* were not comparable to that diſh. The Ambaſſadors treated him with Aquavitæ and Muſick, during which our braſs Guns were ſeveral times diſcharg'd. He diverted himſelf in that manner for the ſpace of two hours, till that being got half drunk, he withdrew; but return'd again within a while after.

We preſented him with a pair of gold Bracelets, a ſilver Goblet, a Scarlet Cloak, lin'd with Furr, a caſe of Piſtols, a Sword, a barrel of Powder, certain *Perſia*-ſilk ſtuffs, and ſome Goats-skins dreſs'd into leather. He immediately put on the Cloak, and gave his own to the Ambaſſador *Brugman*, who had the prudence to humour him, and aſſure himſelf of his kindneſs and friendſhip, by putting him in hopes of extraordinary advantages, likely to accrue to him by ſettlement of the Commerce, for which he had travell'd ſo far. He told him, that the *Perſian* Ambaſſador was to follow them, to conclude with the Duke of *Holſtein*, what they had but begun in *Perſia*; that the ſaid Ambaſſador would give him further ſatisfaction as to that particular, and that they ſhould be oblig'd to paſs through his Country once a year, with Commodities of great value: That that Country was not known at all in *Germany*, and that their Prince knew not they were, in thoſe parts, to meet with ſo great a Lord, otherwiſe, he had ſent him very conſiderable Preſents; but that it ſhould not be omitted hereafter, and that it was their intention to make a perpetual friendſhip with him. This diſcourſe ſo pleas'd the *Schemkal*, that he would have haſten'd our departure thence, that we might the ſooner return that way. So that we had horſes for the ſadle and for carriage at a very eaſie rate, to carry us as far as *Terki*.

Leave Andre. *May* 16. we departed. He himſelf, accompany'd by fifty horſe, convoy'd us through a thick Wood, half a league from *Andre*, where he took leave of us, with much civility. We travell'd that day two leagues, over a great Plain, to the River *Akſai*. It runs very ſlowly in thoſe parts, and is not above fifty paces broad. The *Tartars* told us, that it is an arm of the River *Koiſu*, into which it falls, near the Sea. There we were forc'd to ſtay for the Boats, and the Hurdles, which the Inhabitants of *Andre* brought in Waggons, and in the mean time, we cut Reeds and Canes, to lay over the mudd which hindred our coming dry to the River ſide. We croſs'd it by Moon-light, and paid there alſo two *Tumains* for our paſſage.

Such as were not in favour with the Ambaſſador *Brugman*, were forc'd to lye down ſupperleſs.

The 17. we travell'd ſeven leagues, over a great Heath, where we began to be out of ſight of mount *Caucaſus*.

We came at night to the River *Buſtro*, and pitch'd our Tents in the adjoyning Foreſt. This River is very muddy, and near as big, but not ſo ſwift as that of *Koiſu*. Running Northward, about five leagues from the *Caſpian* Sea, it is divided into two branches, whereof one, heretofore named *Terk*, and now *Timenki*, hath derived its name to the City of *Terki*, by which it paſſes, and is about fifty foot broad.

The other branch of the ſaid River is called *Kiſilar*, by reaſon of certain Grains, like Gold, which come down with its gravel, and the Chanel of it is as broad as that of the other, but hath ſo little water, that many times, in the Summer, a man may croſs it dry-foot. The mouth of this arm is eight leagues above the City of *Terki*.

It is to be obſerv'd here, that all theſe Rivers come from the Weſt-north-weſt, and that between *Kiſilar* and the River *Wolga*, which are ſixty five leagues diſtant one from the other, there is no other River. So that we are to conclude, that the *Akſai*, is the *Cœſius* of *Ptolomy*; that *Buſtro*, is the *Gerrus*; that *Timenki*, or *Terk*, is the *Alonta*, and that *Kiſilar* is the *Adonta*, in as much as there are only theſe Rivers between the *Albanus* or *Koiſu*, and the *Rha*, or *Wolga*.

The River *Buſtro* is a common Frontier between the *Tartars* of *Dageſthan*, and thoſe of *Circaſſia*; upon which accompt it was, that the Waggoners of *Tarku*, would not go beyond it.

Enter Circaſſia. *May* 18. we croſs'd the River, and got over the Baggage, to our greater ſatisfaction in this particular, that we left, on the other ſide of the River, the *Mahumetans* and *Pagans*, and were entred into *Chriſtendom*. For though the *Tartars* of theſe parts are alſo *Pagans* or *Mahumetans*, as well as thoſe of *Dageſthan*, and the reſt, yet are they under the Juriſdiction of a *Chriſtian* Prince, who is the Great Duke of *Muſcovy*, and hath, at all places, his Governours, Magiſtrates and Prieſts, for the exerciſe of *Chriſtian* Religion.

Proviſions were ſo dear in theſe parts, that we were forc'd to pay above thirty ſhillings for a Sheep. Nay they would not ſpare us many; ſo that to get fleſh, we went into the Woods and ſhot at Crows, whereof there were abundance thereabouts. The

The 19. we travell'd five leagues, through a plain Country, full of Reeds, having also some few trees, which were, for the most part, planted round about a great Plain. 1638.

At night we encamped upon the Heath, neer a Well, or rather a Sink, in regard the water of it was so corrupt, that the very Beasts would not drink of it. The ground thereabouts was all full of holes, which the Serpents and Snakes had made there; and yet, though we were forc'd to lodge on the ground, not one of us receiv'd any harm.

The 20. we got four leagues further, over heathy and barren Lands, to the City of *Terki*. We saw that day a great many Serpents, many whereof where as big as a man's arm, and above six foot in length. They lay round, and sported themselves in the heat of the Sun, which gave a delightful lustre to the livelinesse of the colours, wherewith their skins were spotted all over. We saw also, neer *Terki*, a kind of *Field-mice*, which, in the *Arabian* Language, are called *Jerbuah*. They are about the bigness of a Squirrel, and somewhat like the Creature of that kind which is so common in *Europe*, save that their hair is blacker, their heads like those of Rats, they have long ears, the fore-feet short, and the hinder feet long; whence it comes, that they cannot run, but when they get up some place, and, in the plain, they only creep, unless it be, when thy leap, for then they spring five or six foot high from the ground, having their tails layd over their backs. And whereas their tails are long, and without any hair, like those of ordinary Mice, but not so big, they are somewhat like the Lions Rampant, in Coats of Arms: and they made a pretty kind of sport, especially when many of them leap'd at the same time, as we said before. They say, there are abundance of them about *Babylon*, and in *Arabia*, where the Inhabitants eat them. Some will leave the field, and go into peoples houses; which if they do, the master of the house had need have a care of his money, lest they light upon it.

Abundance of Serpent. Jerbuah, a kind of Field-Mouse.

The *Persian*, whom I brought out of the Country, and who still waits on me, named *Achwerdi*, told me a story, how that his Father having observ'd that his mony was, from time time, taken out of his Chamber, at first suspected his Wife and Children, till, one day finding there one of these *Jerbuah*, he presently imagin'd who playd the Thief: but to be assur'd of it, he set an *Abas* upon the Table, and, going out of the room, lock'd the door, so that no other could get in, and coming thither a while after, the *Abas* was gone, whereupon searching the nest of that Creature, he found in it more mony than he had lost.

Within a quarter of a league of the City of *Terki*, came up to us a Brother of Prince *Mussal*'s, of whom we have spoken heretofore, accompany'd by a Colonel, whom the *Weywode* sent to meet and complement us. He receiv'd us in Tents, pitch'd without the City, where we had a Collation of Ginger-bread, Beer, Hydromel, and Aquavitæ. During our stay there, there were Lodgings taken up for us in the City.

The next day, the *Weywode* sent the Ambassadors four dishes of Meat, for their welcom thither. The Ambassadors sent to visit the Princess *Bika*, *Mussal*'s Mother, and, some dayes after, went to her in person. They din'd with her. Now was our joy compleat, to find our selves out of the power of the *Tartars* of *Dagestan*, and among the *Moscovites*, who were our friends and acquaintance, which made us send for our Musick to divert our selves at Prince *Mussal*'s.

We promis'd, in the precedent part of this Relation, to give a further account of the *Circassian Tartars*, in our return, in as much as, travelling by Sea, as we went, we could not learn much of them. There is no Historian, either antient or modern, that I know of, who speaks of them. *Scaliger* makes mention of them, in his Exercitations, against *Cardan*, *Exerc.* 33. 167. & 303. *sect.* 3. but in very few words, and, with *Strabo*, calls them *Zigi*, placing them beyond the *Caucasus*, upon the *Euxine* Sea, and towards the *Palus Meotides*, upon the Frontiers of *Asia* and *Europe*: whereas they, whom we saw, are *Scythians*, or *Caspian Sarmatians*, and possess'd of part of the antient *Albania*, which hath for his Frontiers, on the East and West side, the *Caspian* Sea, and mount *Caucasus*; and on the South and North, the River *Bustro*, and the dreadful Deserts of *Tartary* and *Astrachan*.

Their Metropolis is *Terki*; but ever since the reduction of those parts by the Great Duke, he hath put Garrisons into all the Cities, leaving the *Circassian Tartars*, for their habitations, but only open Towns and Villages, though under the Government of the Lords of the Country, who are all subject to the *Czaar*, and oblig'd to take an Oath of Allegiance to him. The administration of Justice, whereof those of their Nation have the management, passes under the *Czaar*'s name, and in the presence of the *Weywode*, especially if the affairs be of importance. Their houses are but poor ones, built, for the most part, of earth and boughs of trees, and within, plaister'd over with Clay.

Terki the Metropolis of Circassia. The Government of the Country.

The men, for the most part, are strong, and of yellowish complexion, but not so broad-fac'd as those of *Nagaia*. Their hair is black and long, save that they shave the midst of their heads, from there fore-head to the neck, about the breadth of an inch, leaving at the crown a little lock, which falls down behind.

Scaliger saies, that the *Circassian Tartars* are the most perfidious, and most barbarous of any

1638. any Nation. It might be more truly ſaid of thoſe of *Dageſtan*. For the *Circaſſians* are ſomewhat leſs barbarous, and more compliant. 'Tis likely, that ſince their coming under the Jurisdiction of the *Muſcovites*, and their converſing with *Chriſtians*. they, by degrees, quit their former barbariſm.

Their language Habit. They have their Language common with all the other *Tartars*, and beſides that, moſt of them ſpeak alſo the *Muſcovian*. The men are cloath'd as the other *Tartars*, ſave that their Caps are a little larger, and much like thoſe of our Prieſts. Their Cloaks are of a very coarſe cloath, or Sheep-skin, faſten'd at the neck with a point or ſtring; but both ſides do not come together, ſo that, it being able to cover only ſome part of the body, they turn it, before or behind, according to the Wind and Rain.

Their Women are well ſhap'd, and have good faces, a clear and ſmooth complexion, and their cheeks well colour'd. Their hair, which is black, hangs down in two treſſes, ou both ſides of their faces, which are never cover'd. They wear about their heads a black Coif, cover'd with a piece of very fine Cotton, or ſome other wrought linnen cloath, which they ty under they chin.

Women The Widdows have hanging behind in their necks an Ox bladder, fully blown, cover'd with a piece of Cotton, Lawn, or ſome other ſtuff of ſeveral colours, ſo that at a diſtance, they ſeem to have two heads. The Women, in Summer wear only a ſmock, which is red, green, yellow, or blew, cut ſo deep before, that a man may ſee all down to their Navels.

They were very familiar, and of a very good humour. The firſt day after out arrival, four of them came to us, in a ſtately gate, aud with ſuch a confidence, as the Poets attribnte to the *Amazons*, whom they place in or neer theſe parts. They ſtai'd us, and would not let us go, till they had taken particular notice of all things about us. Nor were they on the other ſide ſo ſhy, as to take it ill, that ſome of ours, who pretended to handle the beads of amber and ſhells, or necklaces of Tinn or Copper, which they wear about their necks, ſlipp'd their hands down into their boſoms. Some invited us to their houſes, and we were told, it was the cuſtom of the Country, that the husband, ſeeing any one going to his houſe, to ſpeak with his wife, ſhould, to avoid being troubleſome, go out of doors, and leave them together. Though the men are ſeldome at home, as being all day buſied in the fields, about their Cattel, yet do they relate miracles of the chaſtity of theſe women.

Are Chaſte. One I have to this purpoſe from a Military Officer of ours, who being got into one of their houſes, and finding the woman handſome, grew familiar with her, and found her very willing to do him any little kindneſs that lay in her power, even to make him Handkerchers, & waſh his head: ſo that, thinking the fort as good as taken, he would try how much longer ſhe could ſtand out. But ſhe told him there was no ſuch thing done among them; that the confidence their husbands had of their honeſty, requir'd they ſhould be as faithful on their parts; nay that though their husbands might connive at ſuch a miſcarriadge, yet would not the reſt of the people paſs by an inconſtancy of that nature. They made no difficulty to endure any thing elſe, and would be paid for it, taking and begging Preſents, nay under pretence of viſiting our cloaths all about, they ſometimes put their hands into our pockets, and took out what they could light on.

Though it be lawful among them, for men to marry ſeveral wives, yet moſt content themſelves with one. When a man dies without iſſue, his Brother is oblig'd to marry the widdow, to raiſe up ſeed to him; and according to this cuſtom, the *Muſſal* had married his Brothers widdow.

Their Religion. Their Religion is in a manner Pagan; for though they are circumcis'd, yet have they neither Bible, nor Alchoran, nor Prieſts, nor Churches. They are themſelves the Prieſts, and offer the Sacrifices, eſpecially on the day of St. *Elias*.

Their Sacrifices. When a perſon of quality dies the relations and friends meet in the fields, both men and women, to ſacrifize a he-Goat; and to find whether it be fit to ſacrifize, they cut off the privy members, which they caſt againſt the wall: if they do not ſtick thereto, they are oblig'd to kill another, but if they do, they proceed with the Ceremonies, fleaing it, and ſtretching the skin upon the top of a long pole, before which they offer their ſacrifice, and boil, and roaſt the Fleſh, which they afterwards eat. The Feaſt ended, the men riſe, and go and adore the skin, and the prayers concluded, the women withdraw. The men ſtay, and grow ſo beſtially drunk, with their *Bragga*, or *Aquavitæ*, that they ſeldom part without fighting. This skin is left upon the pole, till another perſon of quality dies, and then the former is taken away, and another ſet up inſtead of it.

We ſaw neer *Terki*, both going and coming, not far from the Princeſs *Bika*'s houſe, one of theſe ſtretch'd skins, with the head and the horns on, upon a black croſs. The pole was planted in a quick-ſet hedge, only to keep the Dogs from coming neer it, and, by their piſſing againſt it, profaning the Myſtery.

Their enterments. They interr their dead very honourably; adorn their Sepulchres with pillars, and build houſes over thoſe of perſons of quality. We ſaw one over the Sepulchre of *Muſſal*'s Brother, the boards

boards whereof were of diverſe colours, plac'd checquerwiſe, having, upon the roof, ſeveral wooden Statues, poorly done, which repreſented the hunting of ſome wild Beaſt. 1638.

To expreſs their ſorrow for the departure of their friends, they tear their forehead, arms, and breaſts, with their nails, after a barbarous manner, ſo that the blood comes out in abundance. Their mourning continues till the wounds are healed, and if they would have it laſt longer, they renew, them, by opening the ſcratches in the ſame manner.

May. 21. we began to ſet things in order, for the proſecution of our journey. We had a Deſert of ſeventy leagues to travel over, and, to find horſes for all the Company to ride, would have been too great an expence. Wherefore we agreed with the Waggoners of *Terki*, at nine Crowns a Wagon, drawn by two horſes, which might carry each of them three or four perſons, to *Aſtrachan*.

There joyned with us a *Caravan* of Merchants, of ſeveral Nations, as *Perſians*, *Turks*, *Greeks*, *Armenians*, and *Muſcovites*; ſo that then we had above two hundred Wagons, in our Company. But the Proviſions allow'd us were but ſmall for ſo great a journey: to wit, to every man, with the *Suchari*, and a loaf of mouldy brown bread, half a dry'd Salmon that ſtunk, without any drink. For the *Tartars*, pretending they had bargain'd only for the cariadge of men, would not receive any barrels or other veſſels into the Wagons, and the Ambaſſador *Brugman* would not be at the charge of a Wagon, purpoſely to carry beer or water for us, though he made good proviſion of all for himſelf and his Favourites. And indeed we ſtood not much upon it, out of an imagination, it was impoſſible, we ſhould want water: but we had time enough to repent us of that preſumption.

We left *Terki*, the fourth of *June*, in the afternoon, and ſoon entred into that dreadful Heath, taking our way on the left hand, and turning from the *Caſpian* Sea. 'Tis a thing ſtrange, yet very certain, that, in eleven daies journey, we ſaw neither City, nor Village, nor tree, nor hill, nor any River but that of *Kiſilar*, contrary to what all Maps repreſent thereof. Nay, during all that time, we ſaw not ſo much as one Bird, but only a vaſt Plain, deſert, ſandy, and cover'd in ſome places with a little graſs, and pits, or ſtanding pooles, of ſalt, or corrupt and ſtinking water. We got the firſt day but two leagues, and lodg'd at night, neer one of thoſe ſtanding pools. JUNE. *The Ambaſſ. leave* Terki. *The Deſerts of* Aſtrachan.

The 5. we encamped neer the River *Kiſilar*.

The 6. we travell'd ſix leagues, and lodg'd neer one of thoſe pools. Theſe three firſt daies, we took our way towards the *Weſt-north-weſt*, and *Eaſt-north-eaſt*, to the River *Wolga*.

The 7. we got ſix leagues further, through a great Fenn, which we had much ado to paſs. Heat and thirſt troubled us extremely, but not ſo much as the Flies, Waſps, Gnats, and other infects, which both men and horſes found it no ſmall difficulty to keep off. The Camels, which have no tails, to keep away thoſe infects, as the horſes have, were all bloody, and full of ſwellings.

The 8. we were going before day; and, having travell'd 4. leagues, we gave our horſes a little reſt and provender, at the entrance of a very ſandy road. In the afternoon, we got four leagues further, and lodg'd at night, neer a ſtanding pool. The *Tartars* perceiving that one of their horſes was like to miſcarry by the way, prevented him, cut his throat, and ſhar'd him among themſelves. At night they roaſted him, making a fire of little buſhes of thorns and reeds, and were very merry.

The 9. we travell'd ſeven leagues, and lodg'd, neer a pool which the overflowing of the Sea made thereabouts. The water was ſo bad, as was alſo that of all the reſt, that we were forc'd to ſtop our noſes while we drunk it.

The 10. we got ſeven leagues further, to a place cover'd with Reeds, where we found a little freſh water, deriv'd thither from the *Wolga*.

The 11. we got ſeven leagues further, to a ſtanding pool, made there by the inundation of the *Wolga*. The water is not ſalt, but ſo dead and ſtinking, that there was no drinking of it. That day, twelve great wild Boars croſs'd out way. Some *Tartars* on horſe-back came riding after them, and as ill fortune would have it, there came two of them cloſe by our Waggon. The horſes were frightned, and fell a-running, ſo that the Phyſician and Steward fell out of the Waggon, with the Baggage. The Sieur *Uchterits* and my ſelf, who ſate in the fore-part of the Waggon, conſidering there was no getting out without danger, kept our places, till the horſes, being not able to go any further, ſtopp'd at the entrance of a Fenn.

The 12. we travell'd eight leagues, and found, in our way, upon the ground, a Neaſt, wherein there were two Birds not quite fledg'd Some were of opinion they were young Eagles. We paſs'd by two ſalt marſhes, the ſcent whereof was ſomewhat like that of a Violet, and very delightful.

The 13. we travell'd eight leagues further, lodg'd at night in a place, whence we could diſcover the City of *Aſtrachan*.

The 14. we got three leagues, and lodg'd on the ſide of the *Wolga*, over againſt *Aſtrachan*. All our people who had not drunk any freſh water, ſince their coming from *Terki*, ran up to their

1638. their knees in the River, to drink with greater ease. Assoon as they had notice at *Astrachan* of our arrival, they presently came to visit us, and he who had the keeping of the Provisions sent thither for us, brought us a sack full of bread, Neats-tongues, hung-Beef, a tun of Beer, and a barrel of Aquavitæ. We continu'd that day on the River-side, to give the *Weywode* time to assign us Lodgings.

Come to Astrachan. The next day, *June* 14. we cross'd the River *Wolga*, and were lodg'd in a great *Ambara*, or Store-house, built there not long before, upon the River-side, without the City, where we were much troubled with Flies. We found there also another Store-house, full of Provisions, which *David Ruts*, his Highness's Factor at *Moscou*, had sent thither six months before.

The Ambassador *Brugman* would have had all the Baggage dispos'd into an appartment by it self, intending to have it search'd, and to that purpose, had open'd some Chests: but those of the retinue who had not put off either cloaths or linnen, since their departure from *Terki*, were so incens'd at this procedure, that they broke into the Room, and carried away their Chests, notwithstanding the order he had given the Sentinel, plac'd at the door, to keep any from getting in.

June the last, the Ambassadors sent their Presents to the *Weywode*, who return'd them another Present, of four Sheep, an Ox, ten wild Ducks, ten Pullets, six Geese, a tunn of Beer, and another of Hydromel.

JULY. 'Tis true, the Ambassadors dined and supp'd together, during our aboad at *Astrachan*; but there was not a word spoken at Table, unless it were when the Ambassador *Brugman* was pleas'd to fall on any with his ordinary Language which was picquant and satyrical enough. One day he gave such bitter expressions, to the Secretary of the Embassy, that he could not forbear making him some answer, whereat the other was so enrag'd, that he drew his knife at him, and made him rise from the Table, with such injurious words, that the Secretary, at his return into *Holstein*, was oblig'd to make his complaints thereof, to the Magistrate, who condemn'd *Brugman* to make publick satisfaction. This ill correspondence, and alienation of minds, proceeded chiefly from *Brugman*'s being conscious to himself, of the many imprudent actions he had done in our Travels, and the fear he was in to be punish'd, for those disorders, at his return into *Holstein*, upon the prosecution of those, who had taken particular notice, and the freedom many times, to mind him thereof.

This aversion of his reach'd even to the Minister, who being oblig'd, by the duty of his Profession, severely to reprove the sins committed in the Company, had incurr'd *Brugman*'s displeasure in so high a manner, that he could not get of him to buy a suit of cloaths, in so much, that, being, on some great Festival, to preach and administer the Sacrament at *Scamachie*, it was found he had only a pair of Drawers under his Cassock, to the great scandal of all, but particularly the *Muscovian* Ambassador, who liked our Liturgy, and would have given the Minister a suit of cloaths, had he not stood in fear of the indignation and violence of the Ambassador *Brugman*.

A pernicious design of one of the Ambassadors. We understood also, that he had a design to leave *Astrachan*, and to go by land, accompany'd by some of his own Creatures, and to forsake the rest of the Company. The *Muscovian* Ambassador, to whom he had communicated it, discovered it to us, and gave us notice, that we should observe his actions, in as much as his intention was no better than that of *Rousset*, who had betray'd the Marques of *Exideuil*, and caus'd him to be sent prisoner into *Siberia*.

Soon after he had given us this notice, the *Muscovian* Ambassador took leave of us, to go for *Muscovy* by land: but we have heard since, that, at his coming to *Nise*, finding Letters from some friends, giving him to understand that he would not be well receiv'd by the Great Duke, he went no further, but there took a dose of poison, whereof he died.

July 25. came to *Astrachan*, a *Muscovian Caravan*, and, with it, a *German*, named *Andrew Reusner*, who had Letters of recommendation from his Highness of *Holstein* to the King of *Persia*. The Ambassador *Brugman* had a great deal of private discourse with him, which begat such an intimacy between them, that instead of prosecuting his journey into *Persia*, he oblig'd him to return back thence, and to undertake the sollicitation of his affairs at the Duke of *Holstein*'s Court.

August 1. the *Muscovites* celebrated, with great solemnities, the reduction of the City of *Astrachan*, taken from the *Tartars*, on the same day, in the year 1554.

AUGUS. The same day came to see us two *Cosaques*, with Letters for the Ambassadors, from *Alexei Savinouits*, whom they had met upon the River *Wolga*.

These Rogues freely told us, that they had successfully set upon and rob'd so many people, that they were desirous to try how they should be able to deal with the *Germans*: That they car'd not much for our Artillery, in regard that was only for the unfortunate: That they heard, we had an invention to toss all that came neer us into the air: That they could not imagine how it should be done; but that the worst they could fear was death, which they were

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forc'd to suffer at a Gibbet, or upon a wheel, and that the hope of booty would make them attempt any thing. 1638.

Aug. 6. came to *Astrachan*, *Imanculi Sulthan*, the *Persian* Ambassador, whom we had expected so long, and the next day he made his entrance into the City. *The Persian Ambassador comes to Astrachan.*

August 11. dy'd one of our Interpreters, named *Kenry Krebs*, and was buried the thirteenth, in the Churchyard of the *Armenians*, with the ordinary Ceremonies.

September the 5. there went away a *Staniza*, or Caravan, of about 200. persons, to go from *Astrachan* to *Moscou*, by land. *Andrew Resner*, made his advantage of that opportunity, and departed, taking some of our people with him. SEPTEM.

The Ambassadors also took that covenience to send away some of their retinue with their horses. We began to set things in order to follow them by water, and to that purpose, bought two great Boats, sixty foot in length, and fifteen in breadth, which cost us 600. Crowns, and to every Sea-man, whereof there were thirty, we gave 12. Crowns, to bring us to *Casan*. *The Ambassadors divide their Baggage.*

Not long before our departure, some *Muscovian* Musketteers brought, to be sold, to the Ambassadors, a young Girl of ten years of age, whom they had taken from a School-Master, who was a *Tartar* of *Precop*, at the taking of the City of *Asson*, which lies upon the *Palus Meotides*, at the mouth of the River *Don*, and was taken by the *Cosaques* from the *Turk*, on the firh of *August*.

They brought us also another Girl about seven years of age, whom they had stoln not far from *Astrachan*, as she lay a-bed with her Mother. They had put her into a bagg, out of which they cast her at the Ambassadors feet, as if it had been a sucking-Pigg, stark-naked. Her Parents had made in her cheeks two blew marks, of the bigness of a Lentil, that she might be known again, in case she were stoln.

The Ambassador *Brugman*, considering, that, in purchasing them, he should bring two lost Sheep to the Fold of *Jesus Christ*, bought them both, one at 25. the other at 16. Crowns. At his return he presented them to the Dutchesse of *Holstein*, who had them so well instructed, that in the year 1642. they were both baptized, having before given a publick accompt of their Faith. Brugman's *charity.*

Our Interpreter for the *Turkish* Language was also a *Tartar*-born, and had been stoln in his Infancy and carried to *Moscou*, where he had been baptiz'd. His relations knew him again, and would have redeem'd him; but he would not consent thereto, protesting he would dy in the profession of the Christian Religion, since it was Gods pleasure to bring him to the knowledge thereof. But ever after, he went not far from the Ambassadors Quarters, lest he might have fallen into the hands of his relations, who would have dispos'd otherwise of him.

At this place, the *Persian* Ambassador bought him a Wife. She was a *Tartar*, and Sister to a *Myrsa*, who was a prisoner; and who sold his Sister for a hundred and twenty Crowns in money, and a horse, which the Ambassador valued at ten Crowns. This Ambassador was at least seventy years of age, but very vigorous, and us'd much Hemp-seed, bak'd in the Embers, whereof the *Persians* eat abundance, out of an opinion, that it revives Nature, yet hinders Conception. *The Persian Ambassador buyes him a Wife.*

Sept. 7. we left *Astrachan*, and embark'd upon the *Wolga*, the Ambassadors dividing their retinue, and taking each of them a Boat. We cast anchor within half a league of the City, expecting the *Persian* Ambassador, who came to us the next day, with three Boats. We gave him a volley at his arrival, and set sail together. *Leave Astrachan.*

The 10. we pass'd before the Iland of *Busan*, where the *Tartars* of *Crim* and *Pretop*, are wont to swim over the River, which in that place is somewhat narrow. The *Muscovites*, to prevent them, had set a Guard there, of fifty Musketteers, who sent to us for some Bread, and got a bag of *Suchary*.

The 15. we cast anchor before *Tzornogar*, which the *Muscovites* call also *Michailo Novogorod*, from the Great Duke *Michael Federouits*, who built it, within three hundred *werstes*, or sixty *German* leagues from *Astrachan*. The *Weywode* sent the Ambassadors a Latin Letter, which *Alexei Savinouits* had left for them, and sent one to invite them to come to refresh themselves in the City: but they would not lose so much time. *Come to Tzornogar.*

The 24. we got before *Sariza*, two hundred *werstes* from *Tzornogar*. *To Sariza.*

The 29. the wind fair, we got forty *werstes*. The *Muscovites* attributed the cause of it to the Great Duke's name, whose Feast was celebrated that day, being St. *Michael*'s.

October 2. one of the *Persian* Ambassadors Boats was a-ground. They were so long getting it a-float again, that the Ambassadors went ashore, where they dined together. Their people made also acquaintances among themselves, and those of *Persia* took so much Aquavitæ, that we were forc'd to carry, and drag them to the Boats like so many Beasts. OCTO.

The *Persians* must also needs fall out with the Musketteers, who guarded them. Cudgels and Cymitars were employ'd, and the Ambassador himself, who was got as drunk as any of

1638. his people, was going to draw upon them, when our Ambassadors came in, and reconcil'd all.

The night following, one of the *Persian* Ambassadors Pages, who was sick of a bloody Flux, fell into the water, yet none perceiv'd it till the next morning.

To Soratof. The 6. we came before *Soratof*, 350. *werstes* from *Sariza*. We there heard, that a party of *Cosaques* would have set upon the *Caravan*; but fearing they might come by the worst on't, they only cross'd their march with a great noise, and, by means of their breeding-Mares, got away some *Archemagues*, or *Persian* horses, intended for breed.

The 14. the wind South-west, there rose such a tempest, that it scatter'd all our Boats. That of the Ambassador *Crusius*, and two of the *Persian* Ambassador's, which carried horses, were forc'd upon the shore, and immediately sprung such aleak, that we had hardly time enough to get out our Baggage, & the *Persians* their horses, whereof there was one drown'd. This Tempest having continued two daies, we got our Boats ashore, caulk'd them, and departed thence the 17. but the *Persian* Ambassador, who had two Boats unserviceable, was forc'd to send away his horses by land.

To Samara. The 24. we came before the City of *Samara*, seventy leagues from *Soratof*.

NOV. *November* the sixt, we pass'd by the mouth of the great River *Kama*, and entred, with the night, into the River *Casan*: in very good time for us, in regard the next morning, the River *Wolga* was frozen over.

To Casar. The *Weywode* of the City, *John Wasilouits Morosou*, who, at the time of our former being at *Moscou*, was Counsellor of State to the Great Duke, receiv'd us but very indifferently, as well in regard the Ambassadors had not made their acquaintance with him by Presents, as by reason of his siding with the *Muscovian* Merchants, who opposed our negotiation, and would have prevented the establishment of our Commerce. The Ambassadors sent their Steward to him, with the Great Duke's pass, intreating him they might be assigned Lodgings in the City; but he sent him back with this answer, that he might return to the Boat, and there the Ambassadors should hear further from him.

The next day, he sent to the Ambassador *Brugman*'s Boat, a *Sinbojar*, who addressing himself to the Ambassador, ask'd him, which of the two was the Ambassador, which the Merchant. *Brugman*, thinking himself affronted by that discourse, took him by the arm, and said to him, Go tell thy Master, that if he cannot read, let him get one that can, and withall may shew him, what quality the Great Duke gives us. But notwithstanding all this, we were forc'd to continue several daies on the River, though the weather were very cold. The *Weywode* indeed sent us word, that we might lodge in the City for our money; but he issu'd out orders, that none should entertain us, and commanded the Sentinel, who had permitted the Steward to pass, and a Boy, who had been his guide through the marsh, from the River-side to the City, to be cudgell'd.

Nov. 11. the *Persian* Ambassador made his entrance into the City, and was lodg'd in that part of it which is bult of wood. He prevail'd so far with the *Weywode*, that he permitted us to land, which we did the 13. taking up our Quarters in the Suburbs.

Nov. 20. the Ambassadors bestow'd the two Boats on the *Weywode*, and made him some other Presents, which put him into another humour, and made him very much our friend.

DECEM. *December* the 16. the *Muscovites* celebrated the Festival of their Patron, St. *Nicholas*, for the space of eight daies together, during which a man could see nothing but perpetual drunkenness, and extraordinary bebauchdness, in both men and women. The *Care* or Parson of the Parish, came one day to my Quarters, accompany'd by his Clerk, as well to incense the Images, as to comfort the Mistress of the house, whose husband was put in prison for debt.

He told us, that, about forty years before, there had been found in the Monastery of *Spas*, which is in the said City of *Casan*, the bodies of two Monks, named *Warsinofi*, and *Kursi*, whose sanctity was approved, not only, in that their bodies had been found entire, after so many years, but also by the many miracles they did, there being no sick person but recover'd his health, after he had done his devotions at their Sepulchre. I ask'd him, why he complain'd of his back, and how it came to pass, there were so many blind people, and so great a number of other sick persons at *Casan*. The Priest had not a word to say, but grew angry, and went his way.

Leave Casan. Having stay'd at *Casan* five weeks, till the Ice and snow were able to bear, we departed thence, the 13. of *December*, with sixty Sledges, leaving, by order of the *Weywode*, the *Persian* Ambassador behind us.

Come to Nise. We took our way upon the *Wolga*, and came, the 21. to *Nise*, sixty leagues, or three hundred *werstes*, from *Casan*. The Ambassadors lodg'd at Mr. *Bernards* our Factor, and the retinue, up and down the neighbourhood. There it was we left the last *Lutheran* Church. Their Pastor dy'd six months before, so that our Minister preach'd there, the Sunday before *Christmass*. The said Church was very desirous, the Ambassadors should stay there till after

Christ-

Christ-mass day, that the Sacrament of the Lords Supper might be administred that day: but the Ambassador *Brugman* was against it, and order'd our departure thence on the 23. in the afternoon, qnitting the *Wolga*, to take our way by the River *Occa*, which was also frozen up. 1638.

The 25. we had a Sermon, at two in the morning, at a Village named *Kurim*, ten leagues from *Nise*, and travell'd that day ten leagues further.

The 29. we came to *Woladimer*, 42. leagues from *Nisna*, and 28. from *Moscou*. The ruins of the walls, towers and houses, which were to be seen up and down, are undeniable demonstrations of the antiquity of the City.

December the last, we came to a Village, named *Ruboska*, within eight leagues of *Moscou*, where our *Pristaf*, who had gone before, to acquaint the Great Duke with our arrival, came and told us, that, within two daies we should make our entrance into *Moscou*. The Ambassador *Brugman* fell into such a peevish humour at this place, that he threat ned some of the retinue to have their noses and ears cut off, assoon as he were come into the Frontiers of *Germany*. But his menaces troubled no body, nor did so much as any one offer to run away.

M. CD. XXXIX.

1639. IANUA.

The first of *January*, we departed, before day, and travell'd five leagues, to a Village named *Bechra*, whither we came betimes, and there did our devotions.

The 2. we made our entrance into *Moscou*, conducted by two *Pristafs*, whom his *Czaarick* Majesty had sent to meet us. The Ambassadors sate, each of them with a *Pristaf*, in a rich Sledge, lin'd with Crimson Satin, and hung with the richest *Persian* Tapistry, and the chiefest of the retinue had excellent horses sent them from the Great Duke's Stable, all white, twelve in number. We were lodg'd at the ordinary house appointed for the reception of Ambassadors, and, during our stay there, we were supply'd with all things requisite for the Cellar and the Kitchin. The Ambassadors horses, and such of our people as went from *Astrachan* along with the *Caravan*, were arriv'd there some time before; and *Reusner* was gone for *Holstein*, according to the agreement between him and the Ambassador *Brugman*. *Make their entrance into* Moscou.

Jan. 6. *Twelf*-day, the *Muscovites* celebrated the confecration of the holy Water; at which Ceremony, the Great Duke and the Patriarch were in person.

The 8. the Ambassadors had their first private Audience, which laste'd above an hour.

The night following, dy'd *Knez Iuan Michaelowits*, second son to the *Czaar*, in the eighth year of his age. *The Czaar's second son dies.*

His departure put the whole City into mourning, especially the Court. Both men and women put off all manner of ornament, as gold, silver, jewels, and garments of silk, cloathing themselves only in old vestments, for the most part of a dark grey colour.

Jan. 21. the Ambassadors had their second private Audience, and had a conference of two hours. There were sent to them and those of their retinue black horses, and they found the whole Court hung with mourning, and all the Senators clad in black Chamlet.

Jan. 30. departed thence the Sieur *Uchterichs*. He had a long time before desir'd leave to return into *Germany*, to look after some affairs of his own, but he could not obtain it of the Ambassador *Brugman* till then, and that under a promise, that he would not carry Letters for *Holstein* from any but himself. But he deceiv'd the deceiver, and shew'd him the Letters of the Ambassador *Crusius*, who was content they should be seen, and carried away the rest without shewing them to him.

February the second, died the Sieur *Gruneauld*, a Senator of *Dantzig*, who had travell'd with us, as a Gentleman belonging to the Embassy. He was a person of much worth, and one who had before travell'd into the *East* and *West-Indies*. FEBRU.

The 5. the *Persian* Ambassador made his entrance into *Muscou*, and the 8. had his first Audience.

The 11. the Ambassador *Brugman* desir'd, and had, a private Audience, without acquainting his Collegue therewith.

Febr. 23. the Ambassadors had their publick Audience, in order to their departure, at which they took leave of his *Czaarick* Majesty.

March the 7. the *Persian* Ambassador departed, going before us, towards *Germany*. MARCH.

The 15. the Ambassadors left *Moscou* making what haste they could thence, that they might have the convenience of Sledges, till they came to the Frontiers of *Germany*: and fearing, the spring, then neer, would spoil the waies, they travell'd so hard, that the 18. they came to *Twere*, and the 19. to *Tarsok*. *Leave Moscou.*

Tarsok is but a small City, yet hath it thirty Churches and Chapels, whereof one is of stone, and makes a handsome show at a distance: but the *Muscovites* would not permit us to come within the City.

The 23. we came to great *Novogorod*, where we found the *Persian* Ambassador. We left it the next day, and getting out of *Muscovy* the 27. entred *Ingermania*. *Enter Ingermania.*

1638. *March* the last, the three Ambassadors made their entrance into *Narva*, where Colonel *Wrangel* came to meet us, with a party of fifty horse.

Make their entrance into Narva. The *Persian* Ambassador was lodg'd at one of the Senators houses, about which there was got such a multitude of people, to see his wife, that he was half in a mind to get out of the City, and take up his Quarters in the open fields, that none might see her: so that they were forc'd to get the people away. This oblig'd him to take another course for the future, which was, to have a Curtain drawn from the Wagon, or Sledge, that brought her, to the house where she was to be lodg'd, that she might not be seen going in.

April the 14. the Ambassadors left *Narva* and lodg'd at the Village of *Purtz* where they staid one day, to change their horses.

APRIL. The 8. they came to *Kunda*, a house belonging to a Senator of *Riga*, where they staid four dayes. Here we were forc'd to give over travelling with Sledges, for want of snow, and to make use of horses and waggons.

Leave Narva.

Come to Reuel. The 13. we came to *Reuel*, where the Senate receiv'd us very magnificently. The persecutions which the Secretary of the Embassy was forc'd to suffer from the Ambassador *Brugman*, oblig'd him to take the opportunity of a Vessel, which went thence the 15. for *Lubeck*, and so for the Court of *Holstein*, where he expected the arrival of the Ambassadors, who staid three whole months at *Reuel*, without any necessity for it, or other reason than this, that the Ambassador *Brugman*, who was loath to return, as fearing what might be alleg'd against him, would have it so.

Their stay in that City had this consequence, that many of the retinue found their satisfaction there in the matter of Wedlock, and among others the Ambassador *Crusius*, who married a Senator's daughter of that place.

JULY. *July* the 11. the Ambassadors, and a *Muscovian Postanick*, whom the Great Duke sent to the Duke of *Holstein*, embark'd, and after eleven daies sail, arriv'd upon the Coasts of *Holstein*, neer the Iland of *Femeren*, intending to get into the haven of *Kiel*, but the contrary wind oblig'd them to cast anchor, before *Neustadt*, within two leagues of *Lubeck*. They soon understood that the Plague was there, whereupon they immediately departed thence, and went to *Travemunde*, whither they got the next day, *July* the 23.

Embark at Reuel.

Come to Travemunde.

To Eutin. Thence they sent their people and the Baggage by Sea, to *Kiel*, and the Ambassadors came the 28. to *Eutin*, where Duke *John* of *Holstein*, Bishop of *Lubeck*, our Prince's Brother, receiv'd us, and treated us magnificently.

To Kiel. The 30. they came to *Kiel*, where our Ambassadors left the *Persian*, and the *Muscovian Postanick*, to go and wait on His Highness, whom they found at *Gottorp*, the first day of *August*. And so they concluded their Travels into MUSCOVY, TARTARY, and PERSIA.

AUGU. *To* Gottorp.

FINIS.

THE PREFACE.

THE Relation of these our Travels would not be perfect, if at the return of our Embassy, we gave not an account what became of Monsieur Mandelslo, whom we left at Ispahan, with a design to travel into the Indies. This young Gentleman, who was born in the County of Meklenburgh, put off the quality of Page, when his Highness the Duke of Holstein resolv'd to send the Sieurs, Crusius and Brugman, into Muscovy and Persia, and express'd so great a desire to see Countries and Kingdoms so far distant from his own, that his said Highness did not only suffer him to go along with the Embassadours, in the quality of a Gentleman of the Chamber, but also to leave them as soon as they had finished their Negotiation in Persia, and to put in execution the design he had to travel farther, and see other parts of Asia. 1638. Mandelslo's person, His Design.

He was so well look'd upon in the King of Persia's Court, that that Monarch press'd him to stay there for some years, and to that end profferd him many great advantages, and among others, a Pension of five or six hundred Tumains, which amount to near 10000. Crowns; many of the greatest about the Court, perceiving that the King had an affection for him, courted his Friendship, and, one after another, entertain'd him with continual Feasting, out of a hope to engage him in the heat of Wine, and by such great expressions of their kindness towards him. Those who were the most importunate with him, (and to that end appointed several meetings, whereat they gave him all the divertisements which might induce him to forget the inclinations he had towards his own Countrey) were the Master of the Horse, the great Faulconer, and the high Steward. They could not absolutely prevail with him, but shook his resolution so, as that he went and advised with the Prior of the Italian Carmelites, a person that by the abode of twenty four years at Ispahan, was perfectly acquainted with the Court of Persia. This good religious man, who was called Father Tinas, a person of eminent vertue, told him, that to put him out of the perplexity he was in, he would alledge unto him two instances, whereby he might himself judge, what fortune he was to expect in Persia. One was, that he had known a French Gentleman, who had so well establish'd himself in the Court that the King, who had employed him in two great Embassies of great importance into Europe, which he very faithfully managed, had, to oblige him to spend the rest of his dayes in Persia, prevailed with him to marry a Persian Lady, but allowing him the freedom to live according to his own Religion. That some years afterwards, this Gentleman desired leave to return into France, but the King forbad him to depart the Kingdom; and to Seach Sefi loves him, and offers him a Pension of 10000. Crowns. He considers whether he were best stay at Ispahan.

1638. *prevent him from attempting it, caused all he had to be seized upon. That, even that unkindness had not smothered in him the desire he had to return into* France, *so that he made his escape notwithstanding that prohibition; but he was killed by the way. That his Lady, who had received Baptism, fled into the Monastery of the* Carmelites, *where she lay concealed, till she had an opportunity to disguise her self, and to go to* Rome, *whither the Pope had invited her. The other Story was, that another Gentleman, an* Italian, *of the house of the* Gabrieli, *who was no less favoured at the Court then the* French *man, growing weary of living so long among* Mahumetans, *the professed enemies of his Religion, bethought him to make a discovery to the King, of some notice he had, that there were about* Ormus *certain Mines, out of which Gold might be gotten, and shewed him a sample of it. The King did not so absolutely credit him, but that he sent along divers Lords and Gentlemen, who were to observe him: but coming to* Gamron, *he made them so drunk with Sack, which the* Portugueſe *had furnished him with, that he made a shift to get to the Sea-side, where finding a Boat ready, he made his escape to* Ormus. *That this escape of his had so incens'd the King, that it raised in* Schach-Abas *the first thoughts of besieging the City of* Ormus, *which he reduced to his obedience the year following.*

To this the good Father added, that he had several other reasons to give him, which might divert a Gentleman of his age, and one so handsome in person, from staying in so depraved a Court as that of Persia: *but that he conceived M.* Mandelſlo *himself was better acquainted with it, then to engage him in a discourse of that nature. And indeed what he had said was enough to settle his resolution, so that before they parted,* Mandelſlo *promised him to leave* Ispahan *with the sooneſt, and prosecute his design of going to* Babylon, *and thence to* Jerusalem, *whence he made account to go to* Aleppo, *and to return by the* Mediterranean *Sea into* Europe. *But having understood that the Grand Seigneur had besieged* Bagdat, *or* Babylon, *he changed his resolution, and took that of going to* Ormus, *and thence to the Great* Mogul's *Court, and so into the* Indies.

To that end having disingaged himself from the Embassadours on the one and twentieth of December 1637. *he stayed at* Ispahan, *till the* 16. *of* January *following. But in regard he himself hath taken the pains to set down the particulars of his Travels, and to make a very exact relation thereof, it were an injury to him, not to let him speak himself. He begins his relation thus.*

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MANDELSLO'S TRAVELS INTO THE INDIES.

The First Book.

THe Embaſſadours of *Holſtein*, having left *Iſpahan*, the Metropolis of *Perſia*, I reſolved to make uſe of the Permiſſion which the Duke my Maſter had given me, and having taken my leave of the Embaſſadours two Leagues thence, I returned to the City, where I ſtayed almoſt a month, to put all things in order for the proſecution of my Deſign. During which time the King ordered *Imanculi Eſichagaſi*, a Native of *Karabath*, to make himſelf ready for the Embaſſy, upon which he would ſend him into *Holſtein*. 1638.

Accordingly, *January* 10. 1638. *Imanculi* ſent away the baggage, and the Preſents that were to be made to the Duke, conſiſting in excellent Horſes, and ſeveral Stuffes of Gold and Silk, amounting, as they were valued by the *Perſians*, to 1500. Tumains, which make 20000. Crowns.

They about the Court, who had expreſs'd a kindneſs for me, perceiving I was fully reſolv'd to be gone, procured me a particular audience in order to my departure, to which I was introduced on the 12. of *January* by the Maſter of the Horſe. I kiſs'd the hem of the Kings garment, who with much kindneſs was pleas'd to allow of my departure. The dayes following I ſpent in taking leave of my friends, and the 16. of *January* I left *Iſpahan*, with a retinue of three perſons, a Chirurgeon, a Lacquey, and a Groom, all three *Germans*, and one *Perſian* ſervant, Mr. *Honywood*, Agent of the Engliſh at *Iſpahan*, accompany'd by ſeveral Merchants of the ſame Nation, and ſome *French* Merchants, brought me a League out of the City. *JANUARY.* Mandelſlo leaves Iſpahan.

I travell'd that day eight Leagues, to a Village called *Majar*, where I ſtayd all the next day, expecting a *Carmelite* Father, who had promis'd me his company. But hearing that he had left *Iſpahan* a day before me, I travell'd on the 18. and came that day to the Village of *Kamſcha*, ſix leagues from *Majar*. All this way was one continued walk, ſet with trees on both ſides in a direct line, with very pleaſant Gardens adjoyning, ſo that I do not think there can be a more delightful place then that Village? but the *Caravanſera*, where I was to take up my lodging, had nothing but the bare walls. The 19. I got ſix leagues, to the Village of *Machſud*. This Village hath a *Caravanſera* well furniſhed with Lodgings and Stables. Comes to Majar. To Kamſcha Machſud.

The 20. I lodg'd in a *Caravanſera*, near a Village called *Hannabath*, which is very well Hannabath

1638. seated, on the descent of a pleasant hill. The 21. I travell'd 10. leagues, to a *Caravanſera*,
Jurgiſthan cal'ed *Iurgiſthan*, very ill way, and so much the more incommodious, by reason of the wind and snow, which hindred me very much.

The 22. I was forc'd to travel 12. *Farſangs*, or *Persian* Leagues; for, from *Iurgiſthan* there
Surma. is neither Village nor *Caravanſera*, where a man may be lodg'd; so that it was night ere I got to *Surma*. By that great dayes journey, I overtook the Mules of certain *Persian* Merchants, who came from *Iſpahan* a day before me.

Guſti. The 23. I was in like manner forc'd to travel 12. Leagues, to the Village of *Guſti*, where we were very ill accommodated, our Horses having not so much as a house over their heads, though it were very bad weather, and snow'd all night. The 24. we had a dayes journey, as great as the two precedent, but a much worse way; for as soon as we were out of *Guſti*, we came into mountains covered with snow, and had that day very cruel weather, though the Countrey thereabouts a man may think should afford a very pleasant pro-
Maderre Soliman. spect in Spring and Summer. We lodg'd at night in a great Village, called *Meſhid Maderre Soliman*, by reason of a sumptuous Sepulchre, which is within half a league of it. The Sepulchre is in a little Chappel built of white Marble, upon a high square of free-stone-work, so as that the going up to it is by steps of all sides. The air and rain have eaten into the wall, in several places, but time hath in a manner consumed several great pillars of Marble, whereof what remains may be seen all about the Structure: upon the wall of the Chappel there are yet to be seen in *Arabian* Characters these words, *Mader Suleiman*. The Inhabitants say, that *Solomon*'s Mother was interr'd there; but the *Carmelite* Fathers of *Schiras*, with more likelihood of truth, told me, that it was the Sepulchre of the Mother of *Scach Soliman*, the 14. Calif, or King, of the posterity of *Aaly*. *Elmacin*, in his History of *Arabia*, l. 1. c. 14. sayes, her name was *Wallada*, the daughter of *Abbas Abbaſceam*, and that this *Soliman* liv'd in the year 715. and relates, among other things, one very remarkable, to wit, that the King, who was a very handsome graceful person, viewing himself one day in a Looking-glass, said, that he might justly assume the quality of King of Youth, as well as of his Kingdom; whereto one of the Seraglio-Ladies answered, that he might indeed justly do it, if his beauty would continue still the same, and were not subject to that change which is natural and common to all things; but that he must consider with himself that it was perishable, and that happily he should not enjoy it long; and that these words made such an impression in him, that, falling into a deep melancholy, he within a few dayes died of it. In this Village I met with the *Carmelite* Father, who came from *Iſpahan* before me, with an *Armenian* Caravan.

Siwan. Mardasch. The 26. I got five Leagues to the Village of *Siwan*; The 27. six Leagues to *Mardaſch*. This last Village is very famous, for the Antiquities which are to be seen near it, and which
Tzilminar. obliged us, as they do all that travel that way, to make a particular Observation thereof. They are the ruines of an old Castle, which the *Persians* call *Tzilminar*, that is to say, *forty pillars* from a word compounded of *Tezehil*, which signifies 40. and *minar*, a pillar or Tower; in as much as the towers of the *Meiſchid* or *Moſqueys* of the *Persians*, having neither bells nor steeples, are of the form and bigness of a pillar. They are no doubt the ruines of one of the most magnificent structures that ever were; and the *Persians* say, that their King *Szemſcid Padſchal*, Grand-father by the mother side to *Alexander* the Great, (of whom mention is made in the precedent Travels of the Embassadours into *Muſcovy* and *Persia*) was the Founder of that Castle; though others say King *Solomon* built it; and some would have it done by *Darius*, the last King of *Persia*. The Religious men of *Schi-*
Persepolis *ras* told me, that the learned were clearly of opinion, that the ancient *Perſepolis* had stood thereabouts, and that these were the ruines of *Cyrus*'s Palace. Whatever they were, they are at this day such as would ravish those who can ever so meanly judge of the excellency of ancient Monuments. The Ground-work of it is twenty two Geometrical feet in height, having at each of the four corners a pair of stairs of white Marble, consisting of 95. steps, which are very flat, and so broad, that twelve horse may go up together a-breast. Upon the square of it, before you come within the structure, may be seen the ruines of a wall, as also what is left of two great Gates, which have carv'd upon them each a horse, with harness and saddles very antick; and in the two other pieces, two creatures, whereof the hinder part hath some resemblance to the body of a horse, but the head, which is crowned, resembles that of a Lion, and both have wings of each side. On the one side, there are nineteen pillars of black and white Marble, whereof the least were eight, the biggest ten els high, without the bases. They told us, that not long before there were forty pillars standing; but it cannot be well judg'd, whether they had been design'd for the ornament of some great Hall, or set there in the air purely for show. A little further are the ruines of two chambers, which, as far as may be judg'd by the doors and windows, were

not

not very large. All is of Marble, ſo ſmooth and poliſh'd, that it might ſerve for a Looking-glaſs, as well as that of the palace Royal at *Iſpahan*. On both ſides of the doors, there are ſeveral figures of men, carved, whereof ſome are ſitting, others ſtand, but much exceeding the natural proportion. They have all their hair ſo long, that it falls down over their ſhoulders, great beards, and habits falling down to their heels, with very wide ſleeves, and a girdle about their garments. They have all round caps upon their heads; which, being much different from the ordinary habit of the *Perſians* at preſent, argues a great antiquity. At a ſmall diſtance, there are two other Chambers, built after the ſame manner, and of the ſame bigneſs, whereof there is nothing left but the doors, and the croſs-bars of the windows. 1638.

The ſtructure ſeems to have had many doors, which the *Perſians* obſerve to this day in their buildings, ſo to make way for the winds they ſtand in need of to cool themſelves. Near theſe chambers there may be ſeen, engraven upon a ſquare pillar, certain unknown characters, which have nothing common with either the *Greek*, *Hebrew*, or *Arabian*, nor indeed with any other language. There are twelve lines of theſe characters, which, as to their figure, are triangular, Piramidal, or like obeliſques, but ſo well graven and ſo proportionate, that thoſe who did them cannot be thought Barbarians: Some believe they are *Teleſmes*, and that they contain ſome ſecrets which Time will diſcover. Beſides theſe, there is alſo a great Court, upon the ſame ground-work, which is ninety paces ſquare, having on each ſide two gates, whereof ſome are ſix, others but three paces wide, all built of a very well poliſh'd marble, whereof the ſeveral pieces are eight foot in length and three in breadth. In another Court there are repreſented in carv'd-work, in marble, battels, triumphs, and Olympick games, very well done, and with an exact obſervance of proportion. Upon every gate is repreſented a man, with a graceful countenance, ſitting, and holding in one hand a Globe, in the other a Scepter, though the Kings of *Perſia* never ſate in that poſture. I had the curioſity to get up on high, where I found the figure of a King at his devotions, adoring the Sun, Fire, and a Serpent. It is not eaſie to affirm, whether the Architecture of this Palace be of the *Ionick*, *Dorick*, or *Corinthian* order, the building is ſo ruin'd, though there be yet as much left as would find work for a good able Painter for ſix months. 'Tis a thouſand pities, that no body hath yet had the curioſity to have it graven, had it been only out of this motive, that the barbarous people thereabouts ruine it daily more and more, and convey away the ſtones to carry on private buildings. *Ælian* ſayes, that the Grand *Cyrus* was grown famous for the Palace he had built in the City of *Perſepolis*, whereof he had himſelf laid the foundation; *Darius*, for that built by him at *Suſa*; and *Cyrus* the younger, for the pleaſant Gardens which he had himſelf planted and cultivated in *Lydia*. If this be the ſame place which *Diodorus Siculus* makes mention of, it is certain, that both as to greatneſs and magnificence it exceeded all thoſe of that time. He ſayes it was encompaſs'd with three walls of Marble, whereof the firſt was 16. the ſecond 32. and the third 60. ells high, with the gates and balconies of braſs. The work of ſo many years, and all that wealth were deſtroy'd in a few hours, by *Alexander* the great, who, upon the perſwaſion of a common Proſtitute, cauſed it to be fired, as *Quintus Curtius* gives an account of it in his Hiſtory. Having view'd theſe Antiquities, which with thoſe of *Derbent*, were all we met with in our Travels, I proſecuted my journey the 28. of *January*, and got that day ten Leagues, to the City of *Schiras*.

Lib. 1. c. 59.

Lib. 17.

Lib. 5. c. 7.

In this City I met with four Italian *Carmelites*, who have a very handſome well built Monaſtery there, and enjoy an abſolute liberty of conſcience, under the juriſdiction of the King of *Perſia*. There had alſo been heretofore a Monaſtery of *Auſtin*-Friers; but they were forc'd thence, with the other *Portuguez*, when the City of *Ormus* was taken from them. *Schiras* is the chief City of the Province of *Furs*, at 29. degrees, 36. minutes, ſeated in a very pleaſant place, at the foot of certain Mountains upon the River *Sendemer*, heretofore called *Araxes*, which diſembogues it ſelf into the *Perſian* Gulf. We were told, the City had been much bigger then it is now, though there be in it at preſent above ten thouſand houſes; which I the more eaſily credited, in that we found all about it, and half a league beyond, the ruines of the gates and walls of a great City. Whatever Nature ſupplies mankind withall, not only for neceſſity, but alſo for pleaſure, is here to be had in great abundance; as Wheat, Wine, Oranges, Lemmons, Pomegranats, Almonds; Dates, Piſtachoes, &c. and the lovely Cypreſs-trees afford a pleaſant ſhade againſt the exceſſive heats. The beſt Wine of all *Perſia* grows hereabouts, and in ſuch abundance, that it is tranſported all over the Kingdom, eſpecially to the Court, where the King and great Lords drink not any other. 'Tis more ſprightly, and more pleaſant then Canary; but in regard no perſon of quality but drinks of it, and is willing to treat his friends with *Schiras Scharab*, it is dear enough at *Iſpahan*, where it is ſold at half a Crown a pottle. The ſoil

The City of Schiras deſcribed.

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1638. hereabouts is very fertile, and produces abundance of Wheat and Fruit. The Sheep which are of an Ash-grey colour, with an eye of white, have their wooll curled or frizled, and their tails are so big, and so fat that they weigh 18. or 20. pound. The adjacent Forrests afford abundance of Mastick, which the Country people gather in dishes fastned to the Trees. It is at first green, but the Air in time corrupting it gives it the brown colour it is of, when brought into *Europe*. I stayed eight dayes at *Schiras*, as well to rest my Horses as to fortifie my self against the hardship I was to expect in my future travel, it being a hundred Leagues to *Ormus*, through a Country where I should not find what I left behind me at *Schiras*, which is doubtless the principal City of *Persia*, for Wine and Women; and affords so great enjoyments to those who can use these two things with moderation, that the *Persians* are wont to say, that if *Mahomet* had tasted the pleasures of *Schiras*, he would have

FEBRUARY. desired God to make him immortal there: I left it the fifth of *February*, and passed by two *Caravanseras*, and took up my lodging at the third, having travell'd that day ten Leagues, through a fair even way.

The sixth, I got seven Leagues, having a very bad way, but in sight of many Villages, whereof the prospect was the more pleasant, by reason of the Date-trees all about them.

The seventh I passed by one of these *Caravanseras*, and got that day ten Leagues, taking up my quarters in the little City of *Scharim*, in the middle of a Forrest of Date-trees. The five dayes following were the most troublesome of all my life. For the eighth of *February*, we got but five Leagues, through the most horrid way in the world. I cannot imagine how people made a shift to travel that way, before *Imanculi Chan* (of whom somewhat hath been said elsewhere, who was so cruelly put to death with all his children, by *Schach Sefi*) caus'd it to be repaired, with incredible expence, when at this day a man cannot pass, but in great danger of his life, by reason of the uneven and narrow wayes, between steepy mountains on the one side, and dreadful precipices on the other; where I very narrowly avoided a mis-fortune, which happens there very often. For my Horse's hoof, which I was leading by the bridle, being fill'd with snow, he stumbled upon me, forc'd me out of the way, so as that had I not caught hold of a wild Almond tree, which happened to be there, as it were by miracle, I had there ended both my travel and life, in the precipices. I lodg'd at night in a *Caravansera*, where I had a house over my head; but that was all, for there was neither provender for my horses, nor any thing for my self and my servants to eat.

The ninth, having travell'd three Leagues, I came to a *Caravansera*, where I found horse-meat. After dinner, I got five Leagues farther, to another *Caravansera*; but meeting there with the *Armenian* Caravan, and the *Carmelite* Father, whom I spoke of before, I rode on,

Berry. and travell'd two Leagues farther to a Village called *Berry*, and lodg'd not far from it, in one of the best *Caravanseras* that I met with in all my journey.

The tenth I had very ill way along the mountain: I preferred this before another fairer way, which I might have taken by the Plains, but more about by four Leagues: Late at night I came to the City of *Laar*.

Laar. The City is seated at the foot of a Mountain, in a spacious Plain, its houses are built of brick bak'd in the Sun; but the Citadel is very advantagiously seated on the mountain, and well fortified with a Rampire of free-stone. There is no Wine, but abundance of Dates in these parts. The Inhabitants drink only water, which being thick and troubled, must needs be very unwholsome, as is also the Air thereabouts; whence it comes, that no Inhabitant almost but is troubled with a kind of worm, which breeds between the flesh and the skin, about an ell long, and which is with much difficulty got out after the manner we shall have occasion to speak of hereafter; hitherto we had been more sensible of cold then heat; but in this place we began to think the heat of the Sun troublesom.

I stayed one whole day at *Laar*; but when I would have gone thence the twelfth, they would not suffer me to go out of the *Caravansera*, till I had paid half a *Tumain*, which amounts to between forty and fifty shillings. I stood out, and alledged, that being no Merchant, they could not exact that duty from me: but the receiver of it very much pressing the payment, I sent my Pasport, and the Letters of recommendation which the King had written on my behalf to the Sultan of *Gamron*, to the Governour of the Citadel, who immediately sent an Officer of the Garrison, with order for my departure, without any further trouble.

Laar described. They say the City of *Laar* was built by *Pilaes*, the son of *Siroes*, who had to his Successor *Gorgion Melech*, first King of *Laar*, and of whom the two and thirtieth Successor was *Ebrahim Chan*, who was ejected by *Scach Abas*, King of *Persia*, in the year 1602. It hath about four thousand houses, but neither gates nor walls, but only a Castle built there by

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the *Persians* since their conquest, upon a steepy rock, which commands the City, there being but one way to go up to it, and that so narrow, that two horses can hardly go abreast in it. The walls of it are cut out of the rock, and the Garrison consists of a hundred men, a sufficient number to make good that place, though there be in the Magazine Arms for three thousand men. The water they have within it is brackish; so that those of the Garrison are oblig'd to save that which falls from the Sky, whereof they have abundance at certain seasons of the year. I travell'd that day 14. Leagues to a *Caravansera* near a little Village. 1638.

This great dayes journey did me no small prejudice, though I had felt some alteration in my health at my departure from *Schiras*. But the great journeys, especially the last I had made since, the water, which was troubled and corrupted, and the insupportable heats, brought me to such gripings in the belly, which were accompanied by an oppression of the stomack, and a very great looseness, that I began to be out of all heart. I caused enquiry to be made for a Litter, but there being none to be found, I was fore'd to get on the Horse which carried the sumpter, which I had so ordered, as that I had the convenience of resting my back. In that posture I went away the 19. and got that day to a great Village within 12. Leagues of the City of *Gamron*, and took up my lodging at the *Calenter's* of the place. In the evening came to the same lodging an *English man*, who was to succeed him who was the chief of the Merchants at *Ispahan*, accompanied by another Merchant of the same Nation, with whom I had some acquaintance during my abode at the King of *Persia*'s Court. They were well provided with that kind of *Spanish* Wine, which is called *Seck*, though the true name of it be *Xeque*, from the Province whence it comes; which, together with two good meals whereto they had invited me, a little comforted my stomack, and recruited my spirits, at least as far as the posture of my health would permit. They gave me Letters of recommendation to an *English* Merchant of *Bandar Gamron*, whom they intreated to lodge me in the *Indian* Company House there, and to assist me all that lay in his power, in my Voyage to *Suratta*. They took horse after supper, but my indisposition kept me there till the 22. of *February*. That day I travelled six leagues to a *Caravansera*, where I rested my self till the heat of the day was over, and then got three leagues further to another *Caravansera*. I grew worse and worse, insomuch that my former indisposition being heightned into a burning Feaver, I was reduc'd to the greatest extremity. But there was no staying in a place where I could not be reliev'd, so that I resolv'd to get to *Bandar*, whatever it cost me, out of the confidence I had that there, among so many Merchants of several Nations who trade thither, I should find some ease. Accordingly, as soon as I was got thither, the 23. of *February*, the *English*, *French* and *Dutch* came to give me a visit, and having had an account of my quality and design, as also of the nature of my indisposition, which was come to a bloudy Flux, with a burning Feaver, they took me so much into their care, that within four dayes the Feaver left me, and I made a shift to visit the *Sulthan* or Governour of the City.

The Authors indisposition.

Leaves Laar.

Comes to Gamron.

I had before sent him the Letters of recommendation which *Schach Sefi* had given me, directed to him, so that he no sooner heard of my recovery, but he sent to invite me to dinner, whither I went the 28. As soon as I was come into the room, he made me sit down by him, and to further my diversion and entertainment, he had intreated the *Dutch* Merchants to bear me company, by which means I had the opportunity to be acquainted with them. I shall say nothing of the particularities of this Entertainment, because there was nothing in it extraordinary, or more then we had seen at *Ispahan* and elsewhere.

Dines with the Sulthan.

MARCH. The same day came to *Gamron* a Vessel from *Suratta*, of 600. Tun burthen. It belong'd to the Governour of *Suratta*, who had employ'd an *English* Carpenter in the building of it. There came in it a certain Queen, who was a Widow, Mother to the King of *Golkende*, with her Daughter. The King fell in love with the Daughter, and would have married her, but the Mother would by no means consent to that incest, upon which he had forc'd her out of the Kingdom. The Daughter came along with her Mother, preferring the miseries of exile before the enjoyments of that incestuous marriage. It was reported, the Mothers design was to marry her Daughter to the King of *Persia*, or one of the chiefest Lords of the Kingdom.

March 11. The *Persians* celebrated their *Nauruz*, or first day of their year, with the ceremonies mentioned in the fourth book of the precedent Travels into *Persia*; the same day the *Sulthan* invited me again to dinner, with several *English* and *Dutch*. In the evening came to *Bandar* Mr. *Chapman*, whom I had met near *Laar*, who had accompany'd the new *English* Captain who was going to *Ispahan*. He brought along with him another *English* Merchant, with whom I had contracted a particular friendship, and whose conversation was so much the greater comfort to me, in that from my departure from *Ispahan*, I had

not

1638. not met with any friend that I could in the leaſt be confident of. For though the *Dutch* entertain'd me very highly, and made great expreſſions of their kindneſs towards me, yet could I not well truſt them, eſpecially when I conſider'd how little reaſon they had to have any affection for us, after the difference we had had with them at *Iſpahan*.

Mandelſlo's diſtruſt of the Dutch.

Quem lædimus, odimus.

March 13. I left the *Caravanſera*, to take up my Lodgings at the Houſe belonging to the *Engliſh*, who inceſſantly importuned me to accept of it.

The 21. came to *Gamron* one Mr. *Hall* an *Engliſh* Merchant, with 253. Bails of Silk, valued at 200 *l.* a Bail, which he had received upon the account of the ſum of 30000. *Tumains*, or 150000. Piſtols, which the King of *Perſia* was endebted to the *Engliſh*, for one moyety of the Cuſtoms of *Gamron*, whereof we ſhall ſpeak more anon.

The ſame day died my Surgeon of a burning Fever, on the ſeventh day of his ſickneſs. I muſt confeſs the loſs of him was a very great affliction to me. For beſides the great ſervices he had done me, and thoſe he might ſtill do me in my ſickneſs, which I had not quite ſhaken off; I might have expected many other good offices from him, upon the account of his being well skill'd in the Languages he had gotten by travelling into *Spain*, *Italy*, *Poland*, and the *Eaſt Indies*, where he had been twice. To alleviate this affliction, I went one day abroad a walking with one of the *Engliſh* Merchants, along the River ſide, where I ſaw one of thoſe Trees which *Q. Curtius* makes mention of in the ninth Book of his Hiſtory, in theſe terms, Alexander *having croſſed the River with* Porus, *went a good way into the* Indies, *where he ſaw Forreſts of a very vaſt extent full of trees, which were very thick with boughs, and of an extraordinary height. Moſt of the Branches being as big as the boal of ordinary Trees bow'd down to the ground, and having taken earth, grew up ſtraight again, ſo that a man would think they were not branches that ſtarted up, but other trees growing upon their own roots.*

And indeed ſo it was, that the branches which came out of the boal of the tree, getting to the earth did there take root, and made another new tree, which at the height of fifteen or twenty foot caſt forth other branches, and ſo became a Forreſt, rather then a Tree, ſince that which I ſaw there was two hundred and fourteen paces about, and might well afford ſhade to two thouſand perſons. The *Portuguez* call it *Arbol de Rays*, and thoſe who have written the natural Hiſtory of thoſe parts, *The Indian Fig-treee*, by reaſon of its fruit, which is about the bigneſs of a mans thumb, and full of grains within, as the common Fig, but its taſte more unpleaſantly luſhious, and its colour red, and the leaves of the tree are much like thoſe of the *Quince-tree*.

Arbol de Rays, or the Indian *Fig-tree.*

The Sepulchre of a Benjan *Saint.*

At the foot of that tree, from which all the reſt ſprung, there is a little Chappel, built in honour of an *Indian* Saint, or *Benjan*, that lies buried there. The Guardian of the Sepulchre, who ſate at the door, received us very kindly, and treated us with a collation of Almonds, Nuts, Dates, and very good fair Water. He ſuffered us to come into the Chappel, where we found the Saints Tomb all ſtrew'd with Beans of ſeveral colours, and above it, under a Canopy of Satin, ſeveral Lamps, which the Religious man is obliged to keep in night and day. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak elſewhere of the Religion of the *Indians*, and particularly of that of the *Benjans*; and therefore we ſhall here only ſay, that it was not by chance that the Tomb was covered with Beans; but hence, that that Saint, and the Guardian of his Sepulchre, were of the Sect which is called the *Benjans*, who trade much to *Gamron*, and believe, with *Pythagoras*, that the ſouls of departed perſons retreat into Beans: an opinion which is very common, not only among the Heathens of the *Indies*, but alſo all over *China*.

APRIL.

April 1. there came to *Gamron* an Envoy from *Scach Sefi*, King of *Perſia*, who brought the *Sultan* a preſent, which was a Garment, as an aſſurance to him of the favour of his Prince. The *Sulthan* got on horſeback, without any Arms about him, and having deſir'd the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Merchants to honour him with their company in his Cavalcade, and to afford him their preſence at that Ceremony, I got in among them, and follow'd him about a quarter of a League out of the City, where the Envoy had cauſed a Tent to be pitch'd in the Field. Being got thither, they made us all ſit down, but the *Sulthan* ſtood, and with great ſubmiſſion receiv'd the Kings Letter, which he kiſs'd and put to his forehead, as alſo the Robe, which the Envoy preſented to him at the ſame time, with the Turbant and Girdle, which were of a very fine and thin ſilk, with Flowers of Gold. He immediately put on the Robe, and the other Preſents, and having made a ſhort prayer for the Kings proſperity, lifting up his eyes and hands to Heaven, and receiv'd the Complements of the whole company, he mounted again, and return'd to the City where he was received with the great Guns of both the Caſtles. At the entrance of his Palace he met the *Molla*, who made a ſpeech to him that laſted a quarter of an hour, after which the *Sulthan* treated the ſtrangers, and the principal Officers of the Garriſon very magnificently.

Schach Sefi ſends the Sulthan of Gamron an aſſurance of his favour.

The

The City of *Gamron*, or *Bandar Gamron*, *i.e.* the Port of *Gamron*, lies at 27. deg. latitude. For though the *Persians* and *Arabians* in their Catalogues put it at 25. degr. yet is the observation which the *Hollanders* have made of it, and which we here follow, very just and exact; it being certain, that most of the Maps that have been yet made, and particularly that of *Persia*, are very defective. Their errour proceeds hence, that they put the *Caspian* Sea too high, and consequently allow *Persia* a greater breadth from North to South, then it really hath. For they put the City of *Resht* at 41. degrees, whereas it is at 37. and so the breadth of all *Persia* can be but 10. degrees, taking it from *Gamron* to *Resche*, or 12. at most, if we should grant *Ormus* to be at 25. degrees: so that *Boterus* is extreamly mistaken, when he allows *Persia* the extent of 18. degrees. 1638. *A description of the City of Gamron.* *The errour of certain Geographers.*

It is not long since that this place was but a little Village, consisting of some few Huts, which the Fishermen had set up for their conveniencies, and it is since the reduction of *Ormus* that the goodness of the Port hath rais'd it to a City of great Trade. The *Dutch* and *English* Ships, and the *Moor* Bottoms which come there daily, by reason of the convenience of the Road, and the Merchants of *Ispahan*, *Schiras*, and *Laar*, who bring their stuffes thither, as Velvet, Taffata, raw-Silk, *&c.* and exchange them for others, will in time make this City one of the most considerable of all the East. It is seated upon the *Persian* Gulf, between two good Castles, which defend it against the descent of Pirates, and keep the entrance of the Haven, where there is a square Redoubt, with four pieces of Canon upon it. The Fortifications of the Citle are antick, with round Bastions, but very well furnished with great Guns. The Haven is so commodious, that Ships may anchor very safely at five or six fathom water. The houses at *Gamron* are built of a certain stone, which they make of stiff Clay, Sand, shredded-Straw and Horse-dung mixt together, whereof having set a Layer, they cover it with a Layer of Straw or Fagots, and then another Layer of Clay and Straw, and so alternately, till they have brought it six or seven foot high: then they set fire to it, and so bake the Stone; and to fasten and cement them together, they make a composition of the same Paste with Salt-water, and some Lime, and by that means make a kind of Mortar, which is almost as hard as the Stone it self. *The Situation of Gamron.* *Its Houses.*

The best Houses are those of the *Sulthan*, or Governour of the City, and the Lodgings, or Ware houses of the *Dutch* and *English*, which lie so near the Sea, that at High-water the Tide comes up to the walls of them, which is a great convenience for the loading and unloading of their Merchandizes. The lower rooms serve for Kitchins and Ware-houses, and the upper for Lodgings, which are the more commodious in this respect, that being high, they are the more fit to receive the wind of all sides, so in some measure to moderate the excessive heat of the Sun. The meaner sort of people have no other covering over them, then what they make with the branches and leaves of Date-trees, which they call *Adap*, and are the only trees that find them fruit, and timber for building. The Streets are narrow, irregular, and not kept clean. The Air is very unwholsom thereabouts, by reason of the excessive heat, as also of the continual change of the Winds which reign there, and which in the space of twenty four hours go through all the points of the Compass. For in the morning they have an East-wind, which is extreamly cold; about noon a South-wind, which brings insupportable heats along with it; in the evening a West-wind, which coming fromwards *Arabia*, brings sufficient heats with it; and at midnight a North-wind, which comes out of the Mountains of the Country, and is cold enough. It rains so seldom, that it was observed in the year 1632. that with the rising of the Wind, there falling a great shower, after a continual drought of three years, the Inhabitants kept a day of publick thanksgiving for it. Whence it comes that in the Country all about this City, there is not so much as a Grass to be seen, unless it be in some Gardens, where they are forc'd, twice or thrice every day, to water the Pot-herbs and Pulse which they sow in them, and among the rest, particularly, Garlick, Onions, Chibols, Radishes and Cucumbers. But the Isle of *Kismisch*, which is but three Leagues distant from *Gamron*, and which is 15. Leagues in length, and three in breadth, supplies the City with all sorts of Fruits. For in the moneth of *June*, and during the greatest heats of Summer, they have Grapes, Damsens, Peaches, Mangas, Quinces, Oranges, Lemons, and Pomegranates red and white. In *October* they have Melons, Citruls, Cucumbers, Radishes, Onions, Turneps, Almonds, Pistachoes, Apples, Pears, and several other Fruits, which are very excellent, and in such abundance, that they are cheaper there then in any other place of *Persia*. The Inhabitants live for the most part upon Fruits, and Pulse, and the Fish which they take in the neighbouring Sea, and find more wholsom and delicious then Flesh, which meeting with but little good sustenance, by reason of the extraordinary heats, must thereabouts be of ill nourishment, and in a manner without any taste. Among other sorts of Fish, they take there abundance of Pilchards and Smelts, as also Oysters and Crabs. They have good store of *Its Streets.* *The Air.* *A great drought.* *The Isle of Kismisch.*

1638. Cattle, as Oxen, Cows, Sheep, Goats, and several other Creatures; but they have such abundance of Goats, that they are sold for six or eight pence a piece. There are also a sort of Rams that have four horns, but no wild Fowl at all. Their ordinary drink is only Water, unless it be that some have a little *Aqua vitæ*, made of Dates or Rice. *Schiras* Wine, which is brought thither only in Bottles, is very scarce and very dear there; nay the fair Water, which they get two Leagues from the City, is sold at such a rate, that what I and my servants spent, cost me about two pence every day.

Persons of quality, and Merchants, are clad after the *Persian* mode, but all the rest go naked, and cover only the privy parts. The Women wear about their arms and legs a great many Rings, or Plates of Silver, Brass, or Iron, according to their conditions and abilities. They fasten to their hair a Bodkin, or a long flat piece of Silver gilt, or Brass, which hangs down over the middle of their foreheads to the end of the nose, and they thrust through the left nostril a Gold Ring, having in the middle a Turquese, a Granat, or haply a little Gold Knob or Button enamell'd, or simple, and the Pendants they wear in their ears are so heavy, that if those were not well fastned to their heads, they would go near to force them thence.

The great heats begin to abate in *October*, and so from that time till the beginning of *May* is the season of greatest trading. Then it is that all Nations come thither with their Commodities, as *Persians*, *Arabians*, *Indians*, *Banians*, *Armenians*, *Turks*, *Tartars*, *English* and *Dutch*. These last come thither by Sea, but all the others by Land, with the *Caravans*, which they call *Caffilas*, and which go at a certain day from *Aleppo*, *Bagdat*, *Ispahan*, *Sciras*, *Lahor*, *Herat* and *Bassara*; coming all together in Troops, and having a Convoy of certain *Janizaries*, for the Security of their travel, against the incursions of the *Arabians*.

The Traffick of the English and Dutch there.

The *Hollanders* and the *English* bring thither ready money, and some certain Commodities, which they either take up in *Europe*, or go to the *Indies* for, and sell them there to very good profit. The *Dutch* are the better settled there of the two, and do furnish in a manner all *Persia*, with Pepper, Nutmegs, Cloves, and other Spicery, though they also expend very much ready money in their trading, as we said before, and especially *Spanish Ryals* and *Rixdollars*, which the *Persians* prefer before all other money, because they melt them, and make them into their own Coins with great advantage.

The *English* do either sell or truck their *English* Cloaths, Tin, Steel, Indico, Silk Stuffes, and Cottons out of the *Indies*; for though there are excellent good ones made in *Persia*, yet are those of the *Indies* more esteemed, because they are finer and closer woven. They buy of the *Persians* Satins purfled with Gold or Silver, Silk-Stuffes, and the Cottons of the Country, *Persian* Tapistry, which those of the Country call *Kalichey*, and the *Portuguez*, *Alcatifer*, raw Silk, Cotton, Rhubarb, Saffron, and Rose-water. This Water is made at *Schiras*, and in the Province of *Kerman*, either by infusion, and then they call it *Gul-ab*, whence no doubt the word *Julip* comes, or by extraction in a Still, and then they call it *Areka-gul*, that is to say, the sweat of Roses. They esteem the former incomparably beyond the other, and it is one of the best Commodities that a man can carry to the *Indies*, where they sprinkle it about their Chambers, and use it in the preparations of perfumes. There is made also in those parts great quantities of Linnen-cloath; but the Weavers, instead of doing their work in Looms at their houses as they do elsewhere, fasten the woof of the cloath to some Tree, without the City, and having made a pit in the ground, they put their feet into it, so that when they come home at night, it is no great trouble for them to bring their work and things belonging thereto along with them, in as much as they consist only of certain Canes fastned to the woof.

Their money.

They have a certain Copper Coin, which they call *Besorg*, whereof six make a *Peys*, and ten *Peys* make a *Chay*, which is worth about five pence *English*. Two *Chays* make a *Mamondy*, two whereof make an *Abas*, and three *Abas's* make a *French* Crown. A hundred *Mamoudis* make a *Tumain*, which is worth five Pistols. As to their weights, a *Man* weighs six pounds, a *Mancha* twelve, and a *Mansurats* thirty.

Weights.

Pearls.

There is also a great commerce of Pearls, which are fisht for near the Isle of *Bahram*, six Leagues from *Gamron*. They put about the Fisher-mans head a Cap or Case of boyled Leather, so close, as that it hath no hole but by a pipe which comes up above the water. In that posture he is let down to the bottom, where he gets together all the Shells he can meet withall, and having fill'd a bag therewith which hangs about his neck, upon a sign made to his Camerades, who wait on him in a Boat, he is drawn up.

The manner of fishing for them.

The King of Persia's Officers at Gamron.

The Governour of the City hath the quality of *Sulthan*, and hath under him, not a *Calenter*, but a *Visir* or Secretary, and a *Conteval*, who is, as it were, the Captain of his Guard.

The

The King of *Persia* hath there also a *Sabandar*, or Receiver, who does not only receive the duties at the coming in, and going out of Commodities, but sets such an Imposition upon them as he thinks fit, and strictly searches the Ships, to see what Merchandises are brought in. The *Hollanders* pay no duties, according to a priviledge they obtain'd of *Scach-Abas*, and whereof they endeavour all they can to preserve the enjoyment by the Presents they ever and anon make to the Officers of the Court of *Persia*: But the *English* are so far from paying any thing, that on the contrary they enjoy many other priviledges and exemptions, and should by right receive one half of the Customs, upon what account we shall declare anon, but they have hardly the tenth part allowed them, nay, are obliged to take that little which they have in Commodities. And this the *Persians* do with so much confidence, and so openly, that they stick not to affirm, when they are surpriz'd in their frauds, that it is not ill done of them to endeavour the advantage of their own Prince, though ever so much to the prejudice of Strangers, especially if they be Christians. Among others, the *English* have this further priviledge, to send away yearly out of *Persia* twelve Horses, without paying any thing, whereas the *Dutch* are obliged to pay for the Licence of Transportation fifty Crowns at least for every Horse, as the *English* are also, if they send away above twelve. The *Persians*, who have a great advantage over the *Indians* in this respect, that they are better hors'd then the others, are very unwilling that Horses should be sent over to the *Indians*, who are their enemies, among whom they are so highly esteem'd, that an ordinary Horse there will bring four hundred Crowns.

1638.

The priviledges of the English at Gamron.

Persian Horses much esteem'd among the Indians.

The Inhabitants of *Gamron* are for the most part *Persians*, *Arabians*, or *Indians*, but all in a manner speak the *Portuguez* Language, which they learnt by the Commerce they have had with that Nation, who were a long time possest of the City of *Ormus*. But now, that is the only Nation which is not permitted to come to *Gamron*, though all others are suffered to trade there. *Christians* and *Jews* are welcome thither, as also *Mahumetans* and *Pagans*; but ever since the reduction of *Ormus*, the *Portuguez*, and the King of *Spain*'s Subjects, are not admitted thither; yet these last are suffered to come to a little Island within three Leagues of it, and there to traffick, where the King of *Persia* hath a *Sulthan*, who commands the Castle, receives the Duties at coming in and going out, and hinders the *Portuguez* from approaching with their great Vessels: so that these Nations being, as it were, in open Hostility, the *Portuguez* come sometimes with their Frigots, and take Prizes even in sight of *Gamron*, and often Land parties in the neighbouring Islands.

The City of *Ormus* is seated in an Island, which is distant from the Continent two Leagues, and is thought to be about six about. It is as barren as the Country about *Gamron*, for it is a continued Rock, which produces nothing but Salt; insomuch that it doth not yield even fresh Water. And yet its Haven is so good, and its scituation so advantageous, that the City became so eminent for Commerce, that not only it had its particular Kings, but the *Arabians* said of it by way of *Proverb*, that if the Universe were but a King, the City of *Ormus* was the Diamond that should be set in it. *Teixera* sayes, that *Scach Mahomet*, the son of an *Arabian* King, who liv'd in the tenth Age, having reduc'd under his Jurisdiction the Provinces that are seated upon the *Persian* Gulf, as far as *Besra*, pass'd over into the Island, where he laid the first foundations of the City of *Ormus*. *Schabedin Mahomet*, eleventh King of *Ormus*, of the posterity of *Mahomet*, dyed in the year 1228. And he who liv'd when the *Portuguez* became Masters of it, was called *Seyfadin*, and paid Tribute to the King of *Persia*. D. *Alfonso d' Albuquerque* made a Conquest of it in the year 1605. for *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*; of which attempt, the manner and success of it, take the following Account.

The City of Ormus described.

Tristan de Cugna, who had taken the Island of *Zocotora*, whereof we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, left certain Vessels under the command of *Albuquerque*, with Orders to visit the Coasts of *Arabia*, while he attempted some new Conquest in the *Indies*; he being a person of great resolution, thought his only course, to settle himself there, was to set upon the Kingdom of *Ormus*, which he did with 470. Souldiers, whom he had aboard his Fleet. *Emanuel Osorio*, Bishop of *Selvas* in *Portugal*, sayes, that *Albuquerque* made his advantage of the *Mahumetan* Kings weakness, who then reigned. For understanding that the principal Minister of State, whose name was *Cojeatar*, a Forreigner, a Native of *Bengala*, and an Eunuch, had exasperated the people against him, by converting the publick Revenue of the Kingdom to his own profit and advantage, having left his Soveraign only the bare Title of King, he thought fit to strike in at that conjuncture of Affairs, and to that end left *Zocotora* upon the 20. of *August*, and having in a very few dayes taken in the Cities of *Calajate*, *Curiate*, *Muscate*, *Soar*, and *Orfassam*, he took his march directly to the principal City, to which he came the 25. of *September*. The first thing he did, was to defeat a very strong Fleet, which the *Moors* had within the Haven, and by that means

Taken by the Portuguez.

1638. oblig'd the King to come to a capitulation, by which the King of *Ormus* promiſed to take the Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity to the King of *Portugal*, to pay him every year fifteen thouſand Ducats as a Tribute, in Gold, Silver or Pearls, and five thouſand towards the charges of the preſent War; and to permit *Albuquerque* to build a Cittadel where he ſhould think moſt convenient for the preſervation of the City.

The *Portuguez* began the ſaid Cittadel on the 25. of *October* following, and gave it the name of *Our Bleſſed Lady of Victory*. It is true, this eſtabliſhment was not ſo abſolute at the beginning, but that the *Moors* made ſome attempts to rid themſelves of theſe new Gueſts: but the *Portuguez* made a ſhift to maintain what they had gotten, and to make the place they were in a Magazine of Armes for the *Indies*; taking occaſion by that means to engroſs all the Commerce to themſelves, and obliging all the *Perſians* and *Arabians* to buy of them all thoſe Commodities which they ſtood in need of from the *Indians*. Nay, this was ſo rigorouſly obſerved, that the Governour of *Ormus* prohibited the Inhabitants to ſell any of their Commodities, till ſuch time as he had ſold his own. They permitted *Seyfadin* to live in the Iſland, but at a certain place far enough from the Cittadel, ſo not to give the *Portuguez* any occaſion of jealouſie. *Scach Abas*, King of *Perſia*, being no longer able to endure the inſolence of the *Portuguez*, and very much incens'd at their receiving into Protection the Gentlemen of the Houſe of the *Gabrieli*, whom we have ſpoken of elſewhere, bethought himſelf of ſome courſe to get theſe Forreigners out of thoſe parts. To effect this, he addreſs'd himſelf to the *Engliſh*, who traded at *Ormus*; and by the advantageous proffers that he made, oblig'd them to promiſe him all the aſſiſtance they could to carry on the ſiege of that City, which was aſſaulted and taken by the *Engliſh*, in the year 1622. They put both the City and Cittadel into the hands of the King of *Perſia*, who found in it ſix hundred great Guns, ſome Iron, ſome Braſs, which *Scach Abas* cauſed to be tranſported to *Laar* and *Iſpahan*, all but fourſcore Pieces, which he left in the Cittadel; He cauſed the walls of the City to be demoliſh'd, and the Materials thereof to be tranſlated to *Gamron*, which began even at that time to raiſe it ſelf upon the ruines of its Neighbours. The King of *Perſia*, deſirous to reward the ſervices which the *Engliſh* had done him upon that occaſion, did not only grant them an abſolute exemption from all Impoſitions, but he alſo beſtow'd on them one moyety of thoſe Duties which other Merchants were to pay there; but, as we ſaid before, the *Engliſh* come very far ſhort of receiving what is due to them.

I found in the Port of *Gamron* an *Engliſh* Ship called the *Swan*, of 300. Tun, carrying 24. Guns. Maſter *Honywood*, Agent for the Affairs of *England*, recommended me to the Captain of it, and commanded him to carry me over to the *Indies*, and to defray all my charges till I came to *Suratta*. I had brought eight Horſes with me, making account to ſell them with very great advantage in the *Indies*; but the Ship was ſo full of Goods, that it was with much ado that I could get in only two of them: So that I was forc'd to put off the other ſix, to very great loſs, as being able to get but thirty pound for thoſe which had coſt me ſixty pound at *Iſpahan*, and which I ſhould have ſold at above one hundred and fifty pound at *Suratta*.

APRIL. Mandelſlo *embarks for Suratta:* I embark'd the ſixth of *April*, with Mr. *Manley* and Mr. *Hall*, *Engliſh* Merchants, whom the Preſident of the *Engliſh* at *Suratta* had ordered to come from *Iſpahan*, about ſome buſineſs concerning the Company, and went aboard accompanied by moſt of the Strangers that were at *Gamron*, as alſo many *Indian* Merchants, with whom I had upon ſome occaſions made acquaintance. The Captain ordered four Pieces to be fired at our coming aboard, and received us with much civility, inviting us, it being then about noon, to dine with him.

We went from *Gamron* to *Suratta* in nineteen dayes, during which the Captain treated me very magnificently, and did me the honour to reſign his own bed to me, and to give me precedence upon all occaſions. He was well furniſhed with Fowl, Mutton, and other freſh Meat, but above all things, with excellent good Sack, *Engliſh* Beer, *French* Wines, *Arak*, and other refreſhments; which prov'd ſo well for me, that by the help of theſe good Cordials, and the benefit I had by the drinking of *Ptizanne*, which I cauſed to be made with Cinnamon and rinds of Pomegranats, at my arrival at *Suratta*, I found my health perfectly recover'd, though I muſt alſo acknowledge, as much contributing thereto, my uſing of *Thé*, to which I had ſo accuſtomed my ſelf, that I ordinarily took it twice or thrice a day.

The contrary wind prevented our departure the day that we came aboard, ſo that we lay at Anchor all the night following; and the next day, being the ſeventh, we ſet ſail, taking our courſe towards the Iſle of *Ormus*: but towards night there roſe ſo great a tempeſt, together with a Weſt-wind, that to avoid running upon the ſhore, we were forced to caſt Anchor in ſight of the Iſle.

Sun-

Sunday, being the eighth, we laveer'd it with a Weſt-wind, endeavouring to paſs between the Iſles of *Ormus* and *Kiſmich*, which are four Leagues diſtant one from the other. About two in the afternoon, we caſt over-board the body of a young Sea-man, who died of the Bloudy-flux two dayes before. This Ceremony, which I had not ſeen before, put me into ſo much the greater fright, in that being ſtill troubled with the ſame diſeaſe, I imagined they would ſhortly do as much by me. 1638.

The night following we paſs'd in ſight of the two Iſlands we ſpoke of laſt, to wit, *Ormus* and *Kiſmich*; and the next day, being the ninth, we diſcovered the Continent of *Arabia*, taking our courſe along the Coaſt, which is thereabouts, without any danger.

Tueſday 10. A calm ſtaid us at the ſame place, and the 11. we put off from the Coaſts of *Arabia*, to make towards thoſe of *Perſia*, which we ſtill kept in ſight of till Thurſday night, *April* 12. Then a good Weſt-north-weſt wind riſing, we took our courſe towards the Eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, at 25. degrees, 50. minutes elevation.

Friday morning, we could perceive no Land, but had ſight of a Pirate, who by his making ever and anon more or leſs ſail, diſcover'd he had ſomewhat to ſay to us. One while he came ſomewhat near us; another, he kept at a great diſtance; but at laſt, perceiving we made it our buſineſs to get the wind of him, he made towards the Iſle of *Zocotora*.

The ſituation and deſcription of the Iſland of Zocotora.

This Iſland is ſeated at 21. degrees 40. minutes, at the entrance of the Red-ſea, having towards the South-weſt, and North-eaſt, the Country of *Melinda* or *Æthiopia*, and towards the South *Arabia*, from which it is diſtant about ſixteen Leagues. It is about 25. Leagues in length, but not above ten in breadth, having on all ſides very good riding for Ships, and ſafe Harbours. It is indifferently well peopled, and is ſubject to the King of *Arabia*, under whom it is governed by a *Sulthan*.

Its Inhabitants.

The Inhabitants are of low ſtature, and rather lean then fat, of a duskiſh complexion, and very laborious. Their only ſuſtenance is Fiſh and Fruits, living very temperately. They treat their Wives, whom they buy in *Arabia*, with much civility, and have a certain reſpect for them; but will not permit Strangers to ſee them. They are very crafty in their trading, and delight much in it, though they have but few things to ſell. And whereas they adulterate almoſt all their Commodities, they are accordingly diſtruſtful of thoſe which are brought to them.

They reduce Dates into a paſte, and it ſerves them inſtead of Bread. The Iſland affords very few Oranges, and thoſe not very good, Tobacco, and Citruls. There are alſo ſome Cocos-trees, but not many, the fruit not coming to ripeneſs there, by reaſon the ground is very full of ſtones.

The Aloes of Zocotora.

Their main wealth conſiſts in Aloes, the juyce whereof they gather in bladders, or Goats-skins, and dry it in the Sun. They have alſo the gummy juyce called Dragons-bloud, and Civet, which may be bought there at about three or four Crowns an Ounce: but thoſe who are not very well skill'd in that Drug are many times cheated; for the Inhabitants of the Iſland put Greaſe and other naſty ſtuff into it. They keep abundance of Civet-cats about their houſes, but they have very little tame Fowl; wild none at all. They have Camels, Aſſes, Oxen, Cows, Sheep and Goats, whoſe hair about the thighs is curl'd much after the manner that Satyrs are painted. The Town where the *Sulthan* hath his reſidence is called *Tamary*, and hath in it a Fort, which is diſtant from the Sea about a Canon-ſhot, with four Guns.

Their Arms.

Their Arms are a kind of broad Swords, whereof the hilt is very large, but without any guard. In their Girdles they wear alſo Poniards, the blades whereof are above three fingers broad towards the handle, but very ſharp towards the point. They are ſo curious, as to have ſomething of Silver or Copper about the handles, but their Fire-arms are not well kept, and yet they are very expert at the handling of them, as they are alſo in mannaging thoſe little Bucklers, wherewith they defend themſelves in fight.

Ships may take in freſh water there without any trouble, for the waters which come from the Mountains fall into the Sea like a River. They have no other Boats then ſuch as are abſolutely flat-bottom'd, which they make uſe of in their fiſhing, which is very good thereabouts. They have this common with the *Arabians* and other *Mahumetans*, that they eat no Swines fleſh; but even in *Tamary* it ſelf there is no *Moſquey*, nor any other place for them to meet at to do their Devotions. Theſe they do morning and evening, at the riſing and ſetting of the Sun, to which they make very low reverences, and mutter certain words between their teeth; this they do alſo three or four times a day beſides.

The 14. of *April*, we were at 23. degrees, 24. minutes.
The 15. at 22. degrees, 40. minutes.
The 16. at 22. degrees, 40. min.

The

1638. The 17. at 21. degrees, 55. minutes. This day the Captain of our Ship fell sick of a burning Feaver.
The 18. at 21. degrees, 8. minutes.
The 19. at 20. deg. 42. min.
The 20. at 20. deg. 50. min.
The 22. at 29. deg. 50. min.
The 23. at 20. degrees, 18. minutes latitude.

Comes to Surat. The 25. of *April*, we came before the City of *Surat*, and cast Anchor two Leagues from Land, by reason it being the Captains intention not to stay there above three or four dayes, he would be sure of the convenience of parting thence when he pleas'd. Besides, there is no Road along that Coast where Ships can lye with any safety, from *May* to *September*, by reason of the continual Tempests and furious winds which reign there during that time; whereas on the Eastern Coast of the *Indies*, in the Gulf of *Bengala*, it is fair and calm at that time.

The year hath there but three Seasons. The year is divided into three very different seasons; for in the moneths of *February*, *March*, *April* and *May*, it is extreamly hot weather; in *June*, *July*, *August* and *September*, there is nothing but continual Rains, with Thunder and Lightning; and the moneths of *October*, *November*, *December* and *January*, are cold, at least as far as is consistent with the Climate.

April 26. The Captain sent one to the President of the *English* at *Surat*, to give him notice of his Arrival. The President sent him back the 28. accompanied by two young Merchants of the same Nation, who brought Orders to the Captain, and in the Presidents name intreated me to come with the soonest to *Surat*, where he should make good in effect those proffers which they were then come to make to me of his service. Having acknowledged the Captain's civility by a small Present, and leaving him very sick, and much troubled at our separation, after the friendship we had contracted together, I left the Ship the 29. of *April*.

Within a League of the Road we entred into the River upon which *Surat* is seated, and which hath on both sides a very fertile soil, and many fair Gardens, with pleasant Country-houses, which being all white, a colour it seems the *Indians* are much in love with, afford a noble prospect amidst the greenness whereby they are encompassed. But this River, which is the *Tapte*, called by others *Tynde*, is so shallow at the mouth of it, that Barks of 70. or 80. Tun can hardly come into it. We came ashore near the *Sulthan*'s Palace, and went immediately to the Custom-house to have our things search'd by the Officers there: which is done with such exactness in this place, that they think it not enough to open Chests and Portmantles, but examine peoples clothes and pockets. The *Sulthan* or Governour, nay the Customers themselves, oblige Merchants and Passengers to part with, at the price they shall think fit to put upon them, those Goods and Commodities which they had brought for their own private use. Accordingly the *Sulthan* himself, who came to the Custom-house as soon as we were got thither, having found among my things a bracelet of yellow Amber, and a Diamond, would needs buy them both of me: whereto when I made him answer, that I was no Merchant, and that I valued those things, only for their sakes who had bestow'd them on me, he was pleas'd to return me the Diamond, but detain'd the Bracelet, telling me I should have it again when I honour'd him with a Visit.

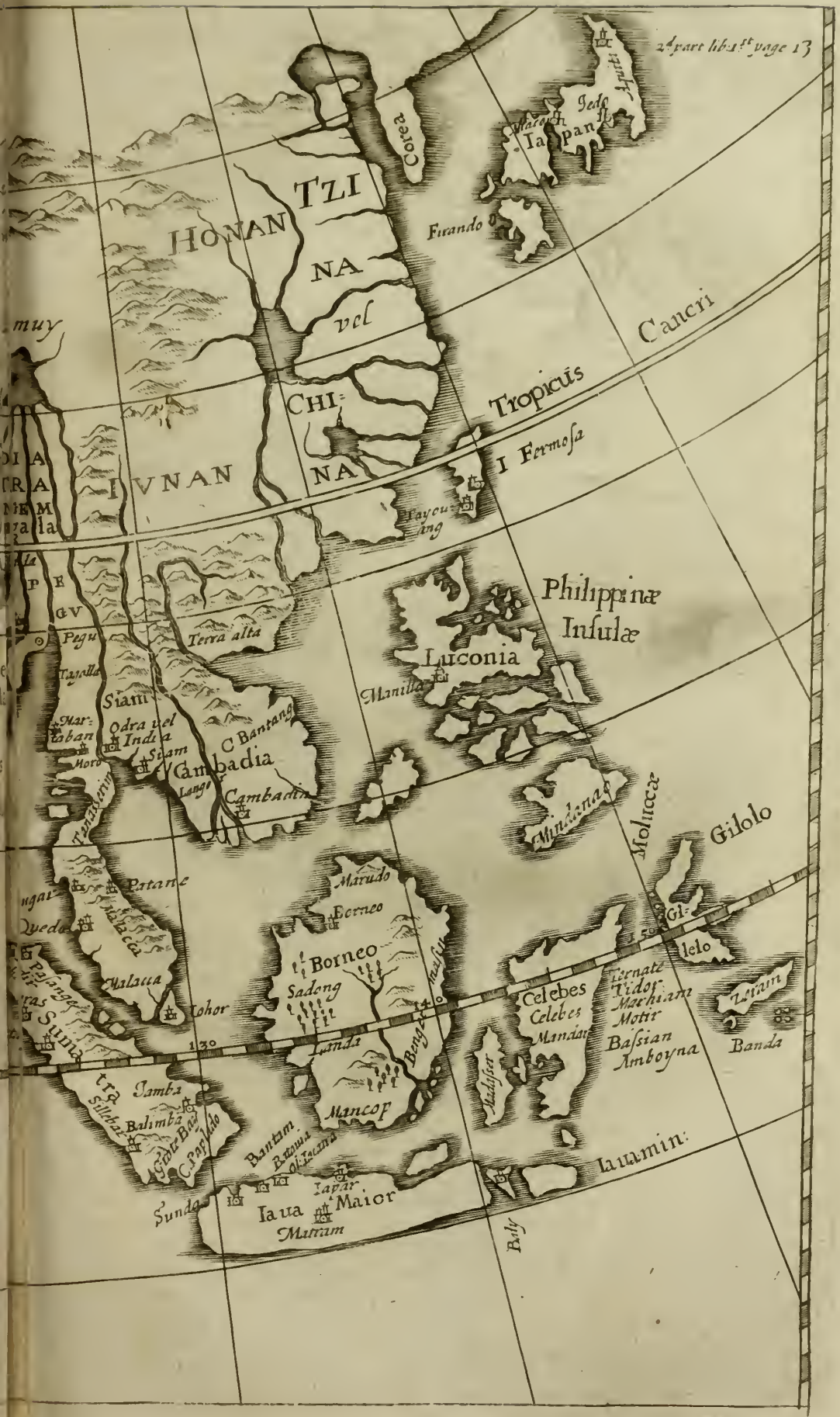
While we were in this contestation, came to the place an *Indian* Coach, drawn by two white Oxen, which the *English* President had sent to bring me to their House; so that leaving the *Sulthan* with the Bracelet, I went into it. At the entrance of the House I met the President, with his second, that is to say, he who commands under him, and in his absence, whose name was Mr. *Fremling*, who received me with extraordinary kindness, and very civilly answer'd the Complement I made them, upon the freedom I took to make my advantage thereof. The President, who spoke *Dutch* very well, told me I was very welcome; that in the Country where we then were, all Christians were oblig'd to assist one another, and that he was the more particularly oblig'd thereto as to what concern'd me, in respect of the affection I would have express'd towards some of his Nation at *Ispahan*. He thereupon brought me to his Chamber, where there was a Collation ready. It consisted of Fruits and Preserves, according to the custom of the Country. As soon as we were set, he asked me what my design was, and understanding that I intended to return for *Germany* within twelve moneths, he told me I was come too late to get away that year, by reason no more Ships would come that way, but that if I would stay with him five or six moneths, till there were a convenience of passage, he would take it kindly: that during that time, he would contribute all he could to my divertisement:

that

A Map of the EAST INDIES

D. CHRISTOPH: BATHURST. MD

Hanc INDARUM ORIENTALIUM *Tabulam* DDD. I. D.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Matram
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that he would find out a means how I might see the most eminent places in the Country; nay, that he would send some of his own Nation along with me, who should find me those accommodations I could not otherwise hope for. This obliging discourse soon prevail'd with me to accept of these proffers, so that he shew'd me all the house, that I might make choice of a convenient Lodging, which I took near his Seconds Chamber. In the evening, some Merchants and others, belonging to the President, came and brought me from my Chamber to supper into a great Hall, where was the Minister with about a dozen Merchants, who kept me company, but the President and his Second supp'd not, as being accustom'd to that manner of life, out of a fear of overcharging their Stomachs, digestion being slowly performed, by reason of the great heats which are as troublesome there in the night time as in the day. After Supper the Minister carried me into a great open Gallery, where I found the President and his Second taking the coolness of the Sea-Air. This was the place of our ordinary rendezvous, where we met every night; to wit, the President, his Second, the principal Merchant, the Minister and my self; but the other Merchants came not but when they were invited by the President. At dinner he kept a great Table, of about fifteen or sixteen dishes of Meat, besides the Desert. 1638.

The respect the English at Surat have for their President.

The respect and deference which the other Merchants have for the President was very remarkable, as also the order which was there observed in all things, especially at Divine Service, which was said twice a day, in the morning at six, and at eight at night, and on Sundayes thrice. No person in the house but had his particular Function, and their certain hours assign'd them as well for work as recreation. Our divertisement was thus order-

Their divertisement

ed. On Fridayes after Prayers, there was a particular Assembly, at which met with us three other Merchants, who were of kin to the President, and had left as well as he their Wives in *England*, which day being that of their departure from *England*, they had appointed it for to make a commemoration thereof, and drink their Wives healths. Some made their advantage of this meeting to get more then they could well carry away, though every man was at liberty to drink what he pleas'd, and to mix the Sack as he thought fit, or to drink *Palepuntz*, which is a kind of drink consisting of *Aqua vitæ*, Rose-water, juice of Citrons and Sugar.

At our ordinary meetings every day, we took only *Thé*, which is commonly used all over the *Indies*, not only among those of the Country, but also among the *Dutch* and *English*, who take it as a Drug that cleanses the Stomach, and digests the superfluous humours, by a temperate heat particular thereto. The *Persians* instead of *Thé* drink their *Kahwa*, which cools and abates the natural heat which *Thé* preserves.

The *English* have a fair Garden without the City, whither we constantly went on Sundayes after Sermon, and sometimes also on other dayes of the week, where our Exercise was shooting at Butts, at which I made a shift to get a hundred *Mamoudis* (or five pound sterling) every week. After these divertisements, we had a Collation of Fruit and Preserves, and bath'd our selves in a Tanke or Cistern which had five foot water, where some *Dutch* Gentlewomen serv'd and entertain'd us with much civility. What troubled me most was, that my little acquaintance with the *English* Tongue made me incapable of Conversation, unless it were with the President, who spoke *Dutch*.

But before I relate what happened to me in this Voyage, and what I saw during my stay at *Surat*, it will not be amiss, to give here a general, but short description, of the *Mogul*'s Country, and the Provinces whereof it consists; so to make the readier way for what we shall have to say of it hereafter.

A general description of Indostan.

The Country properly called *India*, which the *Persians* and *Arabians* name *Indostan*, reaches, on the West-side, from the River *Indus* or *Sindo*, and the Kingdom of the same name (the Inhabitants whereof are called *Abint*, or from the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Maecon*, which some call *Gelsche Macquerona*, whereof the Inhabitants are *Baloches*, or *Baluches*) as far as *Ganges*. The Ancients called this Province *Carmania*, and it hath a Port or Haven called *Guader*, at 25. degrees on this side the line. The *Persians* and *Arabians* call the Kingdom of *Sindo Diul*. The same *Persians*, and the *Indosthans* call the River *Indus*, *Pangab*, that is to say, five waters, because so many Rivers come into it before it falls into the Sea under that famous name. The first is that of *Bugal*, or *Begal*, which rises near *Kabul*. The second is called *Chanab*, and rises in the Province of *Quesmir* or *Cassimier*, fifteen dayes journey above *Lahor*, towards the North. The third is that of *Ravy*, or *Ravee*, which runs by *Lahor*, and rises not far from it. The two others, *viz.* *Via* and *Osuid* or *Sind*, come from a great distance, and meet near *Bakar*, which lies at an equal distance between *Lahor* and the Sea. Whence it is to be inferr'd, that those Geographers are in an errour, who put this River at 24. degrees on this side the Line, and confound it with that which runs by *Diul*. Some say the great *Mogul*'s Kingdom is of so

vast

1638. vaſt an extent, that a *Caravan* would have much ado to travel through it in two years: but theſe are Fables. Its certain Frontiers, according to the deſcription of *Edward Terrin*, are on the Eaſt-ſide, the Kingdom of *Mavy*; on the Weſt, part of *Perſia* and the South-Sea; on the North, Mount *Caucaſus* and great *Tartaria*; and on the South, the Kingdom of *Decan* and the Gulf of *Bengala*, containing thirty and ſeven great Provinces, which were heretofore ſo many Kingdoms: to wit,

Its Provinces.

1. Candahar. *Candahar*, which takes its name from, or derives it to the chief City, is the moſt Weſtern Province of all the *Indies*, and lies upon the Territories of the King of *Perſia*, who hath ſeveral times been Maſter of it. It is indeed for this Province, that the Kings of *Perſia* are in continual war almoſt with the great *Mogul*; as they are in *Turkey* ſide for *Badgat* and *Ervan*.

2. Kabul. The Province of *Kabul*, which is no doubt the richeſt of all the Kingdom, derives its name alſo from the Capital City, and hath for Frontier on the North-ſide great *Tartary*. In this Province riſes the River *Nibal*, which changes its name into that of *Begal*, and falls into the *Indus*, as we ſaid before. It is conceived by ſome, that this is the *Coa*, or the *Suaſtus* of *Ptolomy*.

3. Multan. The Province of *Multan* owes its name alſo to the principal City, and is ſeated along the River *Indus*, having on the Weſt-ſide the Kingdom of *Perſia*, and the Province of *Candahar*.

4. Haca-chan. The Province of *Haca-chan*, or *Hangi-chan*, lies towards the Eaſt, and hath on the Weſt the River *Indus*. It is called alſo the Kingdom of *Balochy*, as we ſhall expreſs elſewhere; but it hath no conſiderable City.

5. Bachar. *Bachar*, or *Buckar*, the chief City whereof is called *Bacherhukon*, lies alſo along the River *Indus*, which divides it in the middle, and makes it one of the moſt fertile Provinces in the Kingdom. It hath on the South-ſouth-weſt-ſide, the Province of *Tatta*, and towards the Weſt, the people called the *Bolaches*, a cruel and warlike Nation.

6. Tatta. The Province of *Tatta*, which hath alſo its name from the chief City, is divided into ſeveral Iſles by the River *Indus*. This Province hath the reputation of having the moſt induſtrious Tradeſmen of all the Kingdom.

7. Soret. *Soret* is a ſmall Province, but very well peopled. Its chief City is *Jangar*; and it reaches Eaſtward to the Province of *Guzarata*, and Weſtward to the Sea.

8. Iſelmere. The Province of *Iſelmere* hath but one City in it of the ſame name, and hath for Frontiers Weſtward, the Provinces of *Soret*, *Bachar*, and *Tatta*.

9. Attach. That of *Attach*, and its capital City, from which it is ſo called, are ſeated upon the River *Nibal*, which coming from the Weſt, falls into the *Indus*, which divides it from the Province of *Haca-chan*.

10. Pengab. The Province of *Pang-ab* is one of the greateſt, moſt fertile, and moſt conſiderable of all the Kingdom. The five Rivers we ſpoke of, which paſs through it, give it that name. *Lahor* is the chief City thereof.

11. Chiſmer. The Province of *Chiſmer*, or *Quexmer*, the chief City whereof is called *Syranakar*, is ſeated upon the River *Bezat*, or *Badt*, which makes a great number of Iſles in this Province, and after a great compaſs falls into the *Ganges*. It touches ſome part of the Province of *Kabul*, and is cold enough by reaſon of its Mountains, though it may be affirm'd, that in compariſon of the Kingdom of *Tliebet*, which is as it were its Frontiers on the Eaſt-ſide, it is very temperate. About eight *Cos* (which make four Leagues) from the chief City, in the midſt of a Lake which is three miles about, there is a little Iſle, where the *Mogul* hath built a very fair Houſe, for the convenience of hunting the wild Gooſe. All along the River which runs through the middle of this Lake, there is a kind of tree, whoſe leaves are like that of a Cheſnut, but the wood, which is ſomewhat of a browniſh colour, is checquer'd with ſmall ſtreaks of ſeveral colours, which makes it much ſought after by perſons of Quality.

12. Bankiſch. The Province of *Chiſmer* hath on the Eaſt-ſide that of *Baukiſch*, the chief City whereof is *Beibar*, or *Beithus*,

13. Jengapar. The Province of *Jengapar*, or *Jemipar*, ſo called from its chief City, lies between the Cities of *Lahor* and *Agra*.

14. Jenba. The Province of *Jenba*, or *Jamba*, which hath alſo its name from the Metropolis thereof, hath on the Weſt-ſide, the Province of *Pang-ab*, and is very hilly all over.

15. Delly. The Province of *Delly*, and its chief City of the ſame name, lies between *Jenba* and *Agra*, towards the ſource of the River *Gemini*, by ſome called *Semana*, which paſſing by the City of *Agra*, falls into the *Ganges*. The chief City of *Delly* is very ancient, and was ſometime the Metropolis of all *Indoſthan*, as may be ſeen by the ruines of its palace, and other magnificent Structures.

The

The Province of *Bando*, and its Metropolis of the same name, hath on the West-side, the City of *Agra*. 1638. 16. Bando.

The Province of *Malway*, or *Malwa*, is very fertile, its chief City *Ratipore*, though *Thomas Roe*, an *English* Gentleman, calls it *Ugen*. The River *Cepra*, upon which is seated the City of *Calleada*, the ordinary residence of the ancient Kings of *Malwa*, passes within half a League of it, and disembogues it self into the Sea, by the Gulf of *Cambaia*. 17. Malway

The Province of *Chitor* was heretofore a very considerable Kingdom, but the Metropolis from which it derives its name, and whereof the walls were heretofore six Leagues about, is now so ruin'd, that there is to be seen but the Relicks of what it hath been, with the sad remainders of its sumptuous Mosques, and magnificent Palaces. The great *Mogul Achabar*, great Grand-father of *Schach Chiram*, reduc'd it to that condition, and conquer'd it from one of the Successours of *Rana*, who forc'd to make his escape came to a capitulation with him, and acknowledg'd the Soveraignty of the *Mogul*, in the year 1614. This Province hath on the East-side that of *Candisch*, and on the South, that of *Gusuratta*. 18. Chitor.

The Province of *Gusuratta*, which the *Portugues* call the Kingdom of *Cambaya*, upon the account of its chief City, where they have their main trading, is without all question the noblest and most powerful of all the *Mogul*'s Country. Its Metropolis seated in the midst of the Province, is called *Hamed-ewad*, that is to say, the City of King *Hamed*, who built it. It is now corruptly called *Amadavat*, or *Amadabat*, whereof we shall have occasion to speak more at large hereafter. 19. Gusuratta.

The Province of *Candisch*, the Metropolis whereof, *Bursampour*, or *Brampour*, was heretofore the ordinary residence of the Kings of *Decan*, before the Great *Mogul* united it to his Crown, is very large, and well peopled. The River *Tabet*, or *Tapte*, which falls into the Sea by the Gulf of *Cambaya*, divides it from the Country of the Prince of *Partapha*, who is also a Vassal of the Great *Moguls*. 20. Candisch.

The Province of *Berar*, whereof the Metropolis is *Shapore*, or *Shaspour*, reaches Southward, and touches that of *Gusuratta*, and the Mountain of *Rana*. 21. Berar.

In the Province of *Gualor*, or *Gualier*, which hath its name from the chief City, there is a Cittadel, wherein the *Mogul* confines such as are Prisoners of State, and those Lords, of whose carriage he conceives any jealousie, and keeps there also some part of his Treasure, and abundance of Gold and Silver. 22. Gualor.

The Province of *Agra*, which derives its name to the Metropolis thereof, which is not very ancient, is at present the chiefest of all the *Mogul*'s Country, according to the account we shall give of it hereafter. 23. Agra.

The Province of *Sambel*, or *Sanbel*, so called from its Metropolis, is divided from that of *Narvar* by the River *Gemini*, which falls into *Ganges* near the City of *Halebasse*, where these two Rivers meeting make a kind of an Isle: Whence some have taken occasion to call this Province *Doab*, that is to say, between two waters; as if one should say, *Mesopotamia*, or *Interaquas*. 24. Sambel.

The Province of *Bakar* lies on the West-side of the *Ganges*; its chief City is called *Bikameer*. 25. Bakar.

The Province of *Narvar*, the Metropolis whereof is call *Gehud*, hath running through it a most noble River, which falls into the *Ganges*. 26. Narvar

The Province of *Nagracut*, or *Nakarkut*, is one of the most Northerly Provinces of the *Mogul*'s Country. In the chief City thereof from which it hath the name, there is to be seen, in a sumptuous Chappel, the floor whereof is covered with plates of Gold; the Effigies of an Animal, or rather a Monster, called *Matta*, which brings thither every year a great number of *Indians*, who go to do their devotions there, and offer unto it a little snip which they cut out of their own tongues. In this same Province is the City of *Kalamaka*, famous for its Pilgrimages, which are the more frequent there, by reason of the flames cast forth by the cold Springs as they come out of the Rock, which flames the Inhabitants adore. 27. Nagracut.

The Province of *Siba*, whereof the Metropolis is *Hardwari*, gives its rise to the River *Ganges*. The Inhabitants of the Country imagine, that the Rock out of which it issues hath a Cows head, for which Beast they have a certain veneration, and that there is somewhat divine in that production. Whence it comes that they bathe themselves every day in the River. This Province is no less mountainous then that of *Nakarkut*, though it be not so much towards the North. 28. Siba.

Kakares, the principal Cities whereof are *Dankler* and *Binsola*, is a very spacious Province, but very full of Mountains. Mount *Caucasus* lies between it and *Tartaria*. 29. Kakares.

1638. The Province of *Gor*, which hath its name from the chief City, is also full of Mountains,
30. Gor. and gives its rise to the River *Perselis*, which falls into the *Ganges*.

31. Pitan. The Province of *Pitan*, or *Partan*, and its chief City, which gives it the name, hath running through them the River *Kanda*, which also falls into the *Ganges*. This is also a very mountainous Province, and hath on the West of it that of *Jamba*.

32. Kanduana. The River *Iderelis* divides the Province of *Kanduana*, the chief City whereof is *Karach*, by some called *Katene*, from that of *Pitan*. This Province, and that of *Gor*, are the furthermost of the *Mogul*'s territories towards the North.

33. Porena The Province of *Porena* is as fruitful as the two last named are barren. It lies between the Rivers of *Ganges*, *Perselis*, *Gemini* and *Candach*, and is so called from its chief City.

34. Jewal. The City of *Rajapore*, or *Reyapor*, is the Metropolis of the Province of *Jewal*.

35. Meuat. The Province of *Meuat*, the chief City whereof is called *Narnol*, is a Country barren enough, reaching from the *Ganges* Eastward.

36. Voessa. The Province of *Voessa*, or *Voeza*, the chief City whereof is *Jascanat*, is the uttermost Province of the *Mogul*'s Kingdom towards the East.

37. Bengala. The Province of *Bengala* may no doubt be numbred amongst the most powerful of all the Country, giving its name to the Gulf, into which the *Ganges* disembogues it self by four several channels, or mouths. Its principal Cities are *Raymehel*, *Kaka*, or *Daeca*, *Philipatan* and *Satigam*. It is subdivided into many other lesser Provinces, the most considerable whereof are *Puna*, and *Palan*, from which several Kings have not thought it much to assume their Titles.

Texeira, in his description of *Persia*, speaking of certain Provinces of the *Indies*, names that of *Utrat*, with its chief City, but he only names it, without giving any account of its scituation. He speaks also of the Kingdom of *Caeche*, and sayes it is considerable for the Race-horses it breeds, near *Cambaya*, towards the North: but certainly, it is no other then the Province of *Candisch*, before spoken of.

The extent of the Mogul's Country. The extent of the *Mogul*'s Country, from East to West, is about six hundred Leagues, and from North to South, about seven hundred *French* Leagues, since its uttermost Frontiers towards the South are at twenty, and the furthermost towards the North at forty three degrees.

A description of the Kingdom of Gusuratta. As concerning the Province of *Gusuratta*, which the *Portuguez*, improperly, call *Cambaya*, it lies all along the Sea-side, extending it self much like a Peninsula into the Sea, and having on both sides a Gulf or Bay, one whereof is eight Leagues broad at the entrance, and grows narrower and narrower for forty Leagues thence. The Land extends it self Westward along the Sea-coast, and Northward it hath the Provinces of *Soret*, *Quismer* and *Bando*; Eastward, those of *Chitor* and *Kandish*, and Southward the Kingdom of *Decan*. Heretofore its Frontiers reach'd along the Sea-coast, as far as *Gualor*, eight dayes journey beyond *Amadabat*, and Southward as far as *Daman*.

Its extent. But though its extent be not so vast at present as it hath been, yet it is now a very great Province, it being certain that it reaches above sixscore Leagues along the Sea-coast, and comprehends above twenty thousand Cities, Towns, and inhabited Villages; besides the places which were laid desolate some years since by War or Famine. Its principal Cities, *Its principal Cities.* most whereof are Maritime, are *Surat*, *Broitschia*, *Gandeer*, *Goga*, *Cambaya*, *Diu*, *Patepatane*, *Mangalor*, *Gondore*, *Nassary*, *Gandivi*, *Balsara*, or *Belsera*. The City of *Hamed-Ewad*, or *Amadabat*, which is the Metropolis of the Province, is at a great distance from the Sea.

Its Rivers. The principal Rivers of this Province are the *Nadabat*, which passes by *Broitschia*, the *Tapta*, and the *Wasset*; besides these conveniences, it hath two of the best Ports in *Its Ports.* all the *Indies*, which are that of the *Com* of *Suhaly*; to wit, that of *Surat* and that of *Cambaia*.

Its Fertility. There is no Province in all the *Indies* more fertile then *Gusuratta*, nor any that affords more Fruits and Provisions, which grow in such abundance there, that all the neighbouring Provinces are thence supplí'd: 'Tis true indeed, that in the year 1640. the great drought, and the year following, the continual rains reduced it to so deplorable a condition, that the particular account might be given thereof would deprive the Reader of the diversion, which it is our design to find him in this Relation. But the Province hath since that time well recover'd it self of that desolation, yet not so as but the marks of it may be seen every where. But to prosecute our Relation, as to what happened to me during my stay at *Surat*.

The Relation continued. While I was at *Ispahan*, having fixt my resolution to travel into the *Indies*, I took into my service a *Persian*, who was to serve me as an Interpreter for the *Turkish* and *Persian* Languages, which I then began a little to understand. He was born of Christian Parents,

rents, his father and mother having been of those whom *Seach-Abas* had caused to be translated from *Georgia* to *Ispahan*, where his brethren then lived in good rank. Which considerations oblig'd me to treat him with the greater civility, and to promise him by way of wages four Crowns a moneth. He had made me believe that his engaging himself into my service was partly out of this respect, that he might thereby have the convenience of re-imbracing the *Christian Religion*: but he had no sooner made his first acquaintances at *Surat*, ere he understood, that an Uncle of his by the Mother-side could raise him to great fortunes at the *Mogul*'s Court, where he was Master of the Horse. Upon this intelligence, he soon took a resolution to leave me, and to desire the protection of the *Sultban*, who kept him a while at his own house, and afterwards sent him to *Agra*. I was the more startled at this departure of the young fellow, the more it run in my thoughts, that knowing all the particulars of our engagement with the *Indian* Embassadour at *Ispahan*, his design might be to betray me into the hands of my enemies. And certainly, had I known of his going to *Agra*, I should not have had the confidence to take that place in my way: though it might appear, by what happened afterwards, that God sent him to that place expressly to save my life, since, had it not been for him, I might have lost it there. 1638.

In *May*, there came news to *Surat*, that the *Chan*, who commanded at *Candahar* for the King of *Persia*, had revolted, and had rendred the place to the *Mogul*, upon this account, that the *Seach* had threatned to put him to death. The *Mogul* sent immediately 500000. Crowns to the place, as a requital for the Governours service, and to pay the Garrison, which had revolted along with him. *Alymerdan-Chan*, Governour of the same place, had done such another trick at the beginning of *Schach-Sefi*'s Reign, who would needs oblige him to bring his head to Court, which if he had done, he had never carried it away again upon his shoulders. Soon after *Seach* recover'd *Candahar* again; and it was partly upon this account, that the *Mogul* had sent to him the Embassadour I spoke of before, though among his other Instructions, he had order to demand the *Myrsa Polagi*, his Nephew. *MAY.* *The Governour of Candahar delivers up his place to the Mogul.*

June 16. I went out a hunting with a young *Dutch* Merchant, and another *English* Merchant, with whom having crost'd the River, they brought me to an old ruin'd City, called *Reniel*, where the *Dutch* have a Ware-house. The Inhabitants of this City are called *Naites*, and are for the most part either Mariners or Trades-men, and of the *Mahumetan* Religion. The streets of it are narrow, and the houses so rais'd from the foundation, that there is not any but hath one step to get up to it. There we staid all night, and were nobly treated by the Merchants, who had the management of the Trade there. *JUNE.*

The next day we went to a Village called *Bodick*, and in our way let fly at a wild Duck and a Heron; there we saw about twenty Deers. Their skins which were somewhat greyish, were checkquer'd all over with white spots, and they had fair Horns, with several Brow-ancklers. There was among them a sort of creatures about the bigness of our Ro-Bucks, the Skins whereof were inclining to a dark brown, checkquer'd also with white spots, having very graceful Horns. Some are of opinion, that these are the same that *Aldrovandus* calls *Cervi-capras*, and that it is from this kind of Beast that we have *Bezoar*. We went thence to another Village, called *Damre*, where we saw abundance of wild Ducks in the Rice, whereof there grows great store in those parts. All the fields have a little ascent raised about them to keep in the water, the Rice requiring much moisture. In this Village we found some *Terry*, which is a Liquor drawn out of the Palm-trees, and drunk of it in Cups made of the leaves of the same Tree. To get out the Juyce, they go up to the top of the Tree, where they make an incision in the bark, and fasten under it an earthen pot, which they leave there all night, in which time it is fill'd with a certain sweet Liquor very pleasant to the taste. They get out some also in the day time, but that corrupts immediately, and is good only for Vinegar, which is all the use they make of it. *Terry, or Palm-wine.*

The City of *Surat*, or *Suratta*, lies at 21. degrees 42. minutes upon the River *Tapta*, which rises near *Barampour*, and falls into the Sea four Leagues below the City. It lies all along the River side, and is built four-square. It hath no wall to the River side, but on the Land side it hath a good Rampier of Stone, and a Castle all of Free-stone. *Suratta described.*

The City hath three Gates, whereof one goes towards the Village of *Brion*, where those who go to *Cambaya* and *Amadabat* cross the River; another goes to *Barampour*; and the third to *Nassary*. All the Houses are flat, as those of *Persia*, and most have very fair Gardens. *Its Gates.* *Its Houses.*

The Castle, which they say was built by the *Turks*, upon an Invasion which they made into this Country, hath but one Gate, which looks into a spacious Plain which serves for a *Meidan* to the City. Not far thence, and at the entrance of the City, stands the Gover- *The Castle.*

1638. nours Palace and the Custom-house, and near them the *Bazar*, as well for forreign Merchants as those of the City. The Governour of the Castle hath no dependance on him of the City, whose business it is to look after the administration of Justice, and the payment of the Customs at the Exportation and Importation of all Merchandises, which pay three and a half in the hundred, except it be Gold and Silver, whether coined, or in wedges, or made into bars, which pay but two in the hundred.

The *Dutch* and *English* have their Houses there which they call *Lodges*, and are spacious and well built, consisting of many fair Appartments, Lodgings, Chambers, fair Halls, Galleries and Chappels.

The Port. The Rom of Suhaly. The Haven of *Suratta* is two Leagues from the City, at the Village of *Suhaly*, whence the *Dutch* and *English* call it the *Kem* of *Suhaly*. There Ships are unladen of their Commodities, which are brought thence to *Suratta* by Land. This Road lies at 21. degrees, 50. minutes, upon the course of North-east and South-west. The entrance into it is not very broad, since that at high-water there is but seven fathom water, and at low but five. The Haven it self is not above 500. paces broad before the Village, sandy at the bottom, and most of the banks are bare and dry at low-water, and so sharp and steepy, that sounding there is to no purpose at all. 'Tis very safe riding, there being no danger of any wind but that of the South-west. But from *May* to *September* there is no staying on those Coasts, by reason of the winds and tempests, accompany'd by extraordinary thunder and lightning, which reign there during all that time.

The Inhabitants. The Inhabitants of *Surat* are either *Benjans*, *Bramans*, or *Moguls*. These last are *Mahumetans*, and much better look'd on then the others, as well upon the account of their Religion, which they have common with the Great *Mogul*, and the chiefest Lords of the Country, as upon that of the profession they make to bear Arms. They have an aversion for Trades and Merchandise, and had rather serve, then engage themselves in any honourable employment: for if they can but once get to be Masters of a Horse, they court Fortune no further, and immediately list themselves in the service of their Prince. The *Benjans* on the contrary, are a reserv'd people and laborious, and apply themselves to Trades and Merchandise, and have an extraordinary devotion for the things that concern Religion; as we shall have occasion to insist on more at large hereafter.

There are also in the City some *Arabians*, *Persians*, *Armenians*, *Turks* and *Jews*, who either have their habitations there, or trade thither; but there are no Forreigners so considerable for their settlement there as the *Dutch* and *English*. They have there their Lodges, their Store-houses, their Presidents, their Merchants, and their Secretaries, and indeed have made it one of the most eminent Cities for Traffick of all the East. The *English* particularly have made it the main place of all their Trading into the *Indies*, and have established there a President, to whom the Secretaries of all the other Factories are oblig'd to give an account. He manages Affairs with the assistance of 20. or 24. Merchants and Officers, and hath under his superintendency the Factory of *Agra*, where they have a Secretary accompanied by six persons; that of *Ispahan*, where they have a Secretary and seven or eight other Merchants; that of *Mesulipatan*, with fifteen; that of *Cambay*, with four; that of *Amadabat*, with six; that of *Brodra* and *Broitscheia*, with four; and that of *Dabul*, with two persons: who are all oblig'd to come once a year to *Suratta*, there to give an account of their Administration to the President.

Surat the general Factory of the English Trade.

The *English* have also a Factory at *Bantam*, in the Isle of *Java*; but that hath its particular President, who hath no dependance on that of *Suratta*, which hinders not but that he hath a certain deference for him, as have indeed all the *English* Ships, which perfect not their Voyage without casting Anchor at *Suratta*.

The places about Surat. The places about this City are the most delightful of any in the world. For, besides, the fair Gardens, where they have all sorts of Fruit-trees, all the Champion seems to want nothing that might recreate the eye. Among other things, I observ'd there one of those Trees, whereof I have given a description when I had occasion to speak of the City of *Gamron*, as also very many sumptuous Sepulchres built of Marble, and a *Tanke* or Cittern made eight-square of Free-stone, having at every angle a pair of stairs to go down into it, and in the midst, the Sepulchre of the Founder of that magnificent Structure, which is so spacious, that it contains water enough to supply the whole City, even in the greatest heats of the year.

SEPTEMBER. *Two English Ships arrive at Surat.* The tempests of Rain begin to cease with the moneth of *September*. About that time, *viz.* the 14. of that moneth, news was brought that two *English* Ships were arrived at the Port of *Suhaly*. The President would have gone thither in person, but some business he had with the Governour hindred him; so that he was forc'd to send two of the chiefest Merchants, who took me along with them. We came to *Suhaly* about noon, and having left

left our Horſes in the Village, went aboard one of the Ships, called the *Diſcovery*. 'Twas a Veſſel of 600. Tun, having 28. Guns, and 190. Men. Captain *Menard*, who commanded her, and the three Merchants who came to the *Preſident* for Orders, receiv'd us kindly; and being come directly from *England*, they told us all they knew of the Affairs of *Europe*; which diſcourſe made us paſs away the beſt part of the night pleaſantly enough. The next day we went to the other Veſſel, called the *Mary*, which was 1200. Tun burthen, and carried 48. Guns. She had paſt by *Aden* on the *Red-Sea*, where ſhe had loſt her Captain, who dy'd of ſickneſs. The Merchant, who commanded her inſtead of the Captain, made us a reception equal to what we had in the other Ship; and both of them oblig'd us to come every day to ſee them, till the *Preſident* were come; which was not till eight dayes after. Which hindred not but that we went ſometimes a walking, and a hunting, but ſo as that we lay every night in one of the Ships. 1638.

As ſoon as the Commanders heard that the *Preſident* was come to *Suhaly*, they went a ſhore, and meeting him on the River ſide, he made a ſhort diſcourſe to them, exhorting them to ſhew their fidelity and complyance to their Superiours, during the time they ſhould ſtay in the *Indies*. Which done, he went into the Boat, to go aboard of the firſt Ship, where they fir'd twelve Guns at his arrival. After ſupper, he went along with the whole company, to the other, where they fir'd ſixteen Guns, beſides thoſe that were diſcharg'd at the drinking of the King of *England*'s health, and thoſe of ſome other perſons of Honour in that Country. The two dayes following were ſpent in feaſting, at which the Commanders of the two Ships treated the Preſident, who afterwards return'd to *Suratta*; but night overtaking us by the way, we were forc'd to take up our Lodging in the little City of *Reniel*.

The 24. of the ſame moneth arrived two other Ships, whereof one was called *Bolduc*, a *Hollander*, of 1400. Tun. She came from the City of *Batavia* in the Iſle of *Java*, and was returning for *Holland*, loaden with Pepper and other Spices: The other was an *Engliſh* Veſſel, call'd the *Swan*, and had been ſent by the Secretary of *Meſulipatan* into *Perſia* for Silks; but the contrary winds having kept her four moneths together at Sea, had oblig'd her to put in at *Suratta*, whereas the *Hollander* had in leſs time made the whole Voyage from the *Texel* to the *Indies*. I again accompany'd the Merchants, who went to the Port to ſee their Ships. We went firſt aboard the *Hollander*, who receiv'd us very nobly, and we were ſhewn all the conveniences of the Veſſel, which no doubt was the beſt contrived, and the biggeſt that ever came out of the Ports of *Holland*. It was twenty foot longer then the *Mary*, but not altogether ſo broad. Bolduc *a* Dutch *Veſſel of* 1400 *Tun.*

During my abode at *Suratta*, I wanted for no divertiſement; for either I walk'd down to the Haven, or found company in the City, eſpecially at the *Dutch* Preſidents, who had his Family there, and with whom it was the eaſier for me to make acquaintance, in as much as I could converſe with them in my own Language. But underſtanding that the *Engliſh* Ships, with which I intended to return into *Europe*, would not be ready for their departure under three or four moneths, I reſolv'd to take a journey into the Country, to the Great *Mogul*'s Court, taking my advantage of a *Caffila*, or *Caravan*, of thirty Wagons loaden with Quick-ſilver, *Roenas*, which is a root that dies red, Spices, and a conſiderable ſum of Money, which the *Engliſh* were ſending to *Amadabat*. The Preſident had appointed four Merchants, certain *Benjans*, twelve *Engliſh* Souldiers, and as many *Indians*, to conduct and convoy this ſmall *Caravan*; ſo that confident I might undertake this journey without any danger, (which it had not been ſafe for me to attempt without this convenience, by reaſon of the *Rasboutes*, and their robberies upon the high-way;) I took the Preſidents advice, and put my ſelf into their company.

Theſe *Rasboutes* are a ſort of High-way men, or Tories, who keep in the Mountains between *Brodra* and *Broitſchcia*, which are called *Champenir*, where they have their fortifi'd places and retreats, wherein they ſometimes make their party good againſt the *Mogul* himſelf. Not long before he had taken in one of their ſtrongeſt places, and by that means kept them a long time in ſubjection; but they revolted again, and exerciſed their robberies with greater cruelty then ever. Rasbou-tes.

We left *Suratta* the laſt of *September*, being accompany'd by the Preſident and ſome *Engliſh* Merchants, who having brought us a League out of the City, there took leave of us. We took our way towards *Broitſchcia*, and came to the Village of *Brion*, or *Briauw*, where we croſs'd the River. Then, at four Leagues diſtance from *Brion*, we paſs'd by *Cattodera*, which is a ruin'd place, ſeated upon a River of the ſame name, and then by *Enkliſſer*, where we ſoon made a ſhift to take above thirty wild Ducks, and many other Water-fowl, wherewith we feaſted our people. We alſo kill'd a Roebuck, and met with ſo many Deer and wild Boars, that it was no hard matter for us to get us a good ſupper; ſince Leaves Suratta *to go to* Amadabat.

1638. since the *Dutch* and *English* never travel without their Cooks, who dreſs the Fowl and what elſe their Maſters kill, which they never fail to do in abundance. The next day we

Comes to Broitſchia. croſs'd a River which is more broad then deep, before we came to the City of *Broitſchia*, into which we were no ſooner entred, but the *Engliſh* Secretary ſent to us to dine with him, which we did.

Broitſchia *deſcribed.* The City of *Broitſchia* is at 21. degrees, 56. minutes, 12. Leagues from *Suratta*, and 8. from the Sea, upon a River falling out of the Mountains, which divide the Kingdom of *Decar* from that of *Balagatta*. It lies upon a pretty high Mountain, having its Walls of Free-ſtone, and ſo well built, that it may be numbred among the ſtrongeſt places of all the *Indies*. On the Land ſide, it hath two great Gates, and two ſmall Gates towards the River, by which is brought abundance of Timber for building, which none dare unload without the Governours expreſs permiſſion. There is a Guard kept in it, as well upon account of the place it ſelf, which is very conſiderable, as upon this, that they exact there two in the hundred upon all Merchandiſes that paſs through it. The City is ſufficiently well peopled, as alſo its Suburbs, which are divided into two quarters, which they call *Poera*, though very few perſons of Quality live therein, moſt of the Inhabitants being only Weavers, who make of thoſe kinds of Cottons called *Baftas*, which are finer then any made in the Province of *Guſaratta*. All the fields about this City lie flat and even, unleſs it be that about five or ſix Leagues from it, towards the South-weſt, may be ſeen the Mountains called *Pindſtſhee*, which reach as far as *Barampour* and beyond it, and are very fertile, as is alſo all the reſt of the Country, which brings forth Rice, Wheat, Barly, and Cotton in abundance. It is out of theſe Mountains that the *Agat* is gotten, whereof are made ſuch noble drinking Cups, Seals, Handles of Knives and Daggers, and ſeveral other rarities, which are commonly to be bought at *Cambaya*.

The juriſdiction of the City of *Broitſchia* extends it ſelf over 84. Villages, the Demeſne whereof belongs to it, but heretofore its territory comprehended three other Cities, who have now their particular Governours. Four Leagues below the City, the River divides it ſelf into two branches, which there make an Iſle near half a League about, below which it falls into the Sea, by two ſeveral channels. It hath no Port, but only a Road, which is ſo much the more dangerous, in that the Ships, which may indeed anchor there at ſeven fathom water, lie open to the mercy of all Winds.

Indico. Eight Leagues from *Broitſchia*, upon the way of *Cambaya*, there is a great Village called *Janbayſar*, or *Jambouſer*, where abundance of *Indico* is made: and upon the Road to *Amadabat*, there is to be ſeen the Sepulchre of a *Mahumetan* Saint, named *Pollemedory*, whither the *Moors*, or *Moguls*, go in pilgrimage with ſo great devotion, that ſome of them put Pad-

A fabulous miracle. locks on their mouths to keep them from ſpeaking, and never take them off, but only when they are to eat. Others faſten Iron chains to their arms; and it is reported, that the Padlocks are opened, and the Chains looſed, by ſome ſupernatural power, as ſoon as they have accompliſh'd their Vows at the Sepulchre.

Leaves Broitſchia. We left *Broitſchia* in the Evening, accompany'd by the Secretary, who would needs bring us half a League out of the City. He return'd thither, but it was to the end he might overtake us five Leagues thence; for, being entruſted with the mannagement of the Commerce of *Brodra*, as well as of that of *Broitſchia*, he thought fit to go along with the *Caravan*. We travell'd all night, and the next day, till the extraordinary heat forc'd us to encamp near a Fiſh-pond, where we paſs'd away the reſt of that day, and ſome part of the night following, our recreation being to ſet a dancing the Women that were among the *Benjans* in the *Caravan*. We went thence after midnight. I intreated the Secretary to come into my Coach, where I learnt of him ſeveral particulars of the Country, which by reaſon of my ſmall ſtay in thoſe parts, it was impoſſible I could have obſerved. We paſs'd through the Villages of *Karawanet* and *Kabol*, where they made us pay a certain paſſage-Toll.

Comes to Brodra. Being come within ſome Leagues of the City of *Brodra*, the *Engliſh* Secretary went on before to take order for our lodging and entertainment. We met him with his Second,

OCTOBER about half a League from the City, whither we came the ſeventh of *October*. The *Kaffila* paſs'd through the City, to be lodg'd on the other ſide of it; and the *Engliſh* Merchants carried me into a pleaſant Country-houſe without the City, purpoſely built for a *Mauſoleum*, to a perſon of Quality of the Country, whoſe deſire it had been to be there buried with all his Family. Having taken two or three turns in the Garden, we went to the Lodge belonging to the *Engliſh*, where they made the greateſt entertainment imaginable; and to come to the height of that Countries endearments, they ſent for ſome *Benjan* women, who were very deſirous to ſee my cloaths, which I ſtill wore after the *German* faſhion, though the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, who are ſettled in the *Indies*, go ordinarily according to

the

the mode of the Country) and would have oblig'd me to put them off; but perceiving I was unwilling to do it, and withall that I made some difficulty to accept of the proffers they made me to strip themselves naked, and to do any thing I would expect from persons of their sex and profession, they seem'd to be very much troubled, and so went away. 1638.

The City of *Brodra* lies in a sandy Plain upon the little River *Wasset*, 30. *Cos*, or 15. Leagues from *Broitschia*. This City is of no long standing, as having been built by *Rasia Ghie*, son of *Sultban Mahomet Begeran*, last King of *Guzuratta*, out of the ruines of the ancient *Brodra*, which was heretofore called *Radiapora*, from which it is distant about half a League. It is fortifi'd with good Walls and Bastions, according to the ancient manner of Fortification, and hath five Gates, one whereof is damm'd up, because there is no high-way abuts upon it. The Inhabitants of it, especially those of that part of the Suburbs which is towards the West-side of the City, are for the most part *Benjans* and *Ketteris* by profession, Weavers, Dyers, and other workers in Cotton, as being the place where, of all the Province, the best Clothes are made, which are more close, but a small matter narrower and shorter then those of *Broitschia*; and it is by that they are distinguished from the others. There are several sorts thereof, to wit, *Bastas*, *Nquamas*, *Madasons*, *Cannequins*, black *Chelas*, blew *Assamanis*, *Berams*, and *Tircandias*. We thought fit to name these several species, that we may the better understand the relations which come daily from those parts. Brodra described.

The jurisdiction of the Governour of *Brodra* extends it self over two hundred and ten Villages, sixty five whereof are design'd for the maintenance of the Garrison, and the *Mogul* disposes of the 135. for the advantage and entertainment of certain Officers of the Court, who have their pensions charg'd upon those Villages. Among which there is one called *Sindickera*, eight Leagues from the City, which yields yearly above 25000. pounds of *Lacca*. This *Lacque* is a Gum taken out of a certain kind of Tree, which is not much unlike our Plum-trees; and there is abundance of it gotten all over *Guzuratta*. Its colour is of a red brown; but when it is well dry'd, and beaten to powder, the *Indians* give it what colour they please, black, red, green, yellow, *&c.* and make it into sticks to seal Letters withall, or use it to adorn and beautifie their houshold-stuffe, as Chests, Boxes, Cabinets, Tables, Bedsteads, *&c.* whereby they give them such a lustre, as none yet could ever imitate in *Europe*, especially upon black. This Country does also produce much *Indico*. Lacque.

Besides the Sepulchre we spoke of before, there are many others to be seen without the City, most of them very magnificently built, having spacious Gardens about them, which are open for any that would go in. *The Sepulchres of Mahumetan Saints.*

The same day I took leave of the Secretary, and went along with two *English* Merchants to the *Caravan*, which we found encamped at the corner of a Grove of the *Palms*, which bear *Cocos*, and out of which they get *Terry*, which is the ordinary drink of those parts. In the evening came the *Dutch* Secretary or Deputy of *Brodra*, who presented us with some bottles of Sack, and kept us company till after midnight.

One of the *English* Merchants came along with the *Caravan* as far as *Wasset*, which is an old Castle partly ruin'd, built upon a high Mountain, where there is kept a Garrison, consisting of a hundred Horse, who there received a certain Impost of a *Ropia* and a half, which amounts to somewhat under four shillings, for every Wagon: but we had a Pass-port from the *Mogul*, by vertue whereof we were to pass without paying, upon which account it was that one of their Merchants came along with the *Caravan* to that place. Accordingly the Souldiers of the Garrison staid some of our Wagons, and would have forc'd us to pay the ordinary duties; but we oppos'd it, and drew up our Convoy, who made their passage by force. We cross'd the River, and lodg'd in a Village, fortifying our selves with our Wagons against the attempts which might have been made against us. We found afterwards that this circumspection was no more then needed. For ere we had quite supped, came the Receiver with some thirty Souldiers, well arm'd with Half-pikes, Swords, Bucklers and Guns, and desiring a conference with us, we suffered him to enter with three of his Souldiers; but he demanding the duties of us, we told him, that we were not to pay any, and that the *Mogul*'s Pass freed us; yet to avoid further trouble, and out of our good will to the Souldiers of the Garrison, we should make them a present of five or six *Ropias*. They would not hear of any such propolition, and still stood upon the payment of the whole duty. And so they went away, but with a design to return the next morning, as indeed they did. At the same time came a *Dutch* Merchant, who conducted a *Caravan* of 170. Wagons, guarded by 50. Souldiers, all *Indosthans*. He told us that the Souldiers of the Garrison had fell'd down a great Tree, and laid it cross our way, purposely to hinder our passage. We immediately commanded out four of our Souldiers to go and clear the way; which oblig'd those of the Castle to send some of theirs to hinder them: but in regard

1638. regard they could not go by, without coming within reach of our Muskets, we put our ſelves into a poſture of diſputing their paſſage, and they attempted to force us out of our retrenchment, which occaſion'd the coming back of thoſe whom we had ſent to clear the way. There was ſome firing on both ſides; but we had ſo much the advantage of them, that thoſe of the Caſtle came to a compoſition, and repreſented to us by the *Dutch* Merchants, that having no other pay then what they receiv'd from the Merchandiſes paſſing that way, they were forc'd to make paſſengers pay the duties, that they might have wherewithal to ſubſiſt, and that they would be content with one half of what was ordinarily received, nay, to avoid further inconvenience, with what we had proffer'd them the day before; ſo that they had at laſt ſix *Ropias*, which amount to about three Crowns. Their number, during this conteſt, encreas'd to a hundred; and the *Indian* Souldiers, who convey'd us, refuſed to take up Arms againſt them, alledging it was not lawful for them to fight againſt the Souldiers of their Soveraign, and that it was their buſineſs to defend us againſt the Robbers, who might ſet upon us in the High-way. Two Leagues and a half thence is the Village of *Ammenoygii*; and at three and a half further, that of *Sejuntra*, whence we

Comes to Nariad. came to the little City of *Nariad*, which ſome call *Niriaud*, nine Leagues from *Brodra*. Its houſes are handſome enough, and there are made in it Cottons and Indico, but not ſuch abundance thereof as there is in the places before mentioned.

To Mamadebath. *October* 11. we came to *Mamadebath*. This little City is within five Leagues of *Nariad*, upon a pretty large River which is very full of Fiſh. It is a handſome pleaſant place, and was built by two Brothers, who have made a very conſiderable Caſtle on the North-ſide of the City. The Inhabitants of it are *Benjans*, and they make there great quantities of Cotton-thread, wherewith they drive a great Trade.

October 12. We travell'd five Leagues, and having paſs'd by *Canà*, *Batova*, and *Iſſempour*, where there is a very fair *Caravanſera*, or, as they call it in *India*, a *Sary* for the lodging of

To Amadabat. the *Caffilas*, or *Caravans*, we got the ſame day very ſafely to *Amadabath*.

The two Merchants and my ſelf went before, and we took along with us the Wagon that carried the proviſions. Within half a League of the City, we entred into one of thoſe Gardens, in which perſons of Quality are wont to have their Sepulchres, and ſtaying there for the coming up of the *Caravan*, we ſent to the principal Merchant, who mannaged the Commerce in thoſe parts, to acquaint him with our arrival. His name was *Benjamin Roberts*, and he had no ſooner heard the news, but he took his Coach and came to receive me. His Coach made after the *Indian* faſhion, was gilt all over, covered with ſeveral pie-

The Indian Oxen as metal ſome as the Horſes in Germany. ces of rich *Perſian* Tapiſtry, and drawn by two white Oxen, which expreſs'd as much metal as we could have expected from the beſt Horſes in *Germany*. There was alſo led by the Coach a very ſtately *Perſian* Horſe, the harneſs whereof was covered with plates of Silver. He took a Collation with us of the little Sack and *Engliſh* Beer we had left, after which he took me into the Coach with him, and brought me to the City, ordering the Merchants to ſtay in the Garden till the *Caravan* were come up.

The *Engliſh* Houſe or Lodge is in the middle of the City, well built, and hath many fair and convenient Apartments, with ſpacious Courts for the diſpoſal of Merchandiſes, Maſter *Roberts* brought me firſt into his own Chamber, which look'd into a little Flower-garden, in which there was a Fountain. The floor was cover'd with Tapiſtry, and the pillars which ſuſtain'd the ſtructure were ſet out with Silk-ſtuffes of ſeveral colours, and above, a great white taſſel according to the cuſtom of the great Ones of the Country. We had a Collation; after which he ſhew'd me the whole houſe, and brought me into a very fair Chamber, with a large Cloſet in it, which he had deſign'd for my Lodging. We ſupp'd in a great Hall, whither the *Dutch* Deputy came after ſupper to ſee us, with ſome of his Merchants, with whom I had occaſion to be acquainted at *Suratta*. After he was gone, the whole company conducted me to my Chamber, where my Hoſt kept me company till after midnight. And that there might not be ought wanting in my entertainment (which in anſwer to the recommendatory Letters I had brought from the Preſident, he would needs have in all things extraordinary) he ſent for ſix Women-dancers, the handſomeſt could be found in the City, and told me, that if I liked any thing in them beſides their ſinging and activity, I needed only to expreſs my deſires, and be confident, that they would give me all the ſatisfaction and divertiſement which thoſe of their ſex are able either to give or take. I thanked him for his civility, but beſides that, I had had ſome touches of my diſeaſe by the way, I made ſome ſcruple to meddle in that kind with a *Pagan*.

They admir'd my cloaths, but above all that Lock of my hair that hung down over my ſhoulders: and could hardly be induced to believe I was what I really am.

Having ſtaid two dayes at *Amadabath*, my noble entertainer took me along with him in a Coach, followed by two others, and ſhewed me ſome part of the City.

He

He first brought me to the great Market-place, called *Meydan-Schach*, or the Kings Market, which is at least 1600. foot long, and half as many broad, and beset all about with rows of Palm-trees, and Date-trees, intermix'd with Citron-trees and Orange-trees, whereof there are very many in the several Streets: which is not only very pleasant to the sight, by the delightful prospect it affords, but also makes the walking among them more convenient, by reason of the coolness. Besides this *Meydan*, there are in the City four *Basars*, or publick places, where are sold all kinds of Merchandises. 1638. *The* Meydan.

The same day, I saw also the Castle, which is very large, and built of Free-stone, insomuch that it is one of the most considerable in the Kingdom. Not far from the *Meydan*, we went into a House built of Brick, which they call the Kings Palace. Over the Gate, there was a kind of Curtain or Stage, for the Musick, consisting of Violins, Haw-boys and Bag-pipes, which play there in the morning, at noon, in the evening, and at midnight, as they do in *Persia*, and all other places, where the Prince professes the *Mahumetan* Religion. All the Appartments of the House were sumptuous, gilt and adorn'd with painting, according to the mode of the Country: but more to their satisfaction, who are pleas'd with diversity of Colours, then theirs, who look for invention, and stand upon the exactness of proportions. *The* Castle.

Then we went out of the City, to see the Walls of it, which are very fair, having twelve Gates, and many great Towers, with a Ditch sixteen fathom broad, but in many places it is ruin'd, and without water.

We return'd into the City, to see the principal *Mosquey* of the *Benjans*, which without dispute is one of the noblest structures that can be seen. It was then new, for the Founder, who was a rich *Benjan* Merchant, named *Santides*, was living in my time. The *Mosquey* stands in the middle of a great Court, which is enclos'd with a high Wall of Free-stone, all about which there is a Gallery, much after the manner of our Cloysters in Monasteries, having all its Seats or Cells, and in every Cell a Marble Statue, white or black, representing a Woman naked, sitting, and having her legs lying cross under her, according to the mode of the Countrey. There were some had three Statues, to wit, a great one between two little ones. A Mosquey *of the* Benjans.

At the entrance into the *Mosquey*, there are two Elephants of black Marble done to the life, and upon one of them the Effigies of the Founder. The whole *Mosquey* is vaulted, and the Walls adorn'd with several Figures of men and other living Creatures. There was not any thing within the *Mosquey*, save that at the further end of the Structure there were three Chappels, or obscure places, divided one from the other by wooden Rails, wherein might be seen Statues of Marble, like those we had seen in the Cells, with this difference only, that there was a lighted Lamp before that which stood in the middle. We saw there also one of their Priests, who was then busie in receiving from the hands of such as came thither to do their Devotions, Flowers, wherewith he adorn'd his Images, as also Oyl for the Lamps which hung before the Rails, and Wheat and Salt for the Sacrifice. While he set the Flowers about the Statues, his mouth and nose were covered with a Linnen-cloath, lest the impurity of his breath should prophane the Mystery, and coming ever and anon near the Lamp, he mutter'd over certain Prayers, and rub'd his hands up and down in the flame thereof, as if he had wash'd them in the smoak, and sometimes stroak'd his face with them. This was a kind of Purification, done out of a perswasion which these people have, that Fire having a far greater power of purifying then Water, they may after this Ceremony lift up clean and pure hands to God. But he continued this foolery so long, that we had not the patience to see the end of it; so that we left him in the midst thereof, to go and see the Sepulchres, which are the most remarkable Rarities of the City, whereof we shall here give a short description.

Amadabath, the Metropolis of all *Guzuratta*, lies at 23. degrees, 32. minutes on this side the line, 18. Leagues from *Cambaya*, and 45. from *Suratta*, upon a small River, which not far thence falls into the *Indus*. It is a very great and populous City, comprehending with its Suburbs, and the Villages adjacent thereto, which are part of it, near seven Leagues in compass. The Streets of it are very broad, and both publick and private buildings very magnificent, especially the *Mosqueys*, and the Governours House of the Province. There is a Guard kept there day and night, and the Garrison is very considerable, by reason of the *Badures*, a sort of people distant thence but 25. Leagues, who acknowledge not the *Mogul* for their Soveraign, and make perpetual incursions upon his Subjects. There is not in a manner any Nation, nor any Merchandises in all *Asia*, which may not be had at *Amadabath*, where particularly there are made abundance of Silks and Cotton-stuffs. 'Tis true, they seldom use any Silk in that Country, much less any out of *Persia*, because it is somewhat too course and too dear; but they ordinarily make use of that of *China*, which is very *Amadabath described.*

1638. fine, mingling it with that of *Bengala*, which is not quite ſo fine, but much beyond that of *Perſia*, and much cheaper. They alſo make there great quantities of Gold and Silver *Brocadoes*, but they put too much thin Lace into them, ſo that in goodneſs and ſubſtance they come not near thoſe of *Perſia*, though ſome of them amount in the Country to eighteen Crowns the Piece.

At the time of my being there, they had begun to make a new kind of Stuff of Silk and Cotton with flowers of Gold, which was very much eſteem'd, and ſold at five Crowns the Ell; but the Inhabitants were forbidden the wearing of it, upon this account, that the King reſerv'd it for his own, yet not ſo ſtrictly, but that he permitted Forraigners to buy of it, to be tranſported out of the Kingdom.

The principal Commodities there. They make there alſo all ſorts of Sattins and Velvets of all ſorts of colours; Taffata, Sattins for linings, of both Thread and Silk, Alcatifs or Carpets, the ground Gold, Silk or Yarn, but not ſo good as thoſe of *Perſia*, and all ſorts of Cottons. The other Commodities to be commonly had there, are Sugar, Candy'd or in Powder, Cummin, Honey, Lacque, Opium, Borax, Ginger, dry and preſerv'd *Myrobalans* or *Indian* Plums, and all other ſorts of Preſerves, Salt-Peter, *Sal armoniack*, and Indico, which the Inhabitants call *Anil*, and which grows there in great abundance. There are alſo Diamonds to be ſold there, but in regard they are brought from *Viſiapour*, they may be had cheaper elſewhere.

Musk and Amber-greece. There is alſo to be had ſome Amber-greece, and Musk, though the Countrey affords not any; for the beſt Amber-greece comes from *Pegu*, and *Bengala*, from *Moſambique* and *Capo verte*, and is ſold at *Amadabath*, at 40. *Mamoudis*, or 8. Crowns the ounce. Some are of opinion, that Amber is the ſeed of the Whale, hardned or congeal'd by cold in the Sea: but if this were ſo, there would be plenty of it found in the North, where men look after this Fiſh meerly to get out of it a certain liquor, which is as ſtinking and infectious as the ſmell of the Amber is ſweet and pleaſant. Nor can I approve of their opinion, who believe there are within the earth certain veins or ſources of Amber, as there are of *Nefte*, or certain Mines, as thoſe of Brimſtone, ſince there is none to be found but towards the Sea, wherein it grows as Muſhrooms do upon the earth, and is faſtned to the bottom, till ſuch time as the Sea, being toſſed up and down by the Winds, caſts it towards the ſhore. *Peter de la Brouck*, a *Hollander*, who made a Voyage to *Angola*, *Guinny*, and the *Indies*, in the years 1605. and 1606. ſayes in his Relation, that in his time, there was found at *Cabo verde*, at the mouth of the River *Gambi*, a piece of Amber-greece, which weigh'd eighty pounds, whereof he bought ſome part.

A piece of Amber-greece that weighed eighty pound.

Musk. As for Musk, all are joyntly of opinion, that it comes of an Impoſthume or Swelling, which riſes about the Navil of a certain Animal, which ſome affirm to be about the bigneſs of a Fox, and others ſay, is like a Roe-buck. Whether then it be that this riſing of the fleſh about that part happens every year, when thoſe Creatures go to rut, and that as they tumble up and down the Graſs it breaks, or that it is cut off when they are taken, certain it is that it comes from a living Creature, which ſome Authors call *Gazela*; but the Inhabitants of *Pegu* give it another name, which I could not learn, and which is not to be found in the Relations, or Natural Hiſtories of the Eaſt-*Indies*.

Michael Boyen, a Jeſuite, who ſome years ſince printed, at *Vienna*, a Treatiſe, which he calls *La Flore Chinoiſe*, ſayes, that the right Musk is made of the Kidneys and Teſticles of that Animal, which he calls *Hiam*, but that the *China* Merchants, who adulterate moſt of their Merchandiſes, put among it ſome of the fleſh and bloud of the ſaid Animal, and ſo make up a kind of compoſition, wherewith they fill the little Purſes made of the Skin of the ſame Beaſt, which the *Portuguez* call *Papos*, and endeavour to make them paſs for the right Cods. However this may hold, certain it is, that this excellent ſcent proceeds from a Beaſt, and that it may be called the ſoul of all Perfume. But there is not any thing ſo conſiderable as the convenience which this place affords for matter of exchange, the *Benjans* having their Correſpondents in all parts of *Aſia*, even at *Conſtantinople*; and this is ſo much the more to the advantage of the Merchant, the more he ſtands in fear of the *Rasboutes*, and other Robbers, who make travelling very dangerous, notwithſtanding all the expence the *Mogul* is at, to maintain a great number of Souldiers, who are particularly kept for the ſafety of the High-wayes.

Merchandiſes pay no duties or cuſtom at Amadabat. There is nothing paid here, either at the exportation or importation of Merchandiſes, ſave that the *Couteval*, or Kings Lieutenant, hath given him by way of Preſent, about 15. pence for every Wagon; and it is lawful for all Forreigners to buy, and ſell, and trade in all ſorts of Merchandiſes, thoſe only excepted which are prohibited, as Gun-powder, Lead and Salt-Peter, which may not be tranſported without the Governours permiſſion; but that it is no hard matter to obtain, making but a ſlender acknowledgment of his favour therein.

The

The City of *Amadabat* comprehends within its territory twenty five great Towns, and two thousand nine hundred ninety and eight Villages, so as that the revenue thereof amounts to above six millions of Crowns, whereof the Governour hath the disposal, and therewith maintains the Souldiers, whom he is oblig'd to keep for the Kings service, especially against Robbers upon the high-wayes; though many times he protects them, and divides the booty with them. The *Couteval*, who is as it were the Kings Lieutenant, commands under the *Sulthan*, and mannages the political Government, nay meddles also with the administration of Justice joyntly with the *Kasi* or ordinary Judge. The *Mogul* hath there also several other Officers, who are as it were Controllers and Supervisors of those we last named. 1638. *Its situation and revenue.*

The dayes following I spent in seeing the Sepulchres which are about the City, and among others, particularly that which is in the Village of *Zirkees*, about a League and a half from *Amadabat*. 'Tis the work of a King of *Guzuratta*, built by him to the memory of a *Kasi*, who had been his *Præceptor*, and is grown very famous upon the account of many pretended Miracles done by him after his death. The whole Structure, wherein there are four hundred and forty great pillars, thirty foot high, is of Marble, as also the floor of it, and serves for a Sepulchre to three other Kings, who would needs be buried there with their Families. At the entrance of this sumptuous Monument, there is a large *Tanke*, or Cistern, full of water, and enclos'd with a wall, which hath several windows all about it. The *Mahumetans* of those parts go on Pilgrimage thither; and in this Village of *Zirkees* is made the best Indico in all the Country. About a League thence, there is a spacious Garden, with a fair House within it, which the *Mogul*, *Chon Chimauw*, built, in memory of a Victory gained by him in that place over *Sulthan Mahomed Begeran*, last King of *Guzuratta*, upon which he united that Kingdom to his Crown, as we shall express hereafter. *The Sepulchre of a Kasi.*

About a League and a half from the City, we were shewn a Sepulchre, which they call *Betti-Chuit*, that is to say, *thy daughters shame discovered*. There lies interr'd in it a rich Merchant, a Moor, named *Hajam Majom*, who falling in love with his own Daughter, and desirous to shew some pretence for his incest, went to an Ecclesiastical Judge, and told him in general terms, That he had in his youth, taken the pleasure to plant a Garden, and to dress and order it with great care, so that now it brought forth such excellent fruits, that his neighbours were extreamly desirous thereof, that he was every day importuned to communicate unto them, but that he could not yet be perswaded to part therewith, and that it was his design to make use of them himself, if the Judge would grant him in writing a Licence to do it. The *Kasi*, who was not able to dive into the wicked intentions of this unfortunate man, made answer, That there was no difficulty in all this, and so immediately declar'd as much in writing. *Hajom* shewed it his Daughter, and finding nevertheless, that neither his own authority, nor the general permission of the Judge, would make her consent to his brutal enjoyments, he ravished her. She complain'd to her Mother, who made so much noise about it, that the King *Mahomet Begeran* coming to hear thereof, ordered him to lose his head. *The Sepulchre of an incestuous Father.*

Not far from *Amadabat* begin to appear the dreadful Mountains of *Marva*, which reach above 70. Leagues towards *Agra*, and above a hundred towards *Ouyen*, and are so inaccessible, that the Castle of *Gurchitto*, (where lives *Rana* one of the principal *Radias* of those parts) is accounted impregnable, in so much that the Kings of *Pettan*, and the *Mogul* himself, found much ado to reduce it. The *Indians*, who are Pagans, have still a great Veneration for that Prince, who, they say, was so powerful, as that he could in a short time bring 120000. Horse into the Field. *The mountains of Marva. Where live Princes not subject to the Mogul.*

In the Mountain which lies between *Amadabat* and *Trappe*, there lives another *Radia*, who is not subject to the *Mogul*, by reason the Woods and Deserts secure him against that Prince, who with all his power is not able to force him out of the places he is possess'd of, no more then he is the *Radia* of *Ider*, who is his Vassal, but many times refuses to obey his Orders.

One of the noblest Gardens about the City is that of *Schach-bag*, in that part of the Suburbs which is called *Begampour*. It is the King Garden, very spacious, encompass'd with a high Wall, and hath within it a very fair House, the Ditches whereof are full of water, and the appartments richly furnish'd. I went thence along a Stone-bridge, which is four hundred paces in length, to another Garden, called *Niccinabag*, that is to say, the Jewel, and they say it was planted by a beautiful and rich young Lady. The Garden is not very great no more then the House within it; but both very advantageously seated in a place high enough to discover all the adjacent Champion, and upon the avenues of the *Schach-bag Garden.*

1638. Bridge, to make the nobleſt proſpect that ever I ſaw. The Rain which falls in the Winter time ſupplyes a great Fiſh-pond or Pool in the middle of the Garden; but in Summer they make uſe of certain Engines, wherewith many Oxen put together draw up the water out of Wells, which are ſo deep, that they are never dry. A man can ſeldom go to this Garden, but he ſhall find ſome young Women bathing themſelves; they will not permit the *Indians* ſhould ſee them, but ſuffered us to come in and ſpeak to them.

There are ſo many other Gardens about *Amadabat*, and the whole City is ſo full of Trees, that a man may ſay, it makes all but one Garden; for as he comes to the City, he ſees ſuch abundance of them, that he may well think he is going into a Forreſt. Among other things I took particular notice of the High-way, which they call *Baſcaban*, and leads to a Village ſix Leagues diſtant from the City. It is ſo ſtraight, that it ſhould ſeem they took a great pleaſure in planting the Trees about it, whereof there is a double row on both ſides upon a ſtraight line. They are *Cocos*-Trees, which at all times refreſh Travellers with their ſhade: but this road comes nothing near that which goes from *Agra* to *Barampour*, which makes but one continued Ally for a hundred and fifty *Germans* Leagues together. All theſe Trees lodge and feed an incredible number of Apes, among which there are ſome as big as Greyhounds, and ſtrong enough to ſet upon a Man; but they never do it unleſs they be angred. They are moſt of them of a greeniſh brown colour, and their beards and eye-brows long and white. They multiply extreamly, by reaſon the *Benjans*, who are much more numerous in thoſe parts then the *Mahumetans*, believe the *Metempſychoſis*, or tranſmigration of ſouls, and permit not the killing of beaſts, and theſe much leſs then any other, becauſe they have ſome reſemblance of Man, and are perſwaded, that the merrieſt and beſt humour'd ſouls, after their departure out of the body, retire into theſe Creatures; whence it comes that the City is full of them. They come into people houſes at any time with all the freedom imaginable, and in ſo great numbers, that thoſe who ſell Fruits and Preſerves have much ado to keep them from their houſes, and to ſecure their Ware. I remember one day I counted above fifty at the *Engliſh* houſe at the ſame time, which fell a playing and putting themſelves into ſeveral poſtures, as if they had been ſent thither purpoſely to make me ſport. I one day chanc'd to caſt ſome Dates and Almonds among two or three Apes that came in, which they liked ſo well, that they waited every morning at my Chamber door for their Breakfaſt, and became at laſt ſo familiar, that they would take Fruit, or Bread, or any thing elſe out of my hand. I would ſometimes catch one of them by the Foot, ſo to oblige the others to ſnarle at me, and as it were to demand their Companion, which I did till ſuch time as I ſaw them make ready to ſet upon me, ſo to force him out of my hands.

An Ally 150 Leagues together.

Parrots.

The ſame Trees maintain all ſorts of wild Fowl, but eſpecially an infinite number of Parrots, whereof there are ſeveral kinds. The biggeſt are called *Indian* Crows. Some are all white, or of a Pearl colour, having on their Crowns a tuft of Feathers of a Carnation red, and they are called *Kahatou*, from that word which in their chattering they pronounce very diſtinctly. Theſe Birds are common all over the *Indies*, where they make their Neſts in Cities, under the Eaves of Houſes, as Swallows do in *Europe*. The leſſer ſort of them, which are the more valued for the beauty and diverſity of their colours, their Feathers being checquer'd between a lively Carnation and a bright Green, build their Neſts in the Woods, and faſten them to the tops of the branches, ſo as that they hang in the Air, by which means they preſerve their young ones from the Serpents that would devour them. They build their Neſts with Hay or Stubble, and many times they faſten two together, with a covering above, and another beneath. Theſe Birds are a great annoyance to the Fruits, and do much miſchief in the Rice, becauſe none kill them; nay, the *Benjans* are ſo ſupertitious as not to hinder them from eating; which freedom they alſo give the wild Ducks, Herons and Cormorants, whereof there are abundance abut the River. In the precedent Travels of the Embaſſadours into *Muſcovy* and *Perſia*, there is ſome mention of theſe Birds, upon occaſion of thoſe which we ſaw upon the River *Wolga*; We ſhall only add here, that it is the ſame kind of Fowl, that the Natural Hiſtories call *Onocratalus*, from the noiſe it makes in the Water, when it puts its Beak into it, imitating in ſome ſort the braying of an Aſs. It hath the ſubtilty to ſwallow down Muſcles, and keep them in the Stomach till the heat thereof hath opened the ſhell, and then caſt them up again to take out the Fiſh.

Cormorants.

Fowl and Veniſon.

There is no kind of wild Fowl, nor Veniſon, which may not be had in theſe Forreſts, but eſpecially, Fallow-Deer, Roebucks, Ahus, or wild Aſſes, wild Boars and Hares.

Tame creatures.

Fiſh.

They have alſo ſtore of tame Creatures, as Buffles, Oxen, Cows and Sheep: And the River is ſo well furniſhed with all ſorts of Fiſh, that it may be confidently affirmed, there is no place in the world where a man might live more deliciouſly.

They

They want nothing but Wine; but to supply their want of that, they have *Terri*, taken out of the *Cocos*-trees, which drinks as delicioully as Wine. They have the most excellent Water in the World; and out of Rice, Sugar and Dates, they extract their *Arak*, which is a kind of *Aqua vitæ*, much stronger and more pleasant then that which is made in *Europe*. 1638. *No Wine in Guzaratta.* *Arak.*

But as the Kingdom of *Guzaratta* is furnish'd with Creatures beneficial to man, as to carriage or otherwise, so are there also some which he must have a care of. There is no River but is pester'd with abundance of Crocodiles, called by the Inhabitants *Cayman*, which do much mischief, as well in the Water, as upon the Land among the Cattle, nay, sometimes among Men, whom they surprise when they go a swimming, or when they go in Boats near the shore; this Creature being so nimble, that a Man hath much ado to escape by running, though it were no hard matter for him, by frequent turnings and windings to avoid his pursuit: for the Crocodile having no *Vertebræ* or joynts either in his neck or back, he cannot turn himself, and thence it comes that most commonly he rather surprises Men then pursues them. He commonly lurks in the high Grass on the River side, to catch at those who come for Water, and the *Benjans*, who believe that the Souls of those who are thus devour'd by these Creatures, are immediately admitted into Paradise, take no course to destroy them. It is very certain, that in the Ditches of the City of *Pegu* there were Crocodiles above thirty foot in length, and fed so much upon Mans flesh, that no day pass'd but they devour'd some or other, and yet the *Benjans* took no course in the world to prevent it and destroy them. But the King having caused one to be more particularly observed, which did more mischief alone then all the rest, had it taken and kill'd. There was one had swallow'd down a Woman with all her cloaths about her. They cover their Eggs, having laid to the number of 28 or 30. with Sand, about the change of the Moon, and so leave them till the wane, by which time they are hatch'd; when they uncover them, they kill a great many of the young ones, which hinders them from multiplying, as they would do otherwise to infinity. *Johnston* in his *Natural History* saith, that near *Panama*, in the West-*Indies*, there were found Crocodiles above a hundred foot long. But we shall not here make a digression into Natural History, and ingenuously acknowledge, that those we saw were about twelve or fifteen foot long. The skin, or rather scales of their backs is harder then Armour musket-proof; so that to destroy them, a man must go on one side of them, and run them into the belly. The Inhabitants of the Country affirm, that this Creature is of its own nature cowardly, and that it avoids those who stand to it, and hath courage only when it hath to do with those that have not any, and run away from it. *Hurtful creatures.* *Crocodiles.* *Crocodiles 30. foot long.* *A Crocodile swallows a woman with all her cloaths.* *How they lay their Eggs.* *Crocodiles 100. foot long.*

Another quality which this Country hath, not common with all places, is, that it produces abundance of Snakes and Serpents, which are here very dangerous, and among the rest those, which from a Greek word are called *Amphisbenes*, and have two heads. I must confess I never saw any of them, and expect not that upon my testimony any should condemn the opinion of those, who with much probability affirm, that Nature produces no Creature with two heads, unless she intend to make sport, and frame a Monster; and that their errour, who speak of the *Amphisbene*, proceeds only hence, that they have seen Serpents, which, contrary to the ordinary form of all Reptiles, are as big towards the tail as towards the head. We might also very well esteem those somewhat ridiculously conceited, who would have people believe, that these heads command and obey alternately by years, if those of the Country did not affirm as much, and if *Nirembergius*, in his Natural History, write, that an Inhabitant of *Madrid*, named *Cortavilla*, had assur'd him that he had seen it: but he doth not himself believe what he adds to that Story; to wit, that this Creature hath under one of its Tongues the Remedy against the Poyson which the other had cast. *Serpents.*

The Woods are full of Lyons, Leopards, Tigers and Elephants; whereof we shall have occasion to speak elsewhere.

But there is no Creature more common in these parts, as also all over the *Indies*, then the Batts, which are as big as Crows with us, nay, there are some about the bigness of our Hens. They are so great an annoyance to Gardens, that people are oblig'd to watch them, for the preservation of the Fruits. *Batts as big as Crows.*

The City of *Amadabat* maintains for the *Mogul*'s service, out of its own Revenue, twelve thousand Horse, and fifty Elephants, under the command of a *Chan*, or Governour, who hath the quality of *Radia*, *Raja*, or *Rasgi*, that is to say, Prince. He who commanded there in my time, was called *Areb-chan*, and about sixty years of age. I was credibly inform'd, that he was worth in Money and Houshold-stuffe, ten *Crou*, or *Carroas Ropias*, which amount to fifty millions of Crowns, the *Crou* being accounted at a hundred *Lake Ropias*, each *Amadabat maintains 12000. horse.* *The Governours wealth.*

1638. each whereof is worth fifty thouſand Crowns. It was not long before, that his Daughter, one of the greatſt Beauties in the Country, had been married to the *Mogul*'s ſecond Son, and the *Chan*, when ſhe went to the Court, had ſent her attended by twenty Elephants, a thouſand Horſe, and ſix thouſand Waggons, loaden with the richeſt Stuffs, and whatever elſe was rare in the Country. His Court conſiſted of above 500. perſons, 400. whereof were his ſlaves, who ſerv'd him in his affairs, and were all dieted in the houſe. I have it from good hands, that his expence in houſe-keeping amounted to above five thouſand Crowns a moneth, not comprehending in that account that of his Stables, where he kept five hundred Horſe and fifty Elephants. The moſt eminent Perſons of his retinue were very magnificently clad, though as to his own perſon, he was nothing curious, and was content commonly with a Garment of Cotton, as are the other *Indoſthans*, unleſs it were when he went abroad into the City, or took a journey into the Country; for then he went in great ſtate, ſitting ordinarily in a rich Chair, ſet upon an Elephant, cover'd with the richeſt Tapiſtry, or Alcatifs of *Perſia*, being attended by the Guard of 200. men, having many excellent *Perſian* Horſes led, and cauſing ſeveral Standards and Banners to be carried before him.

His Court.

His Expence.

Mandelſlo *viſits the Governour of* Amadabat. *October* 18. I went along with the *Engliſh* Merchant to viſit the Governour, whom we found ſitting in a Pavilion or Tent which look'd into his Garden. Having cauſed us to ſit down by him, he asked the Merchant who I was: He told him in the *Indoſthan* Language, that I was a Gentleman of *Germany*, whom a deſire to ſee forreign Countries, and to improve himſelf by Travel, had oblig'd to leave his own. That coming into *Perſia*, upon occaſion of an Embaſſie ſent thither by the Prince my Maſter, I took a reſolution to ſee the *Indies*, as being the nobleſt Country in the world; and being come to that City, that I hoped he would not take it ill if I aſpir'd to the honour of waiting upon him. The Governour made anſwer, I was very welcome, that my reſolution was noble and generous, and that he pray'd God to bleſs and proſper it. He thereupon asked me, whether during my aboad in *Perſia*, I had learnt ought of the Language. I reply'd, that I had a greater inclination to the *Turkiſh* Language, and that I underſtood it ſo far as to make a ſhift to expreſs my ſelf in it. The Governour, who was a *Perſian* born, made anſwer, that it was true indeed, the *Turkiſh* Language was much more commonly ſpoken in the *Scach*'s Court then that of the Country, and thereupon asked me my age, and how long it was ſince I left *Germany*. I told him I was 24. years of age, and that I had travelled three years. He reply'd, that he wondred very much my friends would ſuffer me to travel ſo young, and and asked me whether I had not chang'd my habit by the way; whereto having made anſwer that I had not, he told me, that it was an extraordinary good fortune, that I had travell'd in that equipage through ſo many Countries, without meeting with ſome unhappy accident, and that the *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, to prevent any ſuch misfortune, clad themſelves according to the faſhion of the Country.

Their diſcourſe.

After about an hours diſcourſe, we would have riſen and taken our leaves of him, but the Governour intreated us to ſtay and dine with him. He cauſed ſome Fruit to be brought, while his people were laying the cloath, which was of Cotton, laid upon a large Carpet of red *Turkie*-leather. The dinner was very noble, and ſerv'd up and dreſt according to the *Perſian* way, the Meat being laid in diſhes, all Porcelane, upon Rice of ſeveral colours, in the ſame manner as we had ſeen at the Court at *Iſpahan*. Preſently after dinner we came away, but as I was taking my leave of the Governour, he told me in the *Turkiſh* Language, *Senni dahe kurim*, that is to ſay, we ſhall ſee you again, giving me thereby to underſtand, that he would be glad of ſome further diſcourſe with me.

A ſecond viſit to the Governour. Accordingly we went thither again the 20. but I had clad my ſelf according to the mode of the Country, upon the deſign I had to travel into *Cambaya*, which I could hardly do without changing habit. We found him in the ſame appartment where we had ſeen him the time before. He was clad in a White Veſtment, according to the *Indian* mode, over which he had another that was longer, of *Brocadoe*, the ground Carnation lined with white Satin, and above, a Collar of Sables, whereof the Skins were ſewed together, ſo as that the Tails hung down over the back. As ſoon as he ſaw us come in, he made us ſit down by the Lords that were with him. He was about ſome buſineſs, which hindred him for a while from diſcourſing with us, yet could I not but obſerve that he was pleaſed at my change of habit. He diſpatch'd ſeveral Orders, and ſometimes writ himſelf; yet did not his buſineſs take him up, ſo as to hinder him from taking Tobacco, which he took after the ſame manner as is elſewhere deſcribed in the precedent Travels of the Embaſſadours, there ſtanding near him a Servant, who with one hand held the Pipe to his mouth, and ſet fire to it with the other. He quitted that exerciſe to go and take a view of certain Troops of Horſe and Compagnies of Foot, which were drawn up in the Court. He would ſee their

Armes

Armes himself, and caus'd them to shoot at a Mark, thereby to judge of their abilities, and to augment the pay of such as did well at the cost of the others, out of whose pay there was so much abated. So that seeing him thus employ'd, we would have taken our leaves, but he sent us word that we should dine with him, causing in the mean time some Fruit to be sent us, whereof by his order we sent the best part to our Lodging. 1638.

Soon after he call'd for a little golden Cabinet, enrich'd with precious Stones, and having taken out two Drawers, out of one he took *Offion*, or *Opium*, and out of the other *Benzi*, a certain Drug, or Powder, made of the leaves and seed of Hemp, which they use to excite luxury. Having taken a small spoonful of each, he sent the Cabinet to me, and told me, that it could not otherwise be, but that, during my aboad at *Ispahan*, I must needs have learnt the use of that Drug, and that I should find that as good as any I had seen in *Persia*. I told him, that I was no competent Judge of it, in regard I had not used it often; however I would then take of it for the Honours sake of receiving it from his hands. I took of it, and the *English* Merchant did the like, though neither of us had ever taken any before, nor did much like it then.

The Governour ask'd me, where I had learnt the *Turkish* Language, and whether I had ever been at *Constantinople*. I told him, I never had been there, but had employ'd the little time of my aboad in the Provinces of *Schirwan*, and at *Ispahan*, in learning that Language, which is as common there as that of the Country. He told me that *Schirwan* was his Country, and understanding that I had been particularly known to *Schach Sefi*, had dined at his Table, and been a hunting with him, he ask'd my judgment of the King of *Persia*, and what I thought worthy commendation or censure in that Prince? I made answer, that he was a Prince of a graceful Aspect and Person, and one that had understanding and courage enough to be obey'd in his Kingdom. He ask'd me, whether he still reign'd as a Tyrant, and continu'd his former cruelties? I answered, that Age having moderated his youthful extravagancies, his government began to be also more moderate.

The Governour of Amadabat a Persian born.

But loves not the King of Persia.

But the *Chan* reply'd, that *Schach Sefi* had assum'd the Scepter with bloudy hands, and that the beginning of his reign had cost the lives of an infinite number of persons, of all conditions and qualities: That Cruelty was hereditary to his Family: That it descended to him from *Schach-Abas*, his Grand-father, and that there was little hope he could rid himself of a quality that was become in a manner natural to him, though he might happily dissemble it for a time: That that was the only reason for which *Alymerdan-Chan*, Governour of *Candahar*, had been forc'd to cast himself into the protection of the *Mogul*, and to deliver up his place to him; as knowing his life was in danger, though he had never done ought against the service of his Prince, and that he was sent for to Court, to augment the number of those Lords whom that Tyrant had put to death: That he was content to believe, that *Schach Sefi* was an understanding person, but that even as to that, there was no more comparison between him and the *Mogul*, then there was between the poverty of the one and the vast wealth of the other, the Prince his Master being able to maintain a War against three Kings of *Persia*. I was loth to enter into any contestation upon so tickliſh a subject, and therefore only told him, that it was indeed true, there was not any comparison between the Gold, and the Silver, and Wealth of *Persia*, and what I had already seen of the *Mogul*'s Kingdom; but that it must be withall confess'd, that *Persia* had one thing which could not be had elsewhere, and was in effect inestimable, which was the great number of *Kisilbachs*, with whose assistance the King of *Persia* might attempt the conquest of all *Asia*. Which I said purposely, knowing the Governour was a *Kisilbach*, and that he could take no offence at such a discourse. Accordingly he discover'd his satisfaction thereat, not only in saying, that he must grant it to be true, but also, when turning to one of the Lords, who was a *Persian* as well as himself, he said to him, *Walla bek sade, jasehi a-damdur, chassa adamlar souer*, that is to say, I believe this young Gentleman hath courage, when he speaks so well of those that have.

Mandelslo's *discretion.*

By that time we had ended this discourse dinner was brought in. The Carver sate in the middle of the great Vessels wherein the meat was brought up, and with a great spoon put of it into little dishes, to be serv'd up to us. The *Chan* himself would needs also put in some, to assure us of his being pleas'd with our company. The room was full of Military Officers, whereof some stood with Half-pikes in their hands, others sate about a *Tanke* or Cistern which was in the room.

Immediately after dinner we took leave, but the Governour told us, that he intended to give us the divertisement of the Women-dancers of the Country, and that we should pass away the afternoon with him: but some business intervening he could not do it then, and therefore was forc'd to put it off to some other time. But the earnestess I was in to prosecute my travels into *Cambaya*, together with the little satisfaction *I* found in the lewd

and

1638. and insolent Postures of those Women, whereof *I* had seen but too much in *Persia*, hindred me from making any acceptance of his proffers.

A Character of the Governour of Amadabat.

The Governour of *Amadabat* was a judicious understanding man, but hasty, and so rigorous, that his Government inclin'd somewhat to cruelty. It happened one day, that the two principal Directors of the *English* and *Dutch* trade there, being invited by him to dinner; a young Gentleman that waited upon the former, comes into the Hall to attend upon his Master; He had on a slash'd doublet, much after the fashion which was worn about 30. years since, which the Governour thought so ridiculous, that he could not forbear laughing at it, and askt the *English* President, in what quality that slash'd Gallant serv'd him, since that according to his habit, he conceiv'd he kept him for his Fool. The President made answer, not without some confusion, that he waited on him in his Chamber, and that he had opened his Doublet in that manner to make way for the Air, the better to avoid the excessive heats of the Country, which the *Europæans* could not well endure. Whereto the Governour reply'd, that that reason gave some satisfaction, but what he most wondred at was, that the *Christians*, who are a wise and understanding people, had not yet found out the way to make their Doublets of several shreds, rather then cut and mangle whole pieces of Stuffes to put themselves into that mode. This jesting with the *English* Merchant put him into so good an humour, that he would needs devote the remainder of the day to sport and divertisement, and thereupon sent for twenty Women-dancers, who as soon as they were come into the room fell a singing and dancing, but with an Activity and exact observation of the cadence, much beyond that of our Dancers upon the Ropes. They had little Hoops or Circles, through which they leap'd as nimbly as if they had been so many Apes, and made thousands of Postures, according to the several soundings of their Musick, which consisted of a *Tumbeck*, or Timbrel, a Haw-boy, and several Tabours. Having danc'd near two hours, the Governour would needs send into the City for another band of Dancers, but the Servants brought word, that they were sick and could not come. This excuse being not taken, he sent out the same Servants, with expres order to bring those Prostitutes away by force; but they returning the second time with the same excuse, he order'd they should be cudgell'd. Upon that, they cast themselves at the Governours feet, and acknowledged that it was indeed true, they were not sick, but were at a certain place, where they got Money at a more delightful and easier sport then dancing, and that they absolutely deny'd to come, saying, they knew well enough the Governour would not pay them. He laught at it, but immediately commanded out a party of his Guard to bring them to him, and they were no sooner entred into the Hall ere he ordered their heads to be struck off. They beg'd their lives with horrid cries and lamentations; but he would be obey'd, and caus'd the execution to be done in the room before all the Company, not one of the Lords then present daring to make the least intercession for those Wretches, who were eight in number. The Strangers were startled at the horrour of the Spectacle and inhumanity of the Action; which the Governour taking notice of, fell a laughing, and ask'd them what they were so much startled at? Assure your selves Gentlemen, said he, that if I should not take this course, I should not be long Governour of *Amadabat*. For should I connive once at their disobedience, these *Bete-Seioth*, or Sons of Whores, would play the Masters, and drive me out of the City. 'Tis but prudence in me to prevent their contempt of my Authority, by such examples of severity as these are.

His cruelty.

Mandelslo *leaves Amadabat.*

October 21. I left *Amadabat*, with a Coach and one Saddle-nag, in the company of a young *English* Merchant, who, by order from the President, was to be my Fellow-traveller. The *Rasboutes* make the way between *Amadabath* and *Cambaya* very dangerous, which made me take for my Convoy eight Foot-souldiers arm'd with Pikes and Bucklers. This kind of Souldiers do also the office of Lacqueys, running just before the Horses, and may be hired for a small matter; for I gave them but eight Crowns for the whole journey, though I had them three dayes, in which time I travell'd thirteen of the Country Leagues.

Tschitbag Garden.

All the *English* Merchants brought me half a League out of the City, where I saw a sumptuous Tomb, which they call *Salu*. I got that day to the Garden of *Tschitbag*, made in memory of the place where the Sulthan *Mahomet Begoran*, whom we spoke of before, was defeated, and is without all comparison the fairest of any in the *Indies*; but it being dark ere I got thither, I shall forbear the description of it till my return that way, at which time I had the convenience of taking a particular view thereof.

The 22. Having travell'd seven Leagues, I came to the Village of *Serguntra*, where I saw not any thing remarkable, but a great *Tanke*, or Cistern, wherein rain-water is kept all the year.

The 23. After five Leagues travelling, I came to *Cambaya*. I din'd in sight of the City

City among certain Trees, and in the mean time ſent one of my Foot-ſouldiers to a *Brocker*, that is to ſay, one of thoſe *Benjans*, whom the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* make uſe of as Interpreters, and who underſtand their Language, together with the *Portuguez*, which they learnt by means of the great Commerce that Nation hath had all over the *Indies*. He immediately came in a Coach, and having brought me into the City, lodg'd me at a *Mahumetan* Merchants, where I was very well accommodated; which courſe I took, becauſe the *Engliſh* Factor being from home, I made ſome difficulty to lodge at the *Engliſh* Houſe. As ſoon as I was got into the City, I deſir'd the *Brocker* to ſhew me what was moſt worth the ſeeing there. 1638.

The City of *Cambaya* lies 16. Leagues from *Broitſchia*, in a ſandy place upon the River ſide, which makes there a great Bay, into which the River *May*, having paſt by the Walls thereof, diſembogues it ſelf. The Haven is incommodious, though at High-water there be above ſeven fathom water; but at Low-water, the Ships lye dry in the Sand and Mud that is at the bottom. The City is encompaſs'd by a very fair Wall of Free-ſtone, and hath twelve Gates, very large houſes, and ſtrait and broad ſtreets, moſt whereof have Gates which are ſhut up in the night time. It is much greater then *Surat*, as being at leaſt ten Leagues about. It hath three *Baſars* or Market-places, and four noble *Tanks* or Ciſterns, able to find the Inhabitants water all the year long. *Cambaya deſcribed.*

The Inhabitants are for the moſt part *Pagans*, *Benjans*, or *Rasboutes*, whereof ſome apply themſelves to Commerce, others to a military life. Their greateſt traffick is at *Achim*, *Diu*, *Goa*, *Meca*, and into *Perſia*, whither they carry all ſorts of Stuffes of Silk and Cotton, and bring back ready Money, both Gold and Silver, to wit, *Ducats*, *Chequins and Ryals*; alſo *Ruynas*, Dates, and other Commodities of thoſe parts. After a walk of two hours, my Conductor carried me out of the City, and ſhewed me 15. or 16. publick Gardens, but among the reſt, one, into which I went on that ſide that was towards the Sea, by a pair of ſtairs of Free-ſtone of many ſteps. It was enclos'd with a high Wall, and had in it two or three fair Structures, one whereof being over the Gate, had many noble Appartments. In the midſt of the Garden there is a very high place, within which was the Sepulchre of the *Mahumetan* who had founded it, and was there buried with all his Family. The Tomb was covered with Marble, and had ſeveral *Arabian* Inſcriptions: There is not any place in all thoſe parts that hath ſo noble a proſpect as this, not only towards the Sea-ſide, but alſo towards the Land, where a man hath the ſight of the nobleſt Champion Country in the World. This is ſo pleaſant a place, that the *Mogul* being one day at *Cambaya*, would needs take up his Lodging in the Garden, and cauſed the Stones of the Sepulchre to be taken away, that his Tent might be pitch'd there.

While I was taking a particular view of that Structure, came up to us two *Engliſh* Merchants, who obligingly reproach'd me with the ſlurre I put upon their Nation, in preferring the Houſe of a *Mahumetan* before their Lodge, as if I had been but poorly entertain'd at *Suratta*, and other places, where I had lodg'd among them. They proffered me their company to walk, and promiſed to carry me the next morning to a place, where an *Indian* Widow was to be burnt, with her own conſent.

I went at night to my Lodging, whither the *Brocker* brought ſeveral *Alcatifs*, or pieces of Tapiſtry, quilted Coverlets, Silk-ſtuffes, Cottons, Veſſels, Handles for Knives, Seals, Bracelets, Rings and Buttons of Agat, Cornelian and Jaſper, *&c.* of all ſorts of colours, which pleaſed me very well; but not being in a condition to ſpare any money, I only bought ſome few trifles, to keep in favour with my Merchant.

The next day, the *Engliſh* Merchants came to my Lodging, whence we went together to the River ſide, without the City, where this voluntary execution was to be done. The Womans Husband was a *Rasboute*, and had been kill'd near *Lahor*, 200. Leagues from *Cambaya*. As ſoon as ſhe had heard of his death, ſhe would needs do his Obſequies, by cauſing her ſelf to be burnt alive; but whereas the *Mogul* and his Officers are *Mahumetans*, who endeavour by degrees to aboliſh this heatheniſh and barbarous Cuſtom, the Governour had a long time oppos'd her deſires, under pretence that the news of her Husbands death being uncertain, he could not conſent to the doing of an inhumane action, whereof there would afterwards haply be cauſe to repent. The Governours deſign was to ſee, whether time would abate any thing of her paſſion, and the earneſtneſs ſhe was in to follow her Husband into the other World: but ſeeing ſhe was daily more and more inſtant to do it, he permitted her to comply with the Laws of her own Religion. *An Indian Widow is burnt by her own conſent.*

She was not above twenty years of age, yet we ſaw her come up to the place of her execution with ſo much confidence, and a chearfulneſs ſo extraordinary to thoſe who go to preſent and inevitable death, that I was much inclin'd to believe, that ſhe had dull'd her ſenſes with a doſe of *Opium*, which is as commonly uſed in the *Indies* as in *Perſia*.

1638. In the front of the Proceſſion marched the Country Muſick, conſiſting of Haw-boys and and Timbrels. Then follow'd a great many Maids and Women, ſinging and dancing before the Widow, who was dreſt in her richeſt Cloathing, and had her Fingers, her Armes and Legs loaden with Rings, Bracelets and Carkanets. After her came a confuſed company of Men, Women and Children, and ſo concluded the Proceſſion. She made a ſtop at the Funeral Pile, which had been purpoſely erected for the Ceremony. The Woman had waſh'd her ſelf in the River, that ſhe might meet her Husband in a ſtate of Purity, in regard the body of the deceaſed being not upon the place, ſhe could not accompany it in its paſſage into the other World. The Pile was of the wood of Apricock-trees, among which they had put in ſome Sanders and Cinnamon. Having look'd upon it with a certain contempt, ſhe took leave of her Kindred and Friends, and diſtributed among them the Rings and Bracelets ſhe had about her. I was ſomething near her on horſeback, with the two *Engliſh* Merchants, and I think ſhe perceiv'd in my countenance that I pitied her, whence it came that ſhe caſt me one of her Bracelets, which I had the good hap to catch, and ſtill keep, in remembrance of ſo extraordinary an Action.

As ſoon as ſhe was got upon the Pile, they ſet fire to it, which ſhe perceiving, pour'd on her head a Veſſel of perfum'd Oyl, which the fire immediately taking hold of, ſhe was ſmother'd in an inſtant, ſo as that ſhe was not perceiv'd to make the leaſt wry face at it. Some that were preſent caſt upon her ſeveral Cruſes of Oyl, which ſoon reduc'd the body to aſhes, while the reſt of the Aſſembly fill'd the Air with their cries and ſhouts, ſuch as muſt needs have hindred thoſe of the Widow to be heard, if ſhe had the time to make any in the fire, which had made a ſudden diſpatch of her as if it had been Lightning. The Aſhes were caſt into the River.

How the Cuſtom came up.

I was told, that this barbarous Cuſtom had been introduc'd among the Pagans of thoſe parts upon this account, that Polygamy occaſioning much heart-burning among the Women, ariſing either from the little ſatisfaction they could have from a man, who is oblig'd to divide his affections, or the jealouſie, which is unavoidable among Rivals of that Sex; it happened that the Women procur'd their Husbands deaths; and 'twas found, that in one year there had been four Men buried for one Woman; ſo that to oblige them to be careful of their Husbands lives, it was ordered, that ſuch as were deſirous to be accounted honeſt Women, ſhould be ingag'd to accompany their Husbands at their death, and to be burnt together with their bodies. Certain it is, that the *Perſians*, and other neighbouring Nations, have ever had ſo particular a veneration for the fire, that it is not to be admir'd they ſhould chuſe rather to reduce their deceaſed to aſhes, then bury them. I ſay, this Obligation of dying with their Husbands was impoſed only on thoſe Women who ſtood upon the reputation of honeſty, yet ſo as they were engag'd thereto only by a principle of honour, there being not any puniſhment to be inflicted on ſuch as refuſed to follow them in that dreadful journey, other then that they were not admitted into the company of Perſons of quality, as being looked on as infamous Women. They who are not ſo ſcrupulous, and ſtand not ſo much upon the punctilio of Honour, and prefer their lives before their reputation, do ordinarily ſtrike in among the publick Dancers.

The Ceremony being over, I went to ſee one of the chiefeſt Merchants of the City, named *Myrſabeg*, to whom I had Letters of recommendation from the Director of the *Engliſh* Commerce at *Amadabat*. He was not at home, but I found him on the River ſide looking on ſome Workmen he had about a Ship which was then a building. He receiv'd the Letters with much civility, and having cauſed me to ſit down by him, he enquired after my health, the ſucceſs of my Travels, and the Deſign I was engaged in. He was a *Mahumetan*, and ſpoke to me at firſt by the means of my Interpreter; but having learnt from him, that I underſtood the *Turkiſh* Language, he would make no further uſe of the *Brocker*, and ſpoke to me in that. I told him, that I had not met with any misfortune by the way, and that I intended to be gone the next morning, as having no further buſineſs that might detain me at *Cambaya*, and that I had not ſtayed there that day, had it not been for the honour of ſeeing him, and delivering him the Letters directed to him. He made anſwer, that it very much troubled him, that the ſmall ſtay I intended to make at *Cambaya*, permitted him not to expreſs what he would do for me, not only upon the account of the Letters I had brought him from his Friend, but alſo upon that of my own merit.

The Civility of an Indoſthan Mahumetan.

While we were engaged in theſe Complements, came up to us the Kings Lieutenant, who alighting, ſaluted me with much civility. Having made the ſame queſtions to me as the Merchant had done before, and receiv'd the ſame anſwer I had made the other, he told me, I ſhould do him a great kindneſs, if I gave him a viſit at his own Lodgings, which I promited to do. *Myrſabeg* told me, that he would come, and know of me, wherein he might ſerve me, and ſo I took leave of them both, with a deſign to ſpend the remainder of

of the morning in walking about the City. As I rose from dinner were brought in the Presents of *Myrsabeg*, which were two Muttons, twelve Capons and Pullets, a basket of Eggs, a Pannier of *Cocos*, a great bundle of Sugar-canes, and a very fair Vessel of *Agar*. I requited his pains who conducted those that brought in the Present, with a small acknowledgment, and told him, I would not fail coming to thank his Master. I thought to have done it the next morning, but he prevented me, and surpriz'd me, giving order for my departure. He told me, it would have troubled him much, I should have departed ere he had taken leave of me. I thank'd him for the honour he did me, and the Presents he had sent me, and intreated him to accept of a Pocket-pistol, made at *London*, which was a very neat one, excusing my self, that as to the condition I was then in, it was impossible for me to acknowledge, as I would desire, the kindness he had shewn me. He made answer, that it was unhandsome to receive Presents from a Stranger, but that it would be a greater incivility to refuse what I proffer'd him, that he was far from deserving what I then made him, but being bestow'd with so much kindness and obligation, he could by no means forbear accepting of it. 1638.

I give a particular account of this answer, that the Reader may judge thereby, whether those persons who are so well furnish'd with Compliments of this Nature, should be look'd on as Barbarians; and no doubt but he will be much more surpriz'd, when I shall tell him, that there is more civility to be found among the *Indians*, then there is among those who pretend to the sole possession of it, but seldom accompany it with the sincerity which ever attends it in the *Indies*, where such as are friends, are such without any shiness or reservation, to those to whom they have promised friendship, as they are, on the other side, irreconcileable enemies to such as have injur'd them.

I intreated *Myrsabeg* to sit down, and caus'd to be presented to him a Box of *Bettelé*, according to the custom of the Country, where they never entertain any friend, but there is of that Drug brought him, it being so commonly used all over the *Indies*, as that Bread cannot be more in *Europe*; in so much, that it may be truly said, that it is one of the most advantageous, and most considerable things of any produced in the *Indies*. The *Malabares* call it *Bettelé*, the Inhabitants of *Guzuratta*, *Pam*, and those of *Malaca*, *Sir*. *Avicanna*, an *Arabian* Phytician, calls it *Tambul*. Its predominant qualities are hot and dry, and it is a Plant, whose leaves are like those of the Orange-tree, save that they are not quite so broad, and when they are in their full ripeness, they are of a brownish red colour. The stalk of the Plant is very weak, whence it comes that it is supported by a stake, or set near some other tree, to which it clings and spreads about the branches, as Ivy does. It is commonly joyn'd to that Tree which they call *Areca*, upon this account, that the *Indians* never use the leaves of *Bettelé* without the fruit of *Areca*. This Plant is very delicate, and must be cultivated with much care and tenderness, especially as to the watering of it; for it must not have either too much heat, or too much moisture, in as much as it is observed, that it grows not in hot places, such as *Mozambique* and *Zoffala*, nor yet in cold Countries; as for instance, in the more Northerly Provinces of *China*. It does not bring forth any fruit in *Guzuratta*, but in *Malacca* it does, in form like a Lizards tail, and the Inhabitants eat of it, and think it not unpleasant. In all other places it brings forth only leaves, which are sold in bundles by the dozen, and they keep fresh a long time. The *Indians* eat of them at any time of the day, as also in the night, both men and women, insomuch that no person of any mean condition, but spends two or three dozen of leaves a day. But in regard this Drug is of it self very bitter, they put into every leaf an *Areca*-nut, the predominant qualities whereof are cold and dry. This is that which *Avicenna* calls *Fausel*, and the Tree that bears it is not much less then that of the *Cocos*, which is commonly called the *Indian* Palm-tree. The Husk wherein the Fruit is enclosed, is smooth on the out-side, but within rugged and downy, as that of the *Cocos*, and the Fruit it self is of the bigness of a Wall-nut, but the kernel is no bigger then a Nutmeg, which is not much unlike, not only without, but also as to the veins, which are to be seen when it is cut. They mingle with it some of that Lime which is made of the Shells of Muscles, and so chew them together to get out the juyce of it, which they swallow, and spit out what remains in their mouths. They use it at any time of the day, but especially after meals, as conceiving it promotes digestion and prevents vomiting. Those Forreigners that have liv'd any time in the *Indies*, accustom themselves thereto out of complyance, but above all, the *Portugues* Women at *Goa*, who are perpetually employ'd about this Exercise, chewing this Drug, as Cows and such other Cattel chew the Cud. It does indeed discolour the Teeth, which by the frequent use of it become of a red colour, but that is one of the Beauties of the *Indian* Women. No corner of a Street but it may be had ready prepar'd, so that a man need not to be troubled about the quantity he is to make use of. Great Lords have it brought after them in

Bettelé.

Areca.

1638. Boxes of Lacque or Silver, and take of it as they go along the Streets, nay many times when they are about buſineſs of conſequence, and that in any place. They are alſo of a belief, that this Drug fortifies the natural heat, and accordingly account it one of their delicacies; upon which account it is, that they abſtain from it when they are in affliction, and particularly when the *Moguls* and *Mahumetans* celebrate their Faſts.

Myrſabeg having taken a little of it, took leave of me, and I got into my Coach, intending to call on the Kings Lieutenant at his own houſe, as I paſs'd by, in regard I was to go by his door: but I met him in the Street in his Coach, there being carried before him three Banners of Taffata, Red and Green, charg'd with flames of Silver; as ſoon as he perceived me, he turn'd his Coach, and oblig'd me to go along with him to his Houſe. His Houſe was ſeated in the moſt delightful quarter of the City, having two Gates to enter in at, one whereof led into a ſpacious Court, the other into a fair Garden, about the Walls whereof there was one continued ſtructure. He treated me with *Bettelé* and Palm-wine; but having time little enough to perform the journey I intended that day, I ſtaid not with him above half an hour. He ſent one of his Menial ſervants after me to give order to the Officer of the Cuſtom-houſe, and the Guards at the Gate, that I might paſs without paying ought.

Comes to Serguntra. I came in the Evening to *Serguntra*, but it was ſo late, that the *Benjans*, who burn no Candles for fear that Flies and ſuch other Inſects might be deſtroyed thereby, would not open their Shops to ſell me any forrage for my Beaſts. It is much different from what is commonly uſed in *Europe*; For the Country bringing forth no Oats, and very little Graſs, they accuſtom their Beaſts to another kind of ſuſtenance, and keep them with a certain Paſte, which they make up of Sugar and Meal, into which they ſometimes put a little Butter. We were going to break open one of their Shops, but ere we had done any harm, one of the *Benjans* brought us ſome forrage.

What they keep travelling Beaſts with.

The next day before noon, we travell'd five Leagues to a great Village, where we baited our Beaſts, giving to each of the Oxen a pound and a half, and to the Horſes two pounds of Sugar, mixt with Meal. Thence we got to the Garden of *Tzietbagh*, where we baited again.

Tzietbagh Garden.

This Garden, which, no doubt, is the moſt delightful of any in the *Indies*, is alſo the moſt conſiderable of any in the whole Country, not only in regard of the Victory which the *Mogul* gain'd in that place, over the laſt King of *Guzuratta*, as we have mentioned before, and which gave it the name of *Tzietbagh*, that is to ſay, the *Garden of Victory*; but alſo in reſpect of its magnificent Structures, and the noble Fruits which grow there in great abundance. It is ſeated in one of the moſt pleaſant places in the world, upon the ſide of a great Pool, having on the ſide toward the water ſeveral Pavillions, and on that towards *Amadabat*, a very high Wall. The ſumptuouſneſs of the buildings ſpeaks the great Spirit of the Prince that founded it, as doth alſo the *Caravanſera* adjoyning thereto.

There are in the Garden many Allyes of Fruit-trees; as Orange and Citron-trees of all ſorts, Pomegranate-trees, Date-trees, Almond-trees, Mulberry-trees, the Trees which bear *Tamarinds*, *Mangas*, and *Cocos*, beſides many other not known to us; and there was ſuch abundance of them, and they were planted ſo cloſe, that we could walk about the Garden in the ſhade, which was a great refreſhing to us: The branches of all theſe Trees were infinitely ſtor'd with Apes, which added not a little to the divertiſment and ſatisfaction of our walk. We ſtaid no longer in it then while our Horſes were baiting, in regard we were reſolv'd to get that day to *Amadabat*, whither we came at night. I was that day on horſe-back, and by way of ſport, would needs frighten the Apes, which plaid a thouſand tricks about us, in ſo much that we began to think them troubleſome. I ſhot two of them with my Piſtol, whereat the reſt were ſo incenſed, that they ſeem'd to conſpire together, as if they had a deſign to ſet upon us. Their cries and diſtorted looks diſcover'd how much they were inclin'd to do us ſome miſchief, in ſo much that about twenty of the biggeſt of them followed us for above half a League; but perceiving us ready to turn towards them, they got among the Trees, and at laſt gave over their purſuit of us.

Coming to *Amadabath*, I met with a *Caffila*, or *Caravan*, of about 200. Merchants, *Engliſh* and *Benjans*, which was going to *Agra*, the chief City of all the *Mogul's* country. The *Engliſh* Preſident had ordered him, who had the conduct of the *Caravan*, to take me along with him, and the Director of the Commerce at *Amadabath*, added thereto his particular recommendations; ſo that thoſe Merchants received me into their company, and I went along with them thence on the 28. of *October*.

Goes for Agra.

The weather and the way were very fair, but I met with ſo few Villages, that the firſt I have any account to give of, was that of *Paingat*; and the ſixth day after our departure from

from *Amadabath*, we came to the City of *Heribath*, which is fifty Leagues distant from it. This City is not very big, and hath neither Gates nor Walls, as having been razed by *Temurleng*, or *Tamberlane*, as had been also the Castle, whereof the ruines are yet to be seen upon a high Mountain, not far from the City. Between this City and that of *Damtiges*, which is distant from that of *Heribath* other fifty Leagues, we met a *Caffila* of *Benjan* Merchants, who told us, they had been set upon by 200. High-way-men, of the *Rasboutes*, who had forc'd them to ransom themselves at a hundred *Ropias*, and that we should do well to stand upon our guard, inasmuch as the day before they had seen a hundred more of them, who having understood from them what they had paid their Camrades, had said no more to them, and only took away one of their Oxen; but that they were gone to joyn with the former, and that they would not fail to set upon us. We made our advantage of this Intelligence, and caused our Waggons to be fastned together, and the Souldiers that guarded them were so disposed, as that they might relieve one another, without the least fear of any disorder. Near a certain Village we met with fifty of those rascally Companions, but they thought us so well arm'd, and so resolv'd to stand upon our advantage to defend our selves, that they passed by without saying ought to us, yet discovering withall by their march, that they were come only to take a view of us. We understood afterwards, how that returning by the same Village, they had said, that if we had been at a little further distance from it, they would have disputed the way with us.

1638 Heribath. Damtiges.

Fifty Leagues thence, we came near a Village called *Syedek*, which had in it a very strong Castle. And whereas most of our Beasts were extreamly wearied, by reason of the great dayes journeys we had made, we ordered that some of the Oxen and Waggons should go before. But they were hardly got into a little bottom that was in the way, not above six hundred paces from us, ere they were set upon by ten *Rasboutes*, who had lain in ambush behind a little Hill, and at the first onset wounded two *Benjans*, and were driving away the Waggons, which they had before turn'd out of the Road, when we discovered them afar off, and sent to them some of our Souldiers, who forced the Robbers to forsake what they had taken. After this we met with no misfortune, and came safely to *Agra*, where *I* took up my quarters among the *English*, whose Civilities to me here were consonant to what *I* had received from them in other places.

Comes to Agra.

The *Mogul*, or great King of *Indosthan*, does often change the place of his abode, insomuch that there is no City in all his Kingdom, of any considerable account, where he hath not his Palaces; but he delights not so much in any as *Agra*, which, to do it right, is indeed the noblest City in all his Dominions. It lies 28. degrees on this side the Line, in the Province of *Indosthan*, upon the River *Gemini*, which falls into the *Ganges*, above the Kingdom of *Bengala*. It is at least twice as big as *Ispahan*, and it is as much as a Man can do to ride about it on horse-back in a day. It is fortified with a good Wall, of a kind of red Free-stone, and a Ditch, which is above thirty fathom broad. Its Streets are fair and spacious, and there are some of them vaulted, which are above a quarter of a League in length, where the Merchants and Tradesmen have their Shops, distinguished by their Trades and the Merchandises which are there sold; every Trade, and every Merchant having a particular Street and Quarter assigned him. There are in it fifteen *Meidans* and *Basars*, whereof the most spacious is that which is before the Castle, where may be seen sixty great Guns of all sizes, but not kept in any order so as to be made use of. There is also in that place a high Pole, as at the *Meidan* of *Ispahan*, where the Court Lords, and sometimes the *Mogul* himself divert themselves with shooting at the Parrot fastned at the top of it. There are in the City fourscore *Caravanseras*, for the accommodation and convenience of Forreign Merchants, most of them three Stories high, with very noble Lodgings, Store-houses, Vaults and Stables belonging to them, together with Galleries and private Passages for the correspondence and communication of the Chambers. Every one of them hath a certain person, whose charge it is to lock them up, and to take care that the Merchandises be safely kept. He does also supply the place of a Sutler, and sels all sorts of Provision, Forrage, and Wood, to those that lodge in them.

Agra described.

It hath its Market-places.

80. Caravanseras.

And whereas the *Mogul*, and most of the greatest Lords about his Court, profess the *Mahumetan* Religion, there is also in *Agra* a very great number of *Metschid*, or *Mosqueys*, and among the rest seventy great ones, of which the six principal they call *Metschid-adine*, because that it is in them they do their Devotions on Holy-dayes.

Mosqueys.

In one of these last named, is to be seen the Sepulchre of one of their Saints, called *Sesander*, and they say he is of the Posterity of *Aaly*. In another of them may be seen the Sepulchre of another Saint, who being 30. foot in length, and 16. in breadth, must needs have been one of the mightiest Gyants that ever were talk'd of. His Tomb was cover'd all over with

The Sepulchre of a Gyant.

1638. with little Flags, and we were told he had been one of their Heroes, who had ſometime done wonders in the wars. To this place there are great Pilgrimages made, inſomuch that the Devotions of the Pilgrims do, by the Offerings they make, very much augment the wealth of that *Moſquey*, the Revenue whereof is very great without thoſe advantages. There are daily maintain'd in it a great number of poor people, ſo that it may be truly ſaid, that the Devotions done there are not inferiour to thoſe done at the Sepulchre of *Schich Sefi* at *Ardebil*. Theſe *Metzids*, and the Courts which depend on them, ſerve alſo for ſo many Sanctuaries to perſons guilty of any capital Crimes, as alſo to ſuch as fear impriſonment for their Debt. Theſe are the *Allacapi* of the *Perſians*, and are called by the *Indians*, *Allader*, and the priviledges of them in the *Indies*, are equal to thoſe the *Allacapi* are endued with in *Perſia*, inſomuch that the *Mogul* himſelf, though his power be abſolute, cannot force a man out of theſe Sanctuaries, be his crime of ever ſo heynous a nature, by reaſon of the Veneration which theſe people have for their Saints.

Sanctuaries

800. *Baths.* There are numbred in the City of *Agra* above eight hundred Baths, or Hot-houſes, from which there comes in yearly to the *Mogul* a very conſiderable ſum of money, occaſioned hence, that this kind of Purification making one of the principal parts of their Religion, there paſſes not a day, but that theſe places are frequented by an infinite number of perſons.

The great Lords about the Court, who are called *Raſgi*, or *Rajas*, have their Houſes and Palaces in the City, beſides their Country-houſes, all magnificent, both as to ſtructure and houſhold-ſtuffe. The King hath ſeveral Gardens and Houſes without the City, whither he often retires himſelf with his Women-dancers, who dance before him ſtark naked. But there is not any thing gives a greater demonſtration of the greatneſs of this Monarch, then his Palace, which ſtands upon the River *Gemini*, and is near four Leagues about. It is excellently well fortified, according to the fortification of that Country, with a Wall of Free-ſtone, and a great Ditch, having at every Gate a Draw-bridge, the Avenues whereof are alſo very well fortified, eſpecially at the North-gate. The Gate which leads to the *Baſar* is on the Weſt-ſide, and is called *Ciſtery*. Under this Gate is the *Diwan*, or the place of publick Judicature; and there is adjoyning to it a ſpacious Hall, where the principal *Viſier* diſpatches and ſeals all Orders for the ordinary and extraordinary Levies of men, whereof the Originals are kept at the ſaid place. As ſoon as a man is come within this Gate, he finds himſelf in a ſpacious Street, having Shops on both ſides, which leads directly to the *Mogul*'s Palace, which is called *Derbar*. The Gate by which a man enters into it is called *Achobarke Derwage*, that is to ſay, *King Achobar's Gate*, and there is ſuch a reſpect obſerved at it, as that, the Kings Sons only excepted, all other Lords, what quality ſoever they are of, are obliged to alight from their Horſes, and to go in a foot. It is in this quarter that the Women are lodged, who divert the King and his Family with their ſinging and dancing. The fourth Gate, which is called *Derſame*, leads to the River, and thither it is that the *Mogul* comes every morning to worſhip the Sun at his riſing. It is on that ſide alſo, that the Grandees of the Kingdom, who are about the Court, come every day to do their ſubmiſſions to the King, going up to a little eminent place, whence the King may take the more particular notice of them. The *Hadys*, or Commanders of Horſe, do alſo give their attendance there, but they ſtand at a greater diſtance, and make not their approaches, but upon the Kings expreſs Order, who comes alſo to this place to ſee the fighting of the Lyons, Elephants, Bulls and other wild Beaſts, it being his ordinary divertiſement every day, Friday only excepted, which he ſpends in his Devotions. Beſides all this, there is yet another Gate, which leads into the Guard-Hall, which they call *Atteſanna*, where the Officers keep a Guard, and relieve one the other by weeks. There is a paſſage through this Hall into a paved Court, at the further end whereof there is, under a Portal, a row of ſilver Pillars, where there ſtands a particular Guard, which keeps the people from getting within it, and permits only the Great Lords that belong to the Court to enter there.

The Mogul's Palace deſcribed.

The Mogul worſhips the Sun.

There it was I met with the *Perſian* Servant who run away from me at *Suratta*, and who proffered me to do me any ſervice lay in his power, during my aboad at *Agra*; nay, would have brought me within the Pillars before mentioned, but the Guards would not permit it. A man muſt go within theſe Pillars to get to the *Mogul*'s Chamber, where may be ſeen, within another row of leſſer Pillars, all of Gold, the Throne of that great Prince, made of maſſie Gold, and enrich'd with Diamonds, Pearls, and other precious Stones. Above the Throne there is a Gallery, where the King ſhews himſelf every day, and receives their Complaints who have any violence or injury done them. Thoſe who have any Complaints to make, ring one of the little Bells which are hung up above thoſe Pillars; but unleſs a man have excellent good Evidence to prove what he alledges, it will be dangerous

The Mogul's Throne.

gerous to offer at it, for he will hazard his own life. The Kings Sons only, who give him Air with a kind of Fan, and keep off the Flies, and the Grand *Visier*, are permitted to come within thoſe Pillars; and there is no perſon to go into any of the inner Lodgings, but the *Godas*, or Eunuchs, who wait on the Ladies of the *Seraglio*, and are in number about a thouſand or twelve hundred. 1638. *The Seraglio.*

There is alſo within this Caſtle another Appartment, which is known by a great Tower, the covering whereof is of Gold, which ſhews what exceſſive wealth is encloſed within it, in eight ſpacious Vaults, which are full of Gold, Silver and precious Stones, whereof the value is in a manner inestimable.

I was credibly informed, that the *Mogul*, who lived in my time, had a Treaſure, which amounted to above fifteen hundred Millions of Crowns; and I have an Inventory of the Treaſure which was found at the death of *Schach Achobar*, great Grand-father of *Schach Choram*, as well in coyned Gold and Silver, as in Lingots and Bars, Plate, precious Stones, Brocadoes and other Stuffes, Purcelane Books, Ammunition, Armes, *&c.* ſo faithfully drawn up, that for the Readers further ſatisfaction, I ſhall not think it amiſs to inſert it here. *The Mogul's Treaſurer.*

This King *Achobar* had ordered the Coynage of a certain ſort of Money of 25. 50. and a hundred *Toles*, which amounted to two thouſand twelve and a half, four thouſand twenty five, and eight thouſand and fifty Crowns the piece, which was coined accordingly, to the ſum of ſix Millions, nine hundred and ſeventy thouſand *Maſſas*, which make ninety ſeven Millions, five hundred and eighty *Ropias*, or, forty eight Millions, ſeven hundred and ninety thouſand Crowns. *A ſort of money of eight thouſand Crowns the piece.*

One hundred Millions of *Ropias*, or fifty Millions of Crowns, in a kind of Money, which from the ſaid Kings name, is called *Achobar Ropias.* *Fifty Millions in ready money.*

Two hundred and thirty Millions in another kind of money, which they call *Peyſes*, thirty whereof make a *Ropia*, and ſixty a Crown: ſo that what was found in *Peyſes* amounted to ſeven hundred ſixty ſix thouſand, ſix hundred ſixty ſix *Ropias*, and twenty Pence, which amount to three hundred eighty three thouſand, three hundred thirty three Crowns, and ten Pence. *A Million of Livers in ſmall money.*

In Diamonds, Rubies, Emeralds, Saphires, Pearls, and other precious Stones, to the value of ſixty Millions, twenty thouſand and one and twenty *Ropias*, or, thirty Millions, two hundred and ſixty thouſand, and twenty ſix Crowns. *Thirty Millions in precious Stones.*

In Figures and Statues (all of Gold) of Elephants, Camels, Horſes, and other Creatures, to the value of nineteen Millions, ſix thouſand ſeven hundred eighty five *Ropias*, or nine Millions, five hundred and three thouſand, three hundren ſeventy Crowns and a half. *Nine Millions in Statues, &c.*

In Houſhold-ſtuffe, and gold Plate, as Diſhes, drinking Cups, Baſons, Ewers, *&c.* to the value of eleven Millions, ſeven hundred thirty three thouſand, ſeven hundred and ninety *Ropias*, and a third part of a *Ropia*, which amounts to five Millions, eight hundred ſixty ſix thouſand, eight hundred ninety five Crowns and five Pence. *Six millions in Plate.*

In Houſhold-ſtuffe, conſiſting of Braſs and Copper, fifty one thouſand, two hundred twenty five *Ropias*, or twenty five thouſand, ſix hundred twelve Crowns and a half. *25000. Crowns in Copper Veſſels.*

In Purcelane, and Veſſels of ſealed Earth, and others, to the value of two Millions, five hundred and ſeven thouſand, ſeven hundred forty ſeven *Ropias*, or, one Million, two hundred fifty three thouſand, eight hundred ſeventy three Crowns and a half. *1200000. Crowns in Purcelane.*

In Brocadoes, and other Stuffes of Gold and Silver, as alſo in thoſe of Silk and Cottons, and ſuch as come from *Perſia*, *Turkey* and *Europe*, and thoſe made in *Guzuratta*, fifteen Millions, five hundred and nine thouſand, nine hundred ſeventy nine *Ropias*, which amount to ſeven Millions, ſeven hundred fifty four thouſand, nine hundred eighty nine Crowns and a half. *Near eight Millions in Stuffes.*

In Woollen-clothes that came from *Europe*, *Perſia* and *Tartary*, five hundred and three thouſand, two hundred fifty two *Ropias*, or two hundred fifty one thouſand, ſix hundred twenty ſix Crowns. *In woollen Clothes 50000. Crowns.*

In Tents, Hangings, Tapiſtry, and other Houſhold-ſtuffe of that kind, as well for the City as the Country, nine Millions, nine hundred twenty five thouſand, five hundred forty five *Ropias*, which amount to four Millions, nine hundred ſixty two thouſand, ſeven hundred ſeventy two Crowns and a half. *9000000. in Tents, &c.*

Four and twenty thouſand Manuſcripts, ſo richly bound, that they were valued at ſix Millions, four hundred ſixty three thouſand, ſeven hundred thirty one *Ropias*; that is, three Millions, two hundred thirty one thouſand, eight hundred ſixty five Crowns and a half. *Above 3000000. in Books.*

In

1638. *Four Millions in Artillery.* In Artillery, Powder, Bullets, and other Ammunition, to the value of eight Millions, five hundred seventy five thousand, nine hundred seventy one *Ropias*, that is, four Millions, two hundred eighty seven thousand, nine hundred eighty five Crowns and a half.

Near four millions of Crowns in Arms. In defensive and offensive Armes, as Swords, Bucklers, Pikes, Bows, Arrows, &c. to the value of seven Millions, five hundred fifty five thousand, five hundred twenty five *Ropias*, which amount to three Millions, seven hundred seventy seven thousand, seven hundred fifty two Crowns and a half.

In Saddles and Harness 1200000. Crowns. In Saddles, Bridles and Stirrups, and other Harness belonging to Horses, of Gold and Silver, to the value of two Millions, five hundred twenty five thousand, six hundred forty eight *Ropias*, or one Million two hundred sixty two thousand, eight hundred twenty four Crowns.

In Coverings for Horses, 2500000. Crowns. In Covering-clothes for Horses and Elephants, embroidered with Gold, Silver and Pearls, five Millions of *Ropias*, which amount to two Millions, and five hundred thousand Crowns.

Amount in all to 17413793 Crowns. All these sums cast up together, come to three hundred forty eight Millions, two hundred twenty six thousand, three hundred eighty six *Ropias*; that is, one hundred seventy four Millions, a hundred and thirteen thousand, seven hundred ninety three Crowns.

But this came not any thing near the Treasure which *Scach Choram* was possessed of, at the time of my Travels in those Parts. This Wealth is more and more augmented every day, not so much out of the ordinary Revenue coming in from the great Kingdoms he hath, (in regard that as his ordinary Expence abates not any thing of his Treasure; so is it seldom seen that he increases it, by ought remaining at the years end of his Revenue) as by the Presents which are made him, and the Escheats falling to him at the death of great Lords and Favourites; who make the *Mogul* Heir to what they had gotten by his Favour, insomuch that the Children have no hope to enjoy ought of their Fathers Estates, either Real or Personal. For the *Mogul*'s Authority is such, and his Power so Absolute, that the Estates of all his Subjects are at his disposal; and thence it comes, that only his will decides all differences arising among them, they having no other Law, then implicitely to submit to what he ordains. He hath the absolute disposal of their Lives and Fortunes, and thence it is, that upon his meer Order and Command, the greatest Lords are dragg'd to Execution, and their Estates, Charges and Governments taken away from them.

No hereditary charge or dignity in the Mogul's Country. There is no hereditary Dignity in all his Country. That of *Rasgi*, or *Raja*, which he bestows rather upon the account of Merit then Birth, is Personal, as that of *Chan* in *Persia*, and is not deriv'd to Posterity, but by the recommendation of Vertue. Not that it is to be inferred hence, that the *Mogul* does exclude from Charges the Children of such as have done him good service; but he gives them lesser charges, by which they may advance themselves to the chiefest in the Kingdom, if either an extraordinary Vertue, or the Princes Favour call them thereto.

The chief Officers. The chiefest Offices of the Kingdom are those of principal *Visir*, which is somewhat like that of Chancellourship elsewhere; Chief of the Eunuchs, who is as it were Lord High Steward; the Treasurer, the principal Secretary of State; the General of the Elephants, and the Overseer of the Houshold-stuffe, Tents and precious Stones. These are of the Princes Privy Council, whereto is sometimes also called the *Couteval*, who is as it were the chief Judge, and commands the *Mogul*'s Guard. The Council sits in the night, from seven of the clock till nine, in a Hall, which they call *Gasalean*. No day almost passes, but the *Mogul* is to be seen, in the morning, at Sun-rising, at which time the Lords of the Court salute him with their *Patschach Salammet*; as also about Noon, when he comes to see the Beasts fight, and in the Evening, when he comes to a certain Window to behold the Sun-setting; with whom he retires himself with the noise of a great number of Drums and Timbrels, and the Acclamations of the people, who wish him a long and happy life.

The Mogul's Revenue. It is to be found among the Registers of the Kingdom, that only the Provinces of *Candahar*, *Cabul*, *Guzuratta*, *Cassimer*, *Barampour*, *Dely*, *Bengala*, *Agra*, *Orixa*, and some others, bring in of yearly Revenue, one hundred seventy four Millions, and five hundred thousand *Ropias*, which amount to fourscore and seven Millions, and two hundred and fifty thousand Crowns; and that the Province of *Guzuratta* alone is able to raise fourscore and ten thousand Horse; *Cambaya* twelve thousand; *Kabul* as many; *Orixa* fourscore thousand; and *Dely* one hundred and fifty thousand; besides those which may be raised out of the other Provinces, whereof I could get no certain Accompt. All this

Militia

Militia is divided into several Regiments, whereof some are of fifteen or twelve thousand Horse, which are for the Kings Sons, and the principal Persons of the Kingdom, who have also the Command of these Bodies, which consist of but two, three, or four thousand Horse. 1638

The *Mogul*, *Scach Choram*, when he went in Person, in the year 1630. against *Chan Chaan*, had an Army of one hundred forty four thousand and five hundred Horse, besides Elephants, Camels, Mules, and Horses for the Train. That Army was divided into four Brigades, which yet kept all together, that only excepted which was about the Kings Person at *Barampour*. The first was commanded by *Schaaft-Chan*, the Son of *Assaph-Chan*, and consisted of several Regiments, to wit, that of *Schaaft-Chan*, which was of five thousand Horse. 5000

That of his Father consisting also of five thousand Horse; all *Rasboutes*. 5000
Sadoch Chan. 3000
Myrsa Yedt Madaffer. 3000
Giasar Chan. 2500
Godia Saber. 2000
Seid Jaffer. 2100
Jafter Chan. 1000
Mahmud Chan. 1000
Alawerdi Chan. 2000
Safdel-Chan Badary. 700
Myrsa-Seer-Seid. 500
Baaker-Chan. 500

Whereto were added besides, four thousand six hundred *Mansebdars*, in several loose Companies. 4600

The second Body, under the Command of *Eradet-Chan*, consisted of the following Regiments.

That of *Eradet-Chan*, of 4000
Rau-Donda. 1000
Dorcadas. 1200
Kerous. 1200
Ram Tscheud Harran. 1200
Mustapha-Chan. 1000
Jakout-Chan. 2000
Killously. 3000
Sidi Fakir. 1000
Ecka Berkendas. 1000
Jogi-Rasgi, the Son of *Lala Berting*. 7000
Teluk-Tschaud. 400
Jakoet-Beg. 400

Three other Lords commanded each two hundred Horse. 600
Aganour, *Chabonecan*, *Babouchan*,
Seid-Camel, *Sidiali*, and *Sadaed-Chan*, each five hundred Horse. 3000

So that this Body consisted of 28000

The third Body, under the Command of *Raja Gedsing*, consisted of the following Regiments,

Raja-Gedsing. 3000
Raja-Bideldas. 3000
Oderam. 3000
Raja-Biemsor. 2000
Madosing, Son of *Ram Rattung*. 1000
Raja-Ros-Assou 1000
Badouria Raja-Bhozo. 1000
Raja-Kristensing. 1000
Raja Sour. 1000
Raja-TChetterfing. 500
Wauroup. 500
Raja-Odasing. 5000
And under several other *Rajas*. 4500

That Brigade, which was about the Kings Person at *Barampour*, and to be as it were a Reserve, consisted of one and forty thousand Horse; to wit,

Haddis and *Berken-Dasse*. 15000

1638.		
	Aſaph-Chan.	5000
	Rauratti.	4000
	Waſir-Chan.	3000
	Mabot-Chan.	3000
	Godia Abdul Heſſen.	3000
	Aftel-Chan.	2000
	Serdar-Chan.	2005
	Raja Jeſſing.	2000
	Feddey-Chan.	1000
	Jeſſer.	1000
	Mockly-Chan.	1000
	Serif-Chan.	1000
	Seid Allem.	1000
	Amiral.	1000
	Raja Ramdas.	1000
	Tork Taes-Chan.	1000
	Mier Jemla.	1000
	Myrſa Abdulac.	500
	Mahmud-Chan.	500
	Myrſa Maant Cher.	500
	Ghawaes-Chan.	1000
	Moried-Chan.	1000
	And under the Command of ſeveral other Lords, of their quality, whom they call *Ommeraudes.*	10000
	The total of the Horſe	62500

The Arms of the Cavalry The offenſive Arms of the Horſe are, the Bow, the Quiver, having in it forty or fifty Arrows, the Javeline, or a kind of long-headed-Pike, which they dart with great exactneſs, the Cymitar on one ſide, and the Ponyard on the other: and the defenſive is the Buckler, which they have alwayes hanging about their necks.

They have no Fire-Arms with Wheels, nor yet Fire-locks, but their Infantry are expert enough at the Musket. Thoſe among the Foot, who have no Muskets, have beſides their Bows and Arrows, a Pike ten or twelve foot long, with which they begin the fight, by darting it at the Enemy; inſtead of uſing it in oppoſition to the Horſe, as is done in *Europe*. Some among them have Coats of Mail about them, which come down to their knees: but there are very few make uſe of Head-pieces, in regard they would be very troubleſome, by reaſon of the exceſſive heats in thoſe parts. They know nothing of the diſtinction of Van-guard, main Battle, and Rear-guard, and underſtand neither Front nor File, nor make any Battalion, but fight confuſedly without any Order.

Obſerve no order in fighting.

Their greateſt ſtrength conſiſts in the Elephants, which carry on their backs certain Towers of Wood, wherein there are three or four Harquebuſes hanging by hooks, and as many Men to order that Artillery. The Elephants ſerve them for a Trench, to oppoſe the firſt attempt of the Enemy, but it often comes to paſs, that the Artificial Fires, which are made uſe of to frighten theſe Creatures, put them into ſuch a diſorder, that they do much more miſchief among thoſe who brought them to the Field, then they do among the Enemies. They have abundance of Artillery, and ſome conſiderable great Pieces, and ſuch as whereof it may be ſaid, the invention of them is as ancient as that of ours. They alſo make Gun-powder, but it is not fully ſo good as what is made in *Europe*. Their Timbrels and Trumpets are of Copper, and the noiſe they make, in order to ſome Military Action, is not undelightful. Their Armies do not march above five *Cos*, or Leagues, according to the meaſure of the Country, in a day; and when they encamp, they take up ſo great a quantity of ground, that they exceed the compaſs of our greateſt Cities.

Their Artillery.

The order of their Armies. In this they obſerve an admirable Order, inaſmuch as there is no Officer nor Souldier, but knows where he is to take up his Quarters; nor can there be any City more regularly divided into Streets, Markets and other publick places, for the greater communication and convenience of the Quarters, and for the diſtribution of Proviſions.

The *Mogul*, and the General of the Army, have their Tents pitched at a certain diſtance from thoſe of the reſt, nay, as far as a Musket will carry, from thoſe of their own Guards.

The Mogul's Guard. The *Mogul*'s ordinary Guard conſiſts of twelve thouſand men, beſides the ſix hundred, who are the particular Guard of the body, the Company whereof conſiſts of ſo many young

young men, whom he buyes, and cauſes to be exerciſed in Armes, that they may be perpetually about his Perſon. 1638

The *Raſgi*, *Rajas*, or *Radias*, are never advanced to that Dignity, but upon the ſcore of Merit. The *Mogul* beſtows it alſo on the Chancellour, or principal *Viſir*, who is the President of his Privy Councel, and as it were Vice-Roy of all his Dominions, inaſmuch as he it is who ſends Orders into all the Provinces of the Kingdom; and it is to him that all are to make their Addreſſes in all Affairs of importance. The King permits him not to receive any Preſents; yet does he not forbear taking them underhand, and his Secretaries and other Officers under him take them ſo openly, that there is no,ever ſo ſecret, tranſaction,but a man may have the particulars thereof, if he hath money to beſtow among thoſe who have the tranſcription and diſpatch of them. Theſe *Raſgi* have ſo great a Veneration for their King, that it were impoſſible for a man to approach things moſt ſacred with more ſubmiſſion, then they expreſs when they ſpeak to him. The diſcourſes they entertain him with are intermingled and interrupted with continual Reverences; and when they take their leave of him, they bow down their heads, put their hands over their eyes, thence afterwards upon their breaſts, and at laſt touch the ground therewith, to ſhew they are but duſt and aſhes in compariſon of him, wiſhing him all proſperity, and coming out of his preſence backwards. *The dignity of the Rajas.*

When the *Mogul* marches in Perſon in the head of his Army, or when he comes out of the City to go a hunting,or to take the Air, he is attended by above ten thouſand men. In the head of this little Army, there march above a hundred Elephants, with their covering Clothes of Scarlet, Velvet, or Brocadoe. Every Elephant carries two Men, one whereof governs and guides the Creature, by touching his forehead with an Iron-hook, the other carries a large Banner of Silk, embroidered with Gold and Silver; excepting only the ſeven or eight foremoſt, which carry each of them one that playes on the Timbrel. The King himſelf is mounted on an excellent *Perſian* Horſe, or goes in a Coach, drawn by two white Oxen, the Horns whereof, which are very large, are adorn'd with Gold; or ſome times he is carried by ſeveral men in a *Palanquin*, or kind of Sedan. The *Raſgi* and the Officers of the Court march after him, and have coming behind them five or ſix hundred Elephants, Camels or Waggons loaded with baggage. For the moſt part he takes up his Quarters in the Fields, where he cauſes his Tents to be pitched; which is done upon this account, that as on the one ſide there are but few Cities, where he might find neceſſary accommodations for the quarters and entertainment of the Court, ſo on the other, he takes a particular pleaſure in encamping, in the Summer time, in cool places; in the Winter, in hot places; inſomuch that he is in ſome ſort the Maſter of the Seaſons,as well as of all the other things which are ſubject to him. He commonly leaves *Agra* towards the end of *April*, and retires near *Lahor*, or ſome other more Northerly Province,where he paſſes over the moneths of *May*, *June*, *July* and *Auguſt*; and then he returns again to the place of his ordinary reſidence. *The Mogul's ordinary retinue.* *He changes the place of his abode according to the ſeaſons.*

The City of *Agra* is of ſuch extent and ſo populous, that were there a neceſſity, there might be rais'd out of it two hundred thouſand men able to bear Armes. There is no Nation in all the Eaſt, but hath ſome Commerce or other at this place; but moſt of the Inhabitants are *Mahumetans*, and all the Merchandizes that are imported into it, or exported out of it, pay ten in the hundred. *The City of Agra deſcribed.*

There are above forty ſmall Cities, and above three thouſand five hundred Villages that depend on the juriſdiction of *Agra*, which extends it ſelf above ſixſcore Leagues about. The Country is delightful and very fertile, producing abundance of Indico, Cotton, Salt-Peter and other things, wherewith the Inhabitants drive a vaſt Trade. There are two Feſtivals which are celebrated in this place, with extraordinary Ceremonies; one whereof is that of the firſt day of the year, which, with the *Perſians*, they call *Naurus*, *Nauros*, or *Noroſe*,which ſignifies *nine dayes*,though now it laſts eighteen at leaſt,and it falls at the moment that the Sun enters *Aries*.

In order to the celebration of this Feſtival, before the *Derbar*,or Kings Palace, there is erected a Theatre, fourteen foot high, fifty ſix in length, and forty in breadth; having all about it a row of Pillars after the manner of a Balcony, cover'd with rich Tapiſtry. Near this Theatre there is erected another building of painted wood, and embelliſh'd with Mother of Pearl, into which go ſome of the principal Lords about the Court, who nevertheleſs have their Tents pitch'd in the firſt Court of the Palace, filled with all they have that is rich and magnificent, whereof they make the greateſt Oſtentation they can that day: The Predeceſſors of this Prince,who now reigns,were wont to go into all theſe Tents,and to take thence any thing they liked; but now the Ceremony is otherwiſe. For the King accompanied by the ſeven Miniſters of State, go up into the Theatre, where he ſits upon *How the Mogul celebrates the firſt day of the year.*

1638. Velvet Cushions, enbroidered with Gold and Pearls, and stayes for the Presents which are to be made to him. The Queen is in a certain Gallery, whence she sees all the Ceremony, yet is not seen her self. Departing thence, he sits upon his Ordinary Throne, where he receives the Presents of the people, which he continues to do for eighteen dayes together. Towards the end of the Festival, the King in his turn makes his Presents to the Lords, which consists in Charges, Employments, and new Honours, which he distributes among those that have given him most.

The Festival of the Mogul's birth-day.

The *Mogul*'s birth-day is celebrated with the Ceremonies following. He begins the day with all manner of divertisements; which over, he goes to the Palace of the Queen his Mother, if she be living, and causes many Presents to be made her by the Grandees of his Kingdom. After dinner he puts on the richest clothes he hath, and covers himself all over with Gold and precious Stones, and being thus rather loaden then adorn'd with inestimable wealth, he goes into a Tent, where he is expected by the Lords of the Court, in which finding a pair of Scales, he weighs himself. These Scales are of massy Gold, as are also the Chains by which they hang, and are all beset with precious Stones. He puts himself into one of the Scales, and into the other there are put several bags of Silver, one bag of Gold, some precious Stones, some pieces of Silk-stuffs, Linnen cloath, Pepper, Cloves, Nutmeg and Cinnamon, Wheat, Pulse and Herbs, and there is an exact account kept of the difference of weight there may be between one year and another. The King gives away with his own hands, all the money among the poor, and the rest are bestowed on the *Benjans*. That done, the King seats himself in his Throne, and causes to be cast among the Grandees, Nuts, Pistachoes, Almonds, and several other Fruits of Gold, but so finely wrought, that a thousand of them weighed not thirty Crowns. This some would boggle much to admit for a Truth; yet certain it is that it hath been seen, that the value of ten Crowns bestowed in these trifles, filled a great Basin of them; so that all the liberality of this powerful Monarch could not amount to a hundred Crowns. The Festival is concluded with a great Feast, at which the *Mogul* entertains the Lords of his Court, with whom he passes away the night in drinking.

Another Mahumetan Feast.

They celebrate also another Festival, which they begin ten dayes after the new Moon of the moneth of *July*, much after the same manner as the *Persians* celebrate their *Aschur*. The *Indians* observe this Festival in honour of two Brethren, named *Janze*, and *Jawze*, servants to *Haly*, who being gone in Pilgrimage to a particular place of Devotion, upon the Coast of *Coromandel*, the *Bramans*, and other Pagans of those parts set upon them, and forc'd them to retreat into a Castle, where they besieg'd them: These holy Persons maintain'd the Siege a long time; but being resolv'd not to drink of the Water which the Pagans had prophan'd by casting a Lizard into it, a Creature for which the *Mahumetans* have an aversion, because of its uncleanness, they took a resolution to make a sally upon the besiegers, and killed many of them, but at last they were overcome by the great number of their enemies, who left them dead upon the place. There are carried about the City, Coffins covered with Bows and Arrows, Turbants, Cymitars, and Garments of Silk, which the people accompany with sobbings and lamentations, in commemoration of the death of those holy Persons. Some among them dance at the Ceremony, others strike their Swords one against another; nay, there are those who cut and slash themselves, so as that the bloud comes out in several places, wherewith they rub their clothes, and by that means represent a very strange procession. Towards night they set up several Figures of men, made of Straw, to personate the Murtherers of those Saints; and having shot a great many Arrows at them, they set them on fire, and reduce them to ashes. And this they do with so much fury and animosity, that should there be any of the Pagans in the Streets at that time, they would run the hazard of their lives; whence it comes, that during these Ceremonies, they stir not out of their houses.

The *Mahumetans* of those parts celebrate also another Feast in the moneth of *June*, in memory of the sacrifice of *Abraham*, at which they kill He-Goats, which they eat at the Entertainments they make among themselves that day.

The Mogul comes from Tamerlan.

Certain it is, that the *Mogul* stands very much upon his descent, in a direct and masculine line, from *Temirlanque*, that is to say, *Temir*, *the lame*, who is commonly called *Tamerlan*, who was of the Family of *Chinguis-Chan*, King of *Tartary*. *Seach Choram*, who was living at my being in those parts, was a younger Son of *Seach Jahan's*, and had usurped the Crown from Prince *Polagi*, his Nephew, whom we found at *Casvin* at our coming into *Persia*. He might be then about sixty years of Age, and had three Sons, whereof the Elder was about 25. years of age; but he had not the affection he should have had for him, since it was his intention to have the youngest declar'd Heir of the Crown of *Indosthan*, and to leave the two elder Brethren the command of certain Provinces. The initials of his

his Government had been cruel and bloudy, but he was very much reclaim'd from those courses, though he yet ever and anon betrayed his inclinations to severity, in the torments he put those persons to who were guilty of High Treason, whom he caused to be flead alive, or torn in pieces by wild Beasts. In other things he was of an humour good enough, being a great lover of Entertainments, Musick and Dancing, especially that of common Prostitutes, who often danced stark naked in his presence, and diverted him by all manner of extravagant postures. 1638. *The inniall of his Government cruel.*

The *English* told me a Story, which I think so pleasant, that I shall not think it much to digress so far as to insert it here. This King had a particular affection for a certain *Rasgi*, who upon the account of his courage, and the pleasantness of his conversation, was grown so considerable about the Court, that there hardly passed a day, but the King sent for him. One day the King asking some that were about him, why that Lord was not come to the Court; and answer being made him, that he had taken Physick, he sent to him a company of those Women-dancers, and commanded them to strip themselves stark naked, and to ease their Natures before him. The *Rasgi* having notice brought him of their arrival, ordered them to be conducted to his Chamber, imagining the *Mogul* had sent them purposely to give him some divertisement; but understanding what they were ordered to do, and perceiving thereby that the King was in a good humour, and desirous to make himself sport, he resolved to put a trick upon him, and so to laugh at those who would have laughed at him. *A pleasant story of the Mogul.*

Having ask'd the Women-dancers what commands the King had laid upon them, and heard their answer, he afterwards asked them whether they were ordered to do any thing else, and being inform'd they had order to do nothing but what they had told him before, he bid them put the Kings Command in execution with all the exactness they could, but that they should have a special care not to exceed it by doing any thing more, telling them, that if they pis's'd the least drop while they did their other business, he would have them whipp'd till the bloud came. Not one of them would expose her self to that danger; so that they thereupon returned to the Court, where they gave the King an account how they had been entertain'd by the *Rasgi*. The *Mogul* was so taken with the pleasant trick which the *Rasgi* had put upon him, that it put him into the best humour in the world.

His ordinary divertisement every day was to see the combats of Lyons, Bulls, Elephants, Tigers, Leopards, and other wild Beasts, an argument of his cruel Nature, and bloudy Disposition, which his perpetual seeing of this kind of combats did much heighten. He also took a delight in seeing Men ingag'd with Beasts, but this was not but with their own consent; and such as would venture their lives, out of a hope to gain that reputation of Courage as should prove the raising of their Fortunes, were to make use of no Arms but Sword and Buckler. This puts me in mind of a Combat which *Scach Choram* ordered to be had, at the conclusion of a great Entertainment which he had made on the Birth-day of his Son, who was King of *Bengala*, in a *Caravansera* without the City, at which place were kept to this purpose all sorts of wild Beasts. This *Caravansera* had adjoyning to it a spacious Garden encompassed with a wall, upon which the people were come to see that divertisement. The first engagement was that of a wild Bull and a Lyon; and the next, that of a Lyon and a Tiger. *The Mogul's divertisement.*

As soon as the Tiger perceiv'd the Lyon, he went straight towards him, and closing with him with all his strength, got him down. 'Twas generally believed, it would be no hard matter for the Tiger to make an end of the Lyon; but the Lyon immediately recover'd himself, and took the Tiger so fast by the throat that he was thought dead: yet he made a shift to disingage himself, and the combat was renewed with greater fury then before, till at last wearines made both give over. They were both very much hurt, but the wounds were not mortal on either side. Upon this, *Allæmerdi-Chan*, Governour of *Chisemar*, who stood near the King, came forth and said, that *Schach Choram* was desirous to see, whether there were among his Subjects, any one that had so much courage, as to engage with any of those Beasts, and that only with a Sword and Buckler, and that he who durst attempt it should appear, that the *Mogul*, having been an ocular witnes of his worth, might accordingly requite it, and honour him, not only with his favour, but also with the quality of *Chan*. Upon which Proposition, three *Indosthans* proffering to undertake the engagement, *Allæmerdy-Chan* told them further, that the Kings meaning was, that whoever should undertake the Combat, should do it only with Sword and Buckler; and that it was his pleasure, that those who had any Coats of Mail about them, should put them off, that the Combat might be without any advantage. *A combat between a Lyon and a Tiger.*

Upon these terms a furious Lyon was let forth, who perceiving his Adversary coming into

1638. into the place, made immediately towards him. The *Indoſthan* made his party good very ſtoutly, till at laſt, no longer able to bear the weight of the Beaſt, which lay very heavy upon him on the left hand, he began to let fall his Buckler, which the Lyon endeavour'd all he could to force from him, while with his left paw, he would have faſtned on his enemies right arm, and ſo have ſeiz'd him by the throat, when the Man, putting his hand to his Girdle, pull'd out a Dagger, and thruſt it ſo far into the Lyons jaws, that he was forced to let go his hold, and get away. The Man followed him, and giving him a blow over the mouth laid him all along, and afterwards kill'd him. The people made acclamations for his happy victory over the Lyon; but as ſoon as the noiſe was over, the *Mogul* call'd the *Indoſthan* to him, and with an angry ſmile ſaid to him, *It muſt needs be confeſs'd thou art a valiant man, and that thou haſt fought very gallantly. But had I not forbidden thee to engage againſt this Beaſt with any advantage? And had I not appointed what Arms thou ſhouldſt make uſe of? And yet thou haſt done contrary to my Order, and haſt not overcome my Lyon as a Perſon of Honour, but haſt ſurpriz'd him with forbidden Arms, and ſo haſt killed him as a murtherer; and not as a declar'd enemy.* Whereupon he commanded two men to go down into the Garden, and to rip up his belly; which was immediately put in execution, and the Corps was ſet upon an Elephant to be carried through the City, to ſerve for an example to others.

A Combat between a Man and a Tiger.

He who, upon this Tragedy, came next into play, went with an undaunted courage towards a Tiger, which he was to engage with, in ſo much that his deportment was ſuch as raiſed in the minds of the Spectators a certain confidence of his obtaining the Victory. But the Tigre, who it ſeems was too cunning for his Adverſary, faſtened on his throat, killed him, and tore his body in pieces.

A third Combat.

The third Champion that came upon the Stage, inſtead of being any way frightned at the misfortune of his two Camrades, came very chearfully and couragiouſly into the Garden, and went ſtraight towards the Tiger, who fleſh'd with the precedent ſucceſs, run at his Adverſary, with a deſign to make quick work with him; but the *Indoſthan*, though a man of low ſtature, and a wretched countenance, ſtruck off at one blow the two fore-paws of the Beaſt, and having by that means got him down, he ſoon diſpatch'd him.

Courage rewarded.

The King immediately ask'd him his name; whereto he made anſwer that it was *Geily*; whereupon there came in a Gentleman, who preſenting him from the *Mogul* with a Garment of Brocadoe, ſaid to him, Geily, *receive this Garment from my hands, as an aſſurance of the Kings favour, who ſends it thee as a pledge thereof. Geily*, having made ſeveral low reverences, putting the Garment to his eyes and breaſt, and afterwards holding it in the Air, and having made a ſhort Prayer to himſelf, he at laſt pronounc'd aloud to this effect; *My Prayers to God are, that the* Mogul's *glory may be equal to that of* Tamerlan, *from whom he is deſcended; may his Arms proſper; may his Wealth be increaſed; may he live ſeven hundred years, and may his Houſe be eſtabliſhed for ever.* Upon this there came to him two Eunuchs, who conducted him to the Kings Chamber, at the entrance whereof, two *Chans* took him between them, and ſo brought him to the Kings feet. After he had kiſs'd them, and was riſing up, the *Mogul* ſaid to him; *It muſt be confeſſed*, Geily-Chan, *that thou haſt done a very great and glorious Action. I beſtow on thee that name and quality which thou ſhalt enjoy for ever. I will be thy Friend, and thou ſhalt be my ſervant.* Thus was the doing of a ſingle Action the Foundation of a mans Fortune, who was not ſo much as known before, but grew famous afterwards, by the Charges he had in the *Mogul*'s Armies.

Mandelſlo diſcovered to have kill'd an Indoſthan *at* Iſpahan.

It was my deſign to make a little longer ſtay at *Agra*; but there happened an accident which oblig'd me to change my Reſolution, nay, forc'd me to leave a place where I thought my life in danger. For being one day fallen into diſcourſe with the *Perſian* ſervant, who ran away from me at *Surat*, I perceiv'd coming towards me an *Indoſthan*, a perſon of a goodly preſence, and as far as I could judge, of quality, who immediately asked me whence I came, and what buſineſs I had in thoſe parts. I made him anſwer, that I was an *Europæan*, that I came from *Germany*, and that the deſire I had to ſee the Court of the moſt powerful Monarch in all the Eaſt, had brought me thither. He told me, that if he were not much miſtaken, he had ſeen me at *Iſpahan*, and that queſtionleſs I was the perſon that had kill'd a Kinſman of his at the Engagement which had happened between the *Indians* and the *Germans*. This diſcourſe had almoſt put me out of countenance; but upon a little recollection I told him, that I had never been in *Perſia*, and that I came from *England* by Sea to *Surat*, which the two *Engliſh* Merchants, who were then in my company, affirmed to be true. But he who did me the greateſt kindneſs in this extremity, was my old *Perſian* ſervant, who ſwore by his *Mahomed*, and by his *Haſſein*, that what I had told him was nothing but the truth. Whereupon the *Indoſthan* went away, but diſcover'd by his deportment, that he gave not over-much credit to what we had ſaid: and for my part,

I conceiv'd it but prudence to be diſtruſtful of a man who had expreſſed his good will, had there been occaſion, to do me a miſchief, and would no doubt have revenged his Kinſmans death, of which my conſcience told me I was guilty. 1638.

Upon theſe reflections I left *Agra*, with a *Caffila*, or *Caravan*, that was going to the City of *Labor*, which lies ſixty Leagues further into the Country. I had the company of two *Dutch* Merchants, and our travelling was ſo much the more pleaſant, in that our way was but one continued Alley, drawn in a ſtreight line, and planted on both ſides with Date-trees, Palm-trees, *Cocos*-trees, and other kind of Fruit-trees, which gave us a continual refreſhing ſhade againſt the heat of the Sun. The ſumptuous Houſes which were to be ſeen up and down the Country, the Apes, Peacocks, Parrats and other Birds found us very much ſport. One day with a Piſtol-ſhot I kill'd a great Serpent, which I met with in the way, and afterwards a Leopard and a Roe-buck: but the *Benjans*, of whom there were many in our company, took it very ill at my hands, and reproach'd me with my cruelty, in that I deprived thoſe Creatures of a life which it was not in my power to give them, and which God had not beſtow'd on them, but that he might be thereby glorified: in ſo much that when ever I handled my Piſtol, they either expreſs'd their trouble to ſee me take a pleaſure in violating, in their preſence, the Laws of their Religion; or they intreated me, for their ſakes, not to kill them, and when I had made them underſtand, that I would in any thing comply with their deſires, they, on the other ſide, had all the kindneſs imaginable for me. *Leaves Agra.*

The Country about *Labor* is very fertile, and brings forth all ſorts of Fruits, as alſo Wheat and Rice in abundance, much beyond any other Province of that great Kingdom. The City is ſituated at 32. degrees, 30. minutes elevation, upon the little River *Ravy*, or *Ravée*, which, with four other Rivers, falls into the *Indus*, which upon that occaſion is called *Pangab*, or five-waters, as we have ſaid elſewhere. It is very delightfully ſeated, eſpecially towards the River, on which ſide it hath many fair Gardens. The Kings Palace is within the City, from which it is divided by a high Wall, and hath many ſpacious Appartments. There are alſo many other Palaces and great Houſes, for the reception of thoſe Lords who ordinarily follow the Court. And in regard moſt of the Inhabitants are *Mahumetans*, there is in this City alſo a great number of *Metzids*, or *Moſqueys*, and bathing places, for their ordinary Purifications. I had the curioſity to go into one of their Baths, to obſerve their way of bathing. I took along with me my Interpreter, who was by Profeſſion a Broker, and went into one of their Baths, which was built according to the *Perſian* manner, with a flat Roof, and had ſeveral Partitions, which were made all half round, very narrow at the entrance, and broad at the bottom, having each of them a door by it ſelf, and two Receptacles or *Tankes* of Free-ſtone, into which the Water was let in by brazen Cocks, to ſuch height as thoſe who came to bathe themſelves deſired it. After bathing, I was ordered to ſit down a while, and then I was laid down upon a Stone ſeven or eight foot in length, and four in breadth, in which poſture the Maſter of the Bath rubb'd me all over with a Hair-cloth. He would alſo have rubb'd the ſoles of my feet with a handful of Sand; but perceiving I was not able to endure it, he ask'd me whether I were a *Chriſtian*, and having underſtood that I was, he gave me the Hair-cloath, that I might rub my feet my ſelf, though he had made no difficulty to rub all the reſt of my body. This done, there came into the Bath a little ſhort Fellow, who laid me all along on the belly upon the ſame ſtone, and rubb'd my back with his hands from the back-bone down to the ſides, telling me, that bathing would do me but little good, if I ſuffered not the bloud, which might haply lye corrupted in that place, to be by that rubbing diſperſed through all the other members. *Lahor deſcribed.* *The Baths of the Mahumetans.*

I found not any thing remarkable about *Labor*, but one of the Kings Gardens, which lies two dayes journey diſtant from it. I had, as a further diverſion in this ſhort piece of my Travels, this, that in two dayes I rode on four ſeveral Creatures: For at firſt I had a Mule, then a Camel, then an Elephant, and at laſt an Oxe, whoſe trotting was the hardeſt of any beaſt that ever I beſtrid, lifting up his hoofs as high as the ſtirrop, and carrying me between ſix and ſeven Leagues in leſs then four hours. I ſhould have made ſome longer ſtay at *Labor*, but receiving Letters from *Agra*, I was forc'd to come away upon this account, that the *Engliſh* Preſident intended very ſuddenly to embark in order to his return for *England*, whereupon I put my ſelf into the company of certain *Indian* Merchants, who were then upon their return to *Amadabath*.

At my coming to *Amadabath*, the Director of the *Engliſh* Commerce told me, that he had received Orders from the Preſident to make as ſtrong a *Caffila* as he could poſſibly, and to come with all expedition to *Surat*. I there met alſo with Letters from the Preſident, whereby I underſtood, that he only expected the *Caffila's* of *Agra* and *Amadabath*, and that *Returns to Amadabath.*

1638. that he would depart as ſoon as they were come. He writ to me further, that being within a few dayes after to reſign his Preſidentſhip to another, whom his Superiour had appointed to receive it; and there being to be a great entertainment and feaſting at that Ceremony, he ſhould be glad I were preſent thereat.

Fire works. During my ſtay at *Amadabath*, the *Mahumetans* celebrated a Feaſt, which was concluded at night with very noble Fire-works. The Windows of all the Houſes that ſtand in the *Meidan* were beſet with Lamps, before which were placed Veſſels of Glaſs, fill'd with Waters of ſeveral colours, which made a very delightful proſpect. Upon the ſame *Meidan*, before the Kings Palace, there are two low Houſes, of which there is little uſe made but at this Feaſt, it being the place whither the *Sulthan* and the Lords of the Court retire themſelves, while fire is ſet to the Works, which conſiſted of Squibs, Crackers, and other ingenious inventions. Some had faſten'd Lamps to certain Wheels, which hung on, though the Wheels turn'd about perpetually with great violence.

Returns to Surat. As ſoon as the *Caffila* of *Agra* was come to *Amadabath*, I took leave of my friends, and went along with a *Caravan* of a hundred Waggons.

The firſt day we travell'd twelve *Cos*, or ſix Leagues, to the City of *Mamadabath*. The next day, I went before with the Director of the Commerce at *Amadabath*, who, with his Second, was deſirous to be preſent at the Reſignation which the Preſident was to make of his place. We were four in company, and we took along with us four Waggons, two Horſes, and twenty foot Souldiers for our Guard, leaving Order that the *Caffila* ſhould follow us with all expedition.

Perſons of quality have Banners carried before them. The foot Souldiers, who carried our Arms and Banners, made a ſhift nevertheleſs to keep pace with us. What I ſay concerning the Banners, relates to the cuſtom of the *Indies*, where there are no perſons of any quality but have a Banner, or a kind of Colours, ſuch as Cornets uſe, carried before them. That day we croſs'd the River *Waſſet*, and took up our Quarters at night in the Fort of *Saſelpour*. There we met with the Factor of *Brodra*, whoſe name was Mr. *Pansfield*, who treated us very magnificently the next day at the place of his reſidence. We went thence in the evening, and lodg'd the night following in a great Garden, and the next day we proſecuted our journey. In the evening we encamped hard by a *Tanque*, called *Sambord*; and in regard we had not met with any fair Water all that day, we endeavour'd to get ſome out of the *Tanque*. But the Country people fearing we might conſume all the Water, there coming in at the ſame time a *Dutch Caffila* of two hundred Waggons, would not ſuffer us to come near it. Whereupon we commanded out fifteen of our foot Souldiers, with expreſs order to bring ſome Water, if not by fair means, by force. But coming to the *Tanque*, they found it guarded by thirty armed Men, and ſuch as were reſolv'd to maintain it, and to hinder any from taking of the Water. However our Men went very reſolutely towards them with their Swords drawn, upon which, without any diſpute at all, the Country people ran away; but while ours were drawing Water, the *Indians* ſhot a certain number of Arrows, and diſcharg'd three Muskets among them, and wounded five perſons. Ours exaſperated at that, kill'd three of the Country people, whom we ſaw afterwards carried to the Village.

An Engagement with the Country people.

An Engagement with the Rasboutes. While we were at Supper, there came in to us one of the *Dutch* Merchants, who told us, that there had been ſeen two hundren *Rasboutes* upon our way, who had committed ſeveral robberies for ſome dayes before, and that the very day before they had kill'd ſix men within a League of the Village, near which we were then lodg'd. The *Dutch Caffila* went away about midnight, and we follow'd it immediately after. But we had not gone far beyond it, ere we diſcover'd one of thoſe *Holacueurs*, who are wont to march in the head of the *Caffilas*, and before Troops of Horſe, and ſerve inſtead of Trumpeters, by ſounding a certain Inſtrument of Braſs, much longer then our ordinary Trumpets. As ſoon as he perceiv'd us, he ſlipp'd into the Wood, where he fell a ſounding as loud as ever he could, which we took for an aſſured Alarm that it would not be long ere they ſet upon us. Accordingly, almoſt ere we could reſolve how to make our party good againſt them, we ſaw coming out of all ſides of the Wood, a great number of *Rasboutes*, arm'd with ſhort Pikes, Bucklers, Bows and Arrows, but without any Fire-arms. We had the time to charge thoſe we had, which were four Fire-locks and three pair of Piſtols. The Merchant and I got on horſeback, and beſtow'd the Fire-locks among thoſe who were in the Coach, with expreſs order not to fire till they were ſure to do execution. Our Fire-arms were charged with ſquare pieces of Steel, and the *Rasboutes* came on in ſo cloſe a body, that at the firſt firing we ſaw three fall. They ſhot certain Arrows at us, wherewith they hurt an Oxe and two foot Souldiers. One was ſhot into the Pommel of my Saddle, and the *Engliſh* Merchant had another ſhot into his Turbant. The *Dutch Caffila* hearing the noiſe, commanded out ten Souldiers; but ere they could come in to our relief, we run a great

great hazard of our lives. For I was ſet upon on all ſides, and was thruſt twice with a Pike into my Buff-collar, which certainly ſav'd my life that day. There came two of the *Rasboutes* ſo near as to lay hold on my bridle, after they had kill'd two of my foot Souldiers, and were going to carry me away priſoner. But I diſpatch'd one of them with a Piſtol-ſhot, which I gave him in the ſhoulder, and the *Engliſh* Merchant came in to my relief, and behav'd himſelf with as much gallantry as it was poſſible man could do. The ten foot Souldiers belonging to the *Dutch Caffila* being come in, and the *Caffila* it ſelf not much behind them, the *Rasboutes* got into the Wood, leaving ſix men kill'd upon the place, and carrying along with them many hurt. On our ſide we had two foot Souldiers kill'd, and eight wounded, beſides whom, the *Engliſh* Merchant had alſo received a ſlight wound. From that time we kept along with the *Caffila*, marching in very good order, out of an imagination we had that the *Rasboutes* would be ſure to ſet on us a ſecond time: but we heard no more of them, and came about noon to *Broitſchia*, where we ſtayed till the evening. We departed thence about four of the clock that ſame day, in order to our croſſing the River, and that we might get five *Cos* further to the Village of *Onclaſſer*, where we lodg'd that night; and the next day, being the 26. of *DECEMBER*, we got to *Surat*. 1638.

At my return to *Surat*, I found in the *Engliſh* Lodge above fifty Merchants, whom the Preſident had ſummon'd out of all the other Factories, to give an account of their Adminiſtration, and to be preſent at the change of Government. This Aſſembly conſiſted of the perſons following, *viz.* Mr. *Metwold*, the then Preſident, Mr. *Fremling*, who was to ſucceed him in that charge, five Conſuls from ſeveral places of the *Indies*, three Miniſters, two Phyſitians, and twenty five Merchants. *Comes to Surat.*

Being all met together, the Preſident made an excellent Speech, to give the Aſſembly then preſent his hearty thanks, for the many expreſſions he had received of their fidelity and affection during his Government, as alſo for the honour and reſpects they had rendred the *Eaſt-India* Company in his perſon, and to intreat them to continue the ſame towards Mr. *Fremling*, to whom he had received Order to reſign up his charge, exhorting them in all things to do that which conduced moſt to the reputation and advantage of the Company. Having ended his Speech, he delivered Mr. *Fremling* the Letters Patents, by vertue whereof he was to aſſume that new Charge, and made him a ſhort Complement upon that occaſion. *The Engliſh Preſident reſigns his charge.*

This Ceremony ended, they went to their Garden without the City, where Mr. *Metwold* had prepar'd a magnificent entertainment, conſiſting of whatever the Country afforded that was excellent and rare, as alſo a ſet of *Engliſh* Muſick, Violins; another of *Mahumetan*, and a third of *Benjan*, which for our further divertiſement, was accompanied by the Women-dancers of the Country. All which being over, Order was immediately given, that thoſe Ships which were fully loaden, ſhould make all neceſſary Proviſions for their return, and we began to make all things ready for our Voyage.

December 28. There came to *Surat* a *Sultan*, ſent thither by the *Mogul*, to ſucceed him whom I had found there at my Arrival. The new Preſident went half a League out of the City to meet him, accompanied by five of the chiefeſt Merchants, who intreated me to go along with them. The *Sultan* had marching before him ſeveral foot Souldiers, and a certain number of *Palanquins*, and after them an Elephant, upon which a Man carried a Banner of red Taffata. After the Elephant came above a hundred foot Souldiers, and after them twenty other Souldiers, carrying every one a little Banner, much like thoſe of our Cornets, of ſeveral Colours. Theſe march'd immediately before the *Sultan*, who was mounted upon a gallant *Perſian* Horſe, and attended by ſeveral Perſons of quality, and a great number of Men on horſeback. On one ſide of him went a Page with a great Plume of Feathers, which ſerv'd for a Fan to keep off the heat of the Sun, and he had carried behind him his own *Palanquin*, which was all gilt. His name was *Myrſa Mahmuda*, one with whom the new Preſident had been acquainted long before. Having accompanied him to his Palace, amidſt the Acclamations of the people, which throng'd in the Streets to congratulate his Arrival, he return'd to his own houſe. *The Sultan's entrance into Surat.*

Immediately upon the eſtabliſhment of the new Preſident, all the other Officers and Merchants departed one after another to the places of their ordinary Reſidence, and the Ships were ordered to make all things ready to ſet ſail. They were the *Mary* and the *Swan*; but there were to go along with them two other Veſſels, one whereof, being too old to get home into *England*, was to be ſold at *Goa*, where the Preſident was to touch in his way; and the other was bound for the ſame place, to receive fifty thouſand Ryals, which the *Portuguez* were to pay, in execution of the Treaty of Peace they had made with the *Engliſh*, to be imployed in the *Indies*, according as the Preſident of *Surat* ſhould diſpoſe thereof.

1638. The *Swan* had Orders to set sail ten dayes before us, and to stay for us at the *Cape of good hope*. But ere we leave *Surat*, it will not be amiss to give that account of the Kingdom of *Guzuratta*, wherein that famous City of Trade lies, which we promised elsewhere.

How the Mogul came to unite the Kingdom of Guzuratta to his Crown

We call it the Kingdom of *Guzuratta*, in regard it is not above 120. years since the *Mogul* united it to his Crown, upon occasion of the King of *Guzuratta*'s minority, who then reigned. For then *Sulthan Mamoêt*, who died about the year 1545. left only one Son, named *Madofher*, who being but about eleven or twelve years of age, was put under the Guardianship of *Ehamet-Chan*, his Fathers Favourite. This Guardian perceiving, that his young Master was not in a condition to protect him from the envy of those Grandees, who had highly express'd their dissatisfaction with his Administration of the Government, and considering with himself, that he stood in need of a more powerful Protection, made his Applications to *Achobar* the *Mogul*, or King of *Indosthan*, and intreated him to come in to the relief of his Ward, promising to deliver up *Amadabath*, the chief City of the Kingdom, into his hands. *Achobar* thought it no prudence to neglect so favourable an occasion, and so immediately entred *Guzuratta* with a powerful Army; but instead of contenting himself with the City of *Amadabath*, he became absolute Master of the whole Kingdom, and carried away *Madofher* and his Guardian Prisoners to *Agra*. *Madofher* being come to thirty years of age, and beginning to reflect on the misfortune of his Captivity, which he saw must be perpetual, combin'd with one of the most considerable Lords of *Guzuratta*, who put him into possession of certain Cities of his Kingdom, such as lay at the greatest distance from the Frontiers of the *Mogul*; but they gave him not the time to settle himself therein. For *Achobar* immediately sent an Army thither, under the command of *Chan-Channa*, who recovered the whole Kingdom in less then a year, prevented *Madofher* from making his escape, and took him prisoner. This unfortunate Prince, reflecting on the Affronts which would be put upon him at his coming to *Agra*, and fearing that *Achobar* would put him to death, chose rather to prevent him, and being got to a certain place alone, under pretence of doing some necessities of Nature, cut his own throat.

The Governour of Amadabath is Viceroy of all Guzuratta.

The *Mogul* governs the Kingdom of *Guzuratta* by a Viceroy, or Governour General, who hath his ordinary Residence at *Amadabath*, in such manner, as that all the other Governours are oblig'd to give him an account of their Administration, and to receive Orders from him. His power is in a manner absolute: For, though in the judgment of Civil Causes, as also when he consults about affairs of Importance, he advises with some of the principal Lords of the Country, and of his Court; yet can it not be said, that he hath any settled Council, but takes their Propositions, rather to discover their Sentiments, then to follow them: Insomuch, that if his imployment were settled for a certain number of years, he would have no cause to envy the greatness of the *Mogul* himself. But this Government depends meerly on the Kings pleasure, who takes occasion often to change the Governours; as on the other side, they knowing that the least Order from the Court may dispossess them, let slip no occasion of making their advantages, and receiving from all hands, especially near the time they expect to be recall'd. For then they make it their business to get excessive sums of money out of the richest Merchants in the Country; especially those of the City of *Amadabath*, who are forc'd to clear themselves of false Accusations, which they had not been charged withall, but to squeeze them of some part of their Estates, inasmuch as the Governour being supreme Judge of all Causes, as well Civil as Criminal, they must either expect certain destruction, or satisfie the Governours avarice.

His magnificence.

There is no King in *Europe* hath so noble a Court as the Governour of *Guzuratta*, nor any that appears in publick with greater magnificence. He never comes abroad, but he is attended by a great number of the Nobility, and his Guards both Horse and Foot, having marching before him a great many Elephants, with their covering Cloaths of Brocadoe, or Velvet embroidered, Banners, Drums, Trumpets and Timbrels. In his Palace he is served as a King, and permits not any to come within his Lodgings, till they have demanded audience. He makes his advantages of all the Levies and Impositions which are made in his Government, so that in a short time he becomes Master of incredible wealth, especially by means of the third part of all the Arable Lands which belong to the King; and are assign'd to the Governour for the maintenance of a body of Horse, which he is oblig'd to defray, but comes much short of the number it should be of.

Hath the disposal of all the Revenue of the Kingdom.

What the Revenue of Guzuratta amounts to.

The Revenue of the Kingdom of *Guzuratta* amounted heretofore to eighteen Millions of Gold, not accounting the Customs of *Brodra* and *Broitschia*, which brought in yearly near eight hundred thousand Crowns. This Country hath no Enemy it need stand in fear of; but the Mountains of those parts are the retyring places of certain

Radias,

Radias, or petty Princes, who live only upon rapine, and the incurſions their Subjects make upon the *Mogul*'s Territories, who with all his great power is not able to force them out of thoſe inacceſſible places. Beſides theſe, there are alſo certain companies of Robbers, or *Tories*, who ſometimes makes up a body of three or four hundred Men, to rob upon the High-way, inſomuch that travelling cannot be without danger, unleſs ſo many travel together as can in ſome meaſure make their party good againſt the attempts of thoſe Villains, who are ſo much the more eaſily defeated, by reaſon of their having no fire-Armes. 1638.

The *Conteval* is he who judges of Affairs of leſſer Conſequence; but the adminiſtration of Juſtice amongſt them is very pleaſant, in as much as he who complains firſt moſt commonly gets the better of it, ſo that it may be truly ſaid among them, according to the Proverb, that *who bears away the blows, payes for the bloud-whip*. Capital crimes are judged by the Governours of the ſeveral Cities, who cauſe their Sentences to be put in execution by the *Conteval*. There is in a manner no crime, whereof a Man may not avoid the puniſhment by Money, ſo that it may be ſaid of thoſe parts with greater reaſon then of any other, that Gibbets are ſet up only for the unfortunate. The Crimes puniſhed with greateſt ſeverity are, Murther and Adultery, eſpecially when it happens to have been committed with a Gentlewoman of any Quality. Upon which account it is that they permit Brothel-houſes, all which pay a certain Tribute to the *Conteval*, who in requital protects them ſo well, that it is not only ſafe, but alſo honourable for any man to frequent them. *The Adminiſtration of Juſtice.*

We have already given a Catalogue of the principal Cities of *Guzuratta*, as *Amadabath*, *Cambaya*, *Surat*, *Brodra*, *Broitſchia*, *&c.* All which we paſſed through in our Travels, ſo that it remains only, that we give a ſhort account of the other more inconſiderable places of the Kingdom. *The other Cities of Guzuratta.*

Goga is a ſmall City, or rather a great Village, thirty Leagues diſtant from *Cambaya*, at a place where the Gulf is ſo narrow, that it ſeems to be a kind of a River. This place is ſufficiently well peopled, and moſt of the Inhabitants are *Benjans*, and live either by their Relation to the Sea, or by Weaving. It hath neither Gates nor Bulwarks, but only a Free-ſtone Wall towards the Sea-ſide, where the *Portuguez* Frigats have their Rendezvous, in order to the conveying of their Merchant-men to *Goa*. *Goga.*

Pattepatane and *Mangerol*, are two great Towns, nine Leagues diſtant from *Goga*, and there are made in them great quantities of Cottons and Linnen-cloath. *Pattepatane and Mangerol.*

The City of *Diu*, where the *Portuguez* have three ſtrong Caſtles, is ſeated upon the Frontiers of the Kingdom, on the South-ſide. They call it *Diuê*, pronouncing the *e* ſo gently, that a man can hardly hear it. The word *Diuê* ſignifies an Iſland, and thence comes the word, *Agrediuê*, five Iſles, and that of *Nalediue*, four Iſles, which the *Portuguez* corruptly call *Maldiua*; and *Diuê*, *Noulaka*, the Iſle of fourſcore and ten thouſand, which hath that name given it, upon this account, that the Daughter of a certain Lord of the ſaid place, having begg'd of her Father the Revenue of it for one day, it brought her in fourſcore and ten thouſand pieces of Silver. *Diu.*

The City of *Biſantagan* is one of the greateſt of all the Kingdom of *Guzuratta*, as containing near twenty thouſand Houſes. It lies almoſt in the midſt of the Kingdom, and till of late was but a ſimple Village. The fertility of the adjacent Country hath raiſed it to the greatneſs wherein it now is; for thereabouts they keep abundance of Cattle, and there grow alſo great quantities of Rice, Wheat and Cotton, which is made into Yarn and Clothes. *Biſantagan.*

The City of *Pettan* was heretofore ſix Leagues about, and encompaſſed with a ſtrong Wall of Free-ſtone, which is now broken down in ſeveral places, ſince its Commerce began to diminiſh. The Inhabitants are for the moſt part *Benjans*, and their Profeſſion, making of Stuffs of Silk for the wearing of the Country, as alſo ſome Cotton-cloaths, but they are very courſe, and are of thoſe kinds which are commonly called *Doſternals*, *Sgarderberal*, *Longis*, *Allegiens*, *&c.* This City hath a fair Caſtle within it, where the *Sulthan* of the place lives. In the middeſt of the City there is a *Moſquey*, which was built by the Pagans, and may paſs for one of the moſt ſumptuous Temples in all the Eaſt. Its Roof is ſuſtain'd by a thouſand and fifty Pillars, moſt whereof are of Marble. Thoſe who have contributed moſt to the deſtruction of that Cities Trading, are a ſort of People called the *Coulſes*, who having taken any of the Inhabitants abroad in the Country, force them to ranſome themſelves, and do ſo peſter the High-wayes, that the Merchants dare not travel that way. *Pettan.*

Cheytepour lies ſix Leagues from *Pettan*, and twenty two from *Amadabath*, upon a ſmall Rivers ſide. All the Inhabitants are *Benjans*, who are Weavers, and make great quantities of *Cheytepour.*

1638. of Cottun-yarn. There is in the City a Garriſon of 150. men, for the ſecuring of the *Caffilas*, which paſs that way for *Agra* and *Amadabath*.

Meſſana. *Meſſana* is an open Town, having within it an old ruin'd Caſtle, the Governour whereof is oblig'd to maintain two hundred Horſe, for the ſafe paſſage of the *Caffilas*. The Country all about produces much Cotton, and ſome Cloaths are made there, but no great quantities.

Naſſary, Gaudui, and Balſara. *Naſſary*, or *Nauſary*, *Gaudui*, and *Balſara*, are three ſmall Cities, under the juriſdiction of *Surat*, from which the firſt is ſix, the ſecond nine, and the third fourteen Leagues diſtant. They lye all three about two Leagues diſtant from the Sea. There are made in them great quantities of courſe Cottons; and it is in theſe parts that they fell the Wood, which is ſpent all over the Kingdom in the building of Houſes and Ships.

The Inhabitants of Guzuratta The old Inhabitants of the Country are Pagans, and are thoſe whom they properly call *Hindoy*, or *Indou*. The *Mahumetans* Religion came in with the Arms of *Tamerlan*, and thoſe other Forreigners, who have ſettled themſelves there, by the Conqueſts they have in thoſe parts. The Kingdom is peopled with *Perſians*, *Arabians*, *Armenians*, and ſeveral other Nations; but you ſhall ſeldome meet there with either *Chineſes* or *Japoneſes*; for they are ſo warm and well provided at home, that they ſeldome ſettle themſelves elſewhere.

The *Mahumetans* of the Country, profeſſing, at leaſt by name, the ſame Religion with the *Perſians*, occaſions the *Perſian* Language to be as common among them as the *Indoſthan*, though in the Explication of the *Alchoran*, they follow the ſentiments of *Hembili*, and *Maleki*, whereas the *Perſians* accept only of the Expoſition of *Ay* and *Izafer-ſaduck*; but they both condemn that of *Hanifa*, which is approved by the *Turks*.

It is not our deſign in this place to run into any diſcourſe of the *Mahumetan* Religion; but, having premiſed a ſhort account of the Inhabitants of the Country, we ſhall afterwards treat more at large of their Religion, and the Sects whereof it conſiſts. They are all of an Olive or Duskiſh colour, but more or leſs ſuch, according to the Climate in which they live. Thoſe who are more towards the South, are without compariſon of a much higher colour, then thoſe who live more towards the North. The Men are ſtrong, and well proportioned, having large Faces and black Eyes, and cauſe their Heads and Beards to be ſhaven clear off, excepting only the *Muſtachoes*, as the *Perſians* do alſo. The *Mahumetans* cloath themſelves much after the *Perſian* Mode, only they fold their Turbants after another way. There is alſo this difference obſerv'd between them, that the *Indoſthans* have the opening of their Garments under the left Arm, whereas the *Perſians* have it under the right Arm; and that the former tye their Girdles before, and let the ends hang down, whereas the *Perſians* do only fold it ſeveral times about the body, and hide the ends within the Girdle it ſelf. It is within theſe Girdles that they carry their Ponyards, which they call *Limber*, and are about a foot long, having the Blade much broader towards the Handle then it is towards the Point. There are ſome have Swords of that making, but the Souldiers commonly wear Cymitars. Good Horſes are very ſcarce in thoſe parts, whence it comes that they often make uſe of Oxen, which are altogether as ſwift as our Horſes, and I have ſeen whole Troops conſiſting of this kind of Cavalry. The Women are very well proportioned, though of low ſtature. They have very handſom bodies, and are very ſumptuous in their Attire. Their Hair hangs down over their Shoulders, and on their Heads they have only a thin Cap, or cover them with a Crepine of Lawn, wrought with Gold, the ends whereof hang down on both ſides as low as their Knees. Thoſe who are of ability wear in their Ears Pendants of Diamonds, Pearls, or other precious Stones, and about their Necks Neck-laces of a kind of great round Pearl, which makes no undelightful ſhow on the brown complexion of the Ladies of thoſe parts, who ſometimes alſo wear Rings in their Noſtrils, which is ſo much the leſs incommodious to them, in that they never almoſt have any occaſion to wipe their Noſes. They wear Breeches as well as the Men, which are of Taffata, or ſome kind of Cotton-ſtuffe; and thoſe of ſuch length, that were they let out, they would reach over their Heads. They lye cloſe and even till they come down below the Ham, where they are folded like Mens Boots into many folds, in regard there is a String of Silver and Silk runs through them, wherewith they are ty'd and faſtned above the Navil, the ends of which String hang down to their Feet. Theſe Drawers, or Breeches, they wear under their Smocks, which are ſo ſhort, that they reach not much below their Waſte; and upon the Breeches they wear a Petticoat of Taffata, or Cotton, but ſo thin, that its eaſie to ſee all under it. Their Shooes are commonly of red Cordovant, or *Spaniſh* Leather, flat-ſold, and narrow towards the Toe. They go bare-breaſted, and bare-arm'd up to the Elbows, ſave that much of thoſe parts is hid by the many Bracelets which they wear about them. Thoſe Women, who ſtand upon their Honour, appear not

Their Cloaths.

Their Women.

in

in publick with their Faces uncovered; nay thoſe of any quality are very ſeldome permitted to come abroad. But the *Benjan* Women are clad quite after another manner. 1638.

There is no Province in the *India*, where there are not ſome *Benjans*; but in *Guzuratta* they are more numerous then in any other place, and they are diſtinguiſh'd from the *Mahumetans* by their habit. They do not ſhave their Heads, yet do they not wear their Hair very long. They have every day a yellow Mark made in their Foreheads, of about a fingers breadth, which is made with Water and Sandal-wood, in which they beat four or five grains of Rice. They are their *Bramans* who give them that Mark after they have done their Devotions before the *Pagodes*. The Women do not cover their Faces, as thoſe of the *Mahumetans* do; yet do they not make any difficulty to adorn themſelves with Pendants and Neck-laces, eſpecially their Ears, which they in a manner cover with Pearls. The blacker their Teeth are, the greater beauty they think it. During my ſtay at *Amadabath*, ſome of the Women there told me, that it was an ugly thing to have white Teeth, as Dogs and Monkeys have; and thence it came that they called us *Bondra*, that is, Apes. They wear no Breeches, but only a piece of thin Silk-ſtuff, which they call *Cabay*, and reaches down to their Hams, and upon that they put their Smocks, and on them their upper Garment, which they tye with a String at the Waſte. Some among them wear a kind of narrow Waſtcoats, the Sleeves whereof reach but to the Elbow, being naked down from the Breaſts to the Navil. In Summer they wear wooden Shooes, which they faſten to their Feet with Straps; but in Winter, their Shooes are of Velvet of ſeveral colours, or of Brocadoe, cover'd with gilt Leather. The quarters of their Shooes are very low, for this reaſon, that as well Men as Women put them off, when they go into any Room, the Floor thereof being covered with Tapiſtry. Children go naked, till they come to about four or five years of Age, the Girles as well as the Boyes. The Men are very civilly apparell'd, and live without any ſcandal among the *Mahumetans*, who being imperious and inſolent, treat the *Benjans*, as if they were their ſlaves, with great contempt, much after the manner the *Jews* are treated in *Europe*, in thoſe places where they are permitted to live. Which yet hinders not but that the *Benjans* are as ingenious as the *Mahumetans*, and, without compariſon, more ſubtle, and more civil, then any of the other *Indians*. There are not any of them can write and caſt account better then they, nor any whoſe converſation is more delightful then theirs: but they come ſhort of that ſincerity which the others have, ſo that a Man muſt be very cautious how he hath to do with them, in as much as there is no Commodity which they do not adulterate; and they never drive any bargain, but they endeavour to ſurprize and circumvent thoſe they are to deal with. The *Dutch* and *Engliſh* know this by experience; whence it comes, that they make uſe of theſe people, as their Brokers and Interpreters, that they may diſcover the Impoſtures and cheats of others. There is no Trade which they apply not themſelves to; and there is no Commodity but they ſell it, unleſs it be Fleſh, Fiſh, or any other thing that hath had life. Their children are oblig'd to match among thoſe of the ſame Trade or Profeſſion as the Father had been of; and they ſuffer not thoſe who do otherwiſe, to be of the ſame *Caſte*, or Family: but they may be the beginners of a new Trade, and yet continue in the ſame Religion.

Black Teeth beautiful.

The Cloaths of the Benjan women.

The Benjans are ingenious.

They marry their Children at ſeven, eight, nine, or ten years of Age, and it very ſeldome happens that they ſtay till twelve, eſpecially if they be Daughters: for, if they ſtay till that time, they are look'd on as ſtale Maids, it being their perſwaſion, that there muſt be ſome imperfection, either in the Maids perſon, or thoſe of her Parents, if there be not ſome Addreſſes made to her before that time; in which particular they think themſelves ſo much concern'd, that they make it a punctilio of Honour and Conſcience.

The Wedding-day being come, the Parents of the betrothed parties ſit down in a Hall, about a good Fire, and cauſe the Bridegroom and the Bride to take three turns about it, during which, the *Braman* pronounces certain words, which ſerve for a Benediction of the Marriage. This Cuſtom they the more punctually obſerve, in regard, that, if the Bridegroom ſhould chance to dye before he had taken his three turns about the Fire, the Bride might take a ſecond Husband, which the *Benjan* Widows are not permitted to do, even though the Bridegroom died before the conſummation of the Marriage; but ſhe is obliged to ſuffer all her Ornaments to be taken away from her, and her Hair to be cut off. They are not forc'd to burn themſelves with the dead bodies of their Husbands, as the Wives of the *Bramans* or *Rasboutes* are, neither are they hindred to do it, if they have an inclination thereto. Thoſe Widows, who cannot brook a ſingle life, get in among the publick Dancers of that Sex; which muſt needs happen very frequently in a Climate, which derives to the Bodies living in it no great diſpoſition to Chaſtity.

Their Ceremonies of marriages.

The

1638. The *Benjan* Law permits men, not only to marry a second or third time, in case of death, but also to wed a second or third Wife, if the first and second proves barren; the first retaining nevertheless a certain preheminence, as being Mother of the Family. The Sons are Heirs of all their Fathers Estate, but with this provition, that they are to maintain the Mother, and marry the Sisters.

The men permitted to marry twice or thrice.

The Religion of the Benjans. *They worship the Devil.*

The *Benjans* are *Pagans*, as having among them neither *Baptisme* nor *Circumcision*. They are indeed of a belief, That there is but one God, Creator and Preserver of the Universe; yet does not this perswasion hinder, but that they worship the Devil, and give for their reason, that God created him to govern the World, and to do mischief to Mankind. Whence it comes, that all their *Mosqueys* are fill'd with representations of him, in Statues of Gold, Silver, Ivory, Ebony, Marble, Wood, and ordinary Stone. The Figure under which they represent him is dreadful to look on. The Head, out of which grows four Horns, is adorn'd with a triple Crown, after the fashion of a *Tiara*. The countenance is horridly deformed, having coming out of the Mouth two great Teeth, like the Tusks of a Boar, and the Chin set out with a great ugly Beard. The Breasts beat against the Belly, at which the Hands are not absolutely joyned together, but seem negligently to hang down. Under the Navil, between the two Thighs, there comes out of the Belly another Head, much more ghastly then the former, having two Horns upon it, and thrusting out of the Mouth a filthy Tongue of extraordinary bigness. Instead of Feet it hath Paws, and behind, a Cows-tail: This Figure is placed on a Table of Stone, which serves for an Altar, and receives the Offerings which are made to the *Pagode*. On the right side of the Altar there stands a Trough, in which those who intend to do their Devotions wash and purifie themselves; and on the other side, there is a Box, or Chest, for reception of the Offerings, which are made in Money; and near the Trough there is placed, within the wall of a Vessel, out of which the *Bramans* take the yellow stuffe, wherewith they mark the foreheads of those who have said their Prayers. The *Braman*, or Priest, belonging to the place, sits at the foot of the Altar, whence he rises at certain times to say his Prayers; and when he goes away, he concludes his Devotions with that kind of purifying, which is performed by rubbing his hands in the flame of the Lamps, which stand before and above the Altar, as we have described it elsewhere.

Their Mosqueys.

Nor is it only in great Cities that the *Benjans* have their many *Mosqueys*, but they have them also up and down the Country, upon the High-wayes, and in the Mountains and Woods. They have no other light then what they have from the Lamps, which are kept perpetually burning in them; having no other Ornament, then that the Walls are bedaubed with the Figures of Beasts and Devils, and look more like Caves, and the Receptacles of unclean Spirits, which they are in effect, then places design'd for the exercise of Religion. Yet it is certain nevertheless, that these poor ignorant people express as much Devotion for these Monsters, as the most regenerate *Christians* can do for their God, and the most sacred Mysteries of their Religion; though they at the same time acknowledge, that it is not a Divinity they adore, but a Creature which hath some power derived from God, and is able to do good and ill to Men.

Their Purification.

They have this common with the *Mahumetans*, that they make the principal part of Religion to consist in corporeal Purifications. Whence it comes, that there passes not a day but they wash themselves, and many of them do it very betimes in the morning, before Sun-rising, going into the Water up to the waste, and holding in their hand a Straw, which the *Braman* gives them, to chase away the evil Spirit, while the *Braman* blesses and makes exhortations to those who purifie themselves in that manner.

Their God Brama.

These *Bramans*, or *Bramanes*, make it their boast, that they came out of the Head of their God *Brama*, of whom, they say, there were many other Productions, which came but of his Arms, Thighs, Feet, and other more ignoble parts of his Body, but they have this advantage, that they have their being from the Brains of that great God.

Their opinion concerning the Creation of the World.

Abraham Rogers, who lived ten years upon the Coasts of *Coromandel*, upon the service of the *Hollanders*, in an Employment, by means whereof he might make more certain Discoveries of the Religion of these people, relates, in the Treatise he hath written of *Paganisme*, that the *Bramanes* affirm, that their great God, whom they sometimes call *Wystal*, sometimes *Etwara*, and who, they say, is the greatest, and the God of all the Gods, bethinking himself, before the Creation of the World, when there was in the Universe but one God and Water, meerly for his Diversion sake, to make a World, had assumed the Figure of a little Child, and having cast himself upon a Leaf, which he had found swimming upon the Water, and playing Childishly with his great Toe in his mouth, there came out of his Navel a Flower, which they call *Tamara*, of which Flower was produced the first of all Men, whom they call *Brama*.

That

That the first thing which *Brama* did, was to give God thanks that he had bestow'd on him a rational Soul, and that God was so well pleased with that acknowledgment of his, that he gave him power, not only to create the World, and whatsoever is contained therein, but also to take upon him the Government thereof, which God was willing not to be troubled withall himself: So that *Brama*, being as it were Gods Vicegerent and Deputy, in this vast and infinite Administration, there happens not any good or evil to men but by his means, since it is he who hath limited the life of Man to a hundred years, and hath decreed and appointed the prosperity and adversity that shall befal him. 1638.

To this they add; that *Brama* had five Heads, and that, one day, rebelling against the God *Wistu*, He commanded one of his Servants, named *Bierewa*, to cut off the Head which stood in the midst, with his Nail: But that *Brama* having humbled himself before God, and having made Verses in praise of him, *Wistu* was so highly pleas'd to hear them sung, that he told *Brama*, it troubled him much, that he had ordered one of his five Heads to be cut off; but however, bid him be of good comfort, forasmuch as he should have the same power with the other four, as he had before. And yet they have this belief withall, that this imprudence of *Brama* will hinder him from enjoying, in the other World, that measure of Glory which he might have hoped, had he continu'd in his original Integrity.

They affirm, that *Brama* governs the World by many Lieutenants, the chiefest of whom is he whom they call *Derwendre*, who commands all those who govern the eight Worlds, which are like this we inhabit, and go to the Composition of the Universe, whereof, according to them, there are seven other parts like ours, all which swim upon the water, like so many Eggs. They believe also, that the World, which is now extant and in being, is not any effect of the first Creation, but that there have been many before it, and that there will be others after it. That that wherein we now live is to continue yet a Million of Ages longer, since that in the year MDCXXXIX. there were but four thousand seven hundred thirty nine years of the fourth Age of the World expired, and that the first had lasted a hundred and seven thousand two hundred and ninety Ages: That in the said first Age of the World all Men were good and just, so as that the Devil, who was created even in that time, had no power to do them any mischief: That in the following Age, the fourth part of Mankind became depraved; and that in the third, good and bad were equally divided; but that in these last times, the World was so much corrupted, that the number of the just was reduc'd to the fourth part. *Brama's Lieutenants*

But it is besides the Design of our Relation to digress into the Theology of these people; whereof the Author we cited before hath written a Treatise, sufficient to satisfie the curiosity of the most Learned.

We shall therefore only say, that these *Bramanes* are very highly respected among the other Pagans; not only upon the account of their austerity of life, and their extraordinary abstinence; (for there are some of them fast three or four dayes together, not eating any thing at all;) but also in regard, that besides their Superintendency in matter of Religion, they have the overlight of Schools, where they teach Children to read and write. They expound the Mysteries of their Religion to the ignorant, and by that means make what impressions they please in the minds of superstitious people, in as much as they give what Interpretation they fancy themselves, to the Auguries and other vanities, about which they are perpetually consulted. They are believed as so many Oracles; and thence it comes, that the *Benjans* seldom engage themselves in any business of consequence, without the advice and encouragement of the *Braman*. They are distinguish'd from the other *Benjans*, only by what they wear upon their heads, which is a Coiffure made of white Linnen-cloath, and comes several times about the Head, to cover their Hair, which they never cut; as also by three pieces of small Packthread, which they wear next their Skins, and come cross the Breast, from the Shoulder to the Waste, which Packthread they never put off, nor would, though it were to save their lives. They heighten and improve the popular superstition, by the Relations they make of thousands of false Miracles, done by their *Pagodes* and *Saints*, whom they perswade people to worship, as Intercessors with God for them. *The Authority of the Bramanes.*

They hold the Immortality of the Soul, but believe withall, that, at its departure out of the first Body, it transmigrates into that of some other Creature; and affirm, that the Soul of a good natur'd and docible person, is translated into the body of a Pidgeon, or Chicken; that of a cruel and wicked man, into that of a Crocodile, a Lyon, or a Tiger; that of a crafty man, into that of a Fox; that of a Glutton, into the body of a Swine; that of a treacherous person, into that of a Serpent, *&c.* before they are admitted to the enjoyment of a beatitude purely Spiritual. And this is the only reason, why the *Benjans* abstain from *They believe the immortality and transmigration of Soul's.*

the

1638. the killing of living Creatures, even to the Insects, how dangerous or troublesome soever they may be. They also forbear keeping any Fire, and lighting Candles in the night time, out of a fear that the Flies or Moths should burn themselves therein; nay, they make some difficulty to make pits on the Ground, for fear of drowning the Fleas and other Insects, which might lie in the way. What is yet more superstitious, they do not only redeem the Birds, which the *Mahumetans* had taken, but they also built Hospitals for Beasts that are hurt and wounded.

A strange employment of the Bramans among the Malabares.

The *Bramanes* are very much respected all over the *Indies*, but more then any where else, among the *Malabares*, where they have a very odd kind of Employment. For there is no marriage contracted among them, but the first Fruits of the Bride are consecrated to the *Braman*, to whom she is brought to be deflour'd. They believe that the marriage were not sufficiently bless'd, if the *Braman* have not the first trial of the Bride; whence it comes, that many times he is earnestly intreated before he doesit; and if the persons be of any quality, he hath a reward given him, as if he had been hired to do the work. When the Men are to go any journey, they intreat the *Braman* to have a care of their Wives while they are away, and to supply their places till they return.

The Sects of the Benjans.

The *Benjans* are divided among themselves, into fourscore and three principal Sects; not accounting the other less considerable ones, which are multiply'd almost to infinity, in regard there is hardly any Family, but hath its particular Superstitions and Ceremonies. The four principal Sects, which comprehend all the rest, are those of *Ceurawath*, *Samarath*, *Bisnow*, and *Goêghy*. Those of *Ceurawath* are so punctual in the preservation of living Creatures and Insects, that their *Bramanes* have their mouths cover'd with a piece of linnen-cloath, for fear any Fly should get into it, and in their Houses they have alwayes a little Broom in their hands, to sweep the Room, least they should negligently tread upon any Insect; and they will not sit, till they have first made clean the seat or place where they are to sit down. They go bare-headed and bare-foot, with a white Staffe in their hands, by which they are distinguish'd from the others. They keep no fire in their Houses, nor light any Candles in them. They never drink any cold water, for fear of meeting with any Insect in it, but they have it boil'd at some ones house of their Sect. They have no other cloathing then a piece of course Linnen-cloath, which hangs down from the Navel to the Knees, and cover not the rest of their body, but with a small piece of Woollen-cloath, as much as could be made of one Fleece of Wooll.

Their Cloathing.

Their Belief.

The Opinions they have of God are in some things different from those of the other *Benjans*, inasmuch as they do not attribute to him an infinite being, which disposeth of the events of things, but they would have them to depend absolutely on good and ill fortune. They have a Saint named *Tiel Tencker*, and acknowledge no other good works then Fasting and Alms deeds: They believe that the Sun, the Moon, and other Stars, the Earth, living Creatures, Trees, Metals, and in a word, all things visible, have in themselves the first causes of their production and motion. They hold, that there are two Suns, and as many Moons, which relieve one the other alternately every day. They believe nothing of Heaven or Paradise, and yet acknowledge the immortality of the Soul, but after a very extraordinary manner. For they affirm, that the Soul, at its departure out of the body it had first animated, enters into another, either of Man or Beast, according to the good or ill life of the deceased: but that it ever makes choice of the Female, that it may return again into the world, to live there in another body.

Their Mosqueys.

Their *Mosqueys*, which they call *Rales*, are built four square with flat roofs, and towards the East-side there is an open place, under which are the Chappels of their *Pagodes*, built after a pyramidal form, and rais'd ten foot from the ground, having upon the stairs leading up to them, several Figures of Wood, Stone, and Paper, representing their deceased Kindred, whose lives had been remarkable for some extraordinary good fortune. They do their greatest Devotions in the moneth of *August*, during which, they mortifie themselves by so great abstinencies, as might pass elsewhere for no less then miraculous; it being certain, that there are some, who for the space of fifteen dayes, or three weeks, nay sometimes a moneth or six weeks, live without taking any thing but water, into which they put the scrapings or shavings of a certain bitter Wood, which is conceived to have somewhat of nourishment in it. I must confess this will not easily be credited; but it is so acknowledged a Truth in the *Indies*, that it is not disputed by their greatest Enemies. They have also about that time many Assemblies in their *Mosqueys*, where their discourse is concerning the lives of their departed Saints, and there are read certain Legends, the people standing about the *Braman*, who sits down in the midst of them, having his mouth cover'd with a Linnen-cloath.

Their extraordinary abstinences.

Their publick Assemblies.

As they go into the *Mosquey*, they bestow their Charities, casting them into a great Copper

Copper basin, which they place before the *Pagode*, and in requital, they receive a mark with the Sandal-wood, which is made in their Foreheads, or upon their Clothes. While they are discoursing about their Saints, which lasts for the most part four or five hours, they are entertain'd with Musick, which is paid for out of the Charities that had been collected among them for the poor. They burn the bodies of aged persons, but bury those of Children who dye under three years of age. Their Widows are not obliged to burn themselves with their departed Husbands, but they promise perpetual Widowhood. All that make profession of this Sect may be admitted to Priesthood. Nay, Women are receiv'd into that Function, provided they be above twenty years of age; but the Men are admitted into it, at seven, eight and nine years of age. To become Priests, all they have to do, is to put on the habit, to accustom themselves to the austerity of that kind of life, and to make a vow of Chastity. Any one of the married couple hath the priviledge to become a Priest, and by that means, to oblige the other to celibate, for the remainder of his or her life. There are some make a Vow of Chastity in the state of marriage; but this is seldom seen, and when it is, those who make such Vows, are not overstrict in the observance of them. 1638.

All the other *Castes*, or Sects of the *Benjanes*, have an aversion and contempt for this, and condemn it so much, that their Doctors continually exhort their Auditours to shun the Conversation of those people; so that they will not only not eat or drink with them, but they would not so much as set a foot in their Houses, though it were to avoid an imminent and inevitable danger; and such as are so unhappy as to touch them, are obliged to do a publick and severe pennance.

The second Sect of the *Benjans*, called *Samarath*, hath this common with the former, that it permits not the killing of any Creature or Insect that hath life, nor the eating of any thing that hath had it. This Sect consists of Lock-makers, Smiths, Farriers, Carpenters, Taylors, Shooe-makers, Furbishers, and all other Tradesmen, admitting among them, even Souldiers, Clerks, and other Officers. Their Religion is different from that of the former, in that they believe, that this World was created by a first cause, which governs and preserves all, with a soveraign and unchangeable power. *The Sect of Samarath.* *Their belief.*

They call him in their Language *Permiseer*, and assign him three Substitutes, who have their several Functions under his Superintendency. The first, who is called *Brama*, hath the disposal of all Souls, which he sends into such Bodies as *Permiseer* appoints, either of Men or Beasts. The second, whom they call *Buffiuna*, teaches the World to live according to Gods Commandments, which they have disposed into four Books. He hath also the oversight of Provisions, and advances the growth of Wheat, Herbs and Pulse, after *Brama* hath endued them with Souls. The third, named *Mais*, exercises his power over the dead. He is also Secretary to *Permiseer*, and takes the good and bad works of the deceased into examination, that he may make a report thereof to his Master, who having examin'd both the one and the other, sends the Soul into a Body, where she doth more or less pennance, proportionably to the good or ill she hath done in the former. Those that are sent into the body of a Cow, are accounted the most happy, in regard that that Beast having something Divine in it, according to their opinion, they hope in a short time to be purified of the sins which they had committed during their continuance in the former body. But those which are forc'd to take up their second habitations in the bodies of Elephants, Camels, wild Oxen, Goats, Asses, Leopards, Swine, Serpents, or any other unclean Beast, are on the contrary thought most unhappy, inasmuch as at their departure out of them, they pass into the bodies of other Beasts, either tame, or less wild, where they compleat the expiation of the Crimes for which they were condemned to those punishments. The same thing happens also to those souls which are in the bodies of some Creatures that dye before they have compleated their Purification; which being absolutely consummated, *Mais* presents the Souls so purified to *Permiseer*, who receives them into the number of his Servants. *Their God and his Substitutes.*

They burn the bodies of the deceased, save only those of Children under three years of age; but they have this particular Ceremony, that these Obsequies are performed on the side of a River or Brook, whither they carry the sick persons, when they are past hopes of recovery, that they may expire there. *A particular Ceremony about the dead*

There is no Sect, in which the Women sacrifice themselves so cheerfully to the memory of their Husbands, as in this Sect of *Samarath*. For they are perswaded, that the promise which *Buffiuna* makes them, in the Law he gave them from *Permiseer*, is infallible; to wit, that if a Woman hath so great an affection for her Husband, as to burn her self with him after his death, she shall live with him in the other World seven times as long, and shall enjoy him with seven times as much satisfaction as she had done in this: which hope makes *The Women burn themselves at their Husbands death. The reason of it.*

1638. them look on death, but as a paſſage, through which they are to enter into a beatitude and bliſs, whereof they had in this world but a ſmall earneſt.

As ſoon as the Women are delivered, there is preſented to the new born Child, an Ink-horn, Paper and Pens, and if it be a Boy, they add a Bow and Arrows; to ſignifie that *Buffiuna* will write his Law in his underſtanding, and that one day he ſhall raiſe his Fortunes by the Wars. For as we ſaid before, this Sect admits of Souldiers: but thoſe among them, whoſe Profeſſion it is to bear Arms, make a diſtinct Sect, which they call that of the *Rasboutes*, of whom we ſhall give an account anon.

The Sect of Biſnow. Thoſe of the Sect of *Biſnow* have this common with the two precedent, that they abſtain from feeding on any thing that hath had life. They faſt alſo, and in the moneth of *Auguſt* have their Aſſemblies in their *Agoges*; ſo they call their *Moſqueys*. Their principal *Their God.* Devotion conſiſts in ſinging of Hymns to the honour of their God, whom they call *Ram-ram*, and pray, to bleſs them and their Families with a ſupply of what they think neceſſary, that they may live without diſcontent and inconvenience. Their ſinging is accompany d with dancing, and Muſick, conſiſting of Drums, Pipes, Copper-baſins, and other Inſtruments, upon which they play before their Idols. They repreſent their *Ram-ram*, with his Wife, in ſeveral manners, and adorn both their Statues on Holy-dayes, with many Gold Chains, Collars of Pearl, and all ſorts of precious Stones, and ſet up many Lamps, and Wax-candles before them. This God hath no Subſtitutes, as that of the Sect of *Samarath*, but doth all himſelf.

Their manner of life. The ordinary ſuſtenance of the *Biſnow* is only Herbs and Pulſe, freſh Butter, Milk and Curds. They are great lovers of the *Atſchia*, which is a certain Compoſition made of Ginger, *Mangas*, Citrons, Garlick, and Muſtard-ſeed pickled with Salt, and drink only Water, or *Baratte*. They are either Women or Prieſts that dreſs their meat; and inſtead of Wood, which they forbear burning, becauſe there are ſometimes Worms in it, which might *Their fiving* by that means be deſtroyed, they uſe Cow-dung dried in the Sun, and mixt with Straw, which they cut in ſquare pieces, as they do the Turfs in *Holland*, and ſo expoſe it to ſale.

Thoſe of this Sect are for the moſt part addicted to Merchandiſe, either upon their own account, or as Agents and Factors under others. They underſtand the buſineſs of Commerce extreamly well, and their Converſation is not unpleaſant; whence it comes that both *Chriſtians* and *Mahumetans* employ them as Brokers and Interpreters, in their way of Trading.

Their Wives are not burnt. They have this particular Cuſtom in this Sect, that they permit not the Women to burn themſelves with their Husbands; but they oblige them to perpetual widowhood, even though the Husband died before the conſummation of the marriage. It is not long ſince, that among them, the younger Brother was oblig'd to marry his elder Brothers Widow, to raiſe up ſeed to him; but this cuſtome is aboliſh'd by an expreſs Law which condemns the Women to celibate.

In the morning they all waſh themſelves in a *Tanque*, or rather in a River, if there be any near the place where they live, and they think it not enough to go into it up to the Waſte, but they tumble, wallow, and ſwim in it, muttering certain words between their Teeth, while the *Braman*, who ſits on the River-ſide and looks to their Cloaths, gives them his Benediction, and prayes God that they may be as clean from their ſins, as their bodies are clear of filth. At their coming out of the water he rubs their Foreheads, Noſes and Ears, with a certain Compoſition made of Sandal, or ſome other Odoriferous wood, and they give him for his pains a ſmall quantity of Wheat, Rice or Pulſe.

The Sect of the Goêghy. Thoſe of the Sect of *Gsêghy* intermeddle not with either Trade or Traffick, but live a very ſolitary life, in the Country, in obſcure Villages, or the ruines of Houſes, where they worſhip their God *Bruin*, and his Servant *Mecis*. They have neither *Moſqueys*, nor any *Their God.* other publick places, wherein to aſſemble to do their Devotions; nay will not go into the *Moſqueys* of the other *Benjans*, unleſs it be into thoſe of the Sect of *Samarath*; but it is only to take up their Lodging in them for want of other accommodation. For they are forbidden by their Law to be proprietors of any thing. They ſhun the converſation of Men, and live in Woods and Deſarts, like the Hermits and ancient Anchorites. They have nothing about them, but a piece of Linnen-cloath, to cover that part which Nature is unwilling ſhould be expos'd to the view of all. They rub their Bodies all over with Aſhes, and where-ever they ſit down, they have a little heap of Aſhes near them, which they are perpetually handling, and ſcatter of it upon their moiſt Hair, which diſfigures them after a ſtrange manner. They never ſpeak to ſuch as paſs by them, nor give them the time of the day; nay, they will not anſwer thoſe that ſpeak to them, out of this perſwaſion, that being conſecrated to their God *Bruin*, they believe they ſhould defile themſelves

ſelves by ſpeaking to other men. Whence it happens, that when they come into any City, they make no ſtay therein, and will not turn out of that Street which leads them to the Gate they would go out at. Wherein they are ſo ſcrupulous, that they will not ask for any thing, though they were ready to ſtarve. They will indeed receive what is given them, but if there be nought given them they live on Herbs and Roots, which they find in the fields. There are ſome among them that have three or four ſervants, who put themſelves voluntarily into their ſervice, that they may participate of their ſanctity: but all the ſervice they do them is what they liſt themſelves. For the Maſters never command them to do any thing, nay not what is moſt neceſſary to life. All the other *Benjans* have a certain veneration for the *Goêghys*, except it be thoſe of the *Caſte*, or Sect of *Ceurawath*, who have a horrour for them, and ſhun their converſation. 1638.

There are ſome among them have a greater reputation of knowledge and ſanctity then others, but they make no advantage thereof, in as much as their condition is equal. They never marry, but live in ſo great obſervance of Chaſtity, that they would not ſuffer a Woman to touch them. The common people hath a great devotion for theſe *Goêghys*, ſaluting them with much reſpect, and receiving their Benediction with great ſubmiſſion.

Their belief.

The *Goêghys* believe, that their God *Bruin* hath created all things, and that he continues them in being, by his infinite power, by which he is able to deſtroy and reduce them to nothing.

They affirm, that he is not to be repreſented by any Figure of either Man or Beaſt, but that he is a light, which cannot be the Object of our ſight, inaſmuch as, having created that of the Sun, it is not to be admired, that we cannot contemplate the principle of ſo tranſcendent a brightneſs.

Hold not the tranſmigration of Souls.

They believe not the Tranſmigration of Souls, as the other *Benjans* do; but affirm, that the Souls at their departure out of the body, are immediately transferred to their God *Bruin*, to live with him eternally, and to be united to that infinite Light.

Certain it is, that Charcoal-men and Chimney-ſweepers among us are not ſo beſmutted as theſe people, who take a pleaſure in diſfiguring their bodies and countenances, not only by the Aſhes wherewith they continually rub them, but alſo by their abſtinences; which as they are greater, ſo are they withall much more frequent then thoſe of the *Benjans* of the Sect of *Ceurawath*. There are ſome Women become *Goêghys*, but in regard that Sex is too tender and delicate, to accuſtom themſelves to ſo great auſterity, their number is not very great.

A ſtrange manner of living.

The *Benjans* oblige their Proſelytes, that is, the *Mahumetans*, who embrace their Religion, to a very extravagant manner of life. For, to renew their whole body, which, according to their Opinion, is defiled by the fleſh they had eaten, they oblige them for the ſpace of ſix moneths together, to mix amongſt what they are to eat, a pound of Cow-dung; out of this reaſon, that that Creature having, as they hold, ſome thing divine in it, here is nothing can purifie the body ſo well as that kind of nouriſhment, which their Proſelytes are permitted to diminiſh by degrees, after the three firſt moneths of their converſion. They alſo condemn to that kind of Diet, thoſe of their own Sect, who having been priſoners among the *Mahumetans*, or *Chriſtians*, or converſing ordinarily among them, have been perſwaded to eat fleſh, or drink wine; and receive them not into their communication, till ſuch time as they have been purified in that manner.

The ſuperſtition of the Benjans.

All the *Benjans* are extreamly ſuperſtitious. For they never go out of their houſes, till they have ſaid their Prayers; and if at their going out they meet with any ill preſage, they return into their houſes, and do not any buſineſs of importance that day. They take to preſage ill Fortune, the meeting of an empty Cart, a wild Oxe, an Aſs, a Dog, if he be not eating ſomewhat, a Goat, an Ape, a Deer, a Goldſmith, a Carpenter, a Lock-ſmith, a Barber, a Taylor, a beater of Cotton, a Widow, a company of People going to the enterment of a dead Body, or a Man returning from the ſame Ceremony; as alſo, that of a Man or Woman carrying Butter, Oyl, Milk, brown-Sugar, Citrons, or any other ſharp things, Apples, Iron, or any thing relating to War. They are on the contrary, well pleaſed with the meeting of an Elephant, or Camel, whether they be loaden or not, as alſo of a Horſe, a Cow, an Oxe, a wild Oxe loaden with water, a He-Goat, a Dog eating, a Cat coming on the right hand of them, and Perſons loaden with Proviſions, Curds and white-Sugar; but above all, that of a Cock, or a Hare, and then they cheerfully go about what they have to do, as being prepoſſeſs'd with the opinion they have, that the ſucceſs of their Affairs will be anſwerable to their expectations.

Rasboutes their belief.

There are ſome who put the *Rasboutes* into the number of the *Benjans*, and affirm, that they are a branch of the Sect of *Samarath*, with which they believe the tranſmigration of

1638. of Souls, and several other things. But they believe this in particular, that the Souls of Men go into Birds, who afterwards give their Friends notice of the good and evil which is to befall them: upon which account it is, that they so superstitiously observe the flight and singing of those Creatures. Their Widows burn themselves with the bodies of their deceased Husbands, unless it be, that, at the contract of Marriage, there was some promise made that they should not be forc'd thereto. But whereas all the other *Benjans* are of a mild and reserv'd disposition, abhorring the effusion of bloud, even that of Beasts; these on the contrary, are a sort of violent and daring people, who eat flesh, and live only by murther and rapine, and never mind any other profession then that of Arms. The *Mogul* makes use of these Men, as do also most of the other Princes of the *Indies*, because they are undaunted, and entertain not the least fear of death. To this purpose, there is a Story of five *Rasboutes*, who forc'd by weariness to rest themselves in a Country mans house, there happened to be a Fire in the Village, which by reason of the wretchedness of the houses, soon came to that where they were. They had notice of it, but one of them said to the rest, that having never turn'd their backs from danger, it would be the greatest shame in the world to them, to shun death, which they had never fear'd: That it were baseness in them to stir thence, but that they were to make the Fire as much afraid of them, as others were of it, and force it to stop its progress when it came near them; and they were so earnestly engag'd in these temerarious and extravagant discourses, that the Fire getting into the Room where they were, one only had the time to get out, and to drag along with him one of his Camerades, who could never afterwards be recover'd out of the melancholly regret he had conceiv'd, at his not having follow'd the example of the others.

A Story of five Rasboutes.

It is related also of another *Rasboute*, who going into the Country, in the company of two others, came in his way to a Pit, at the sight whereof his Horse stood still; but the *Rasboute* condemning the caution of the Beast, as if it had proceeded from fearfulness, told him, that he was very much to blame to entertain any fear, having on his back a Man that never knew any; and thereupon beating him, he would have made him leap over the Pit; but, both Horse and Man falling, they were both drown'd, the Man acquiring among them, by this inconsiderable and brutish action, the reputation of a Man heroically courageous.

They have no compassion but what they have towards irrational Creatures, especially Birds, which they take the pains to keep and feed, out of a perswasion, that one day, when their Souls shall be lodg'd in Creatures of that kind, some or other will have the same charity towards them. And this is their employment particularly on Holy-dayes, as also for ten or twelve dayes after the decease of their neareſt Kindred, and upon the anniversary dayes of their death.

Their Charity towards Birds.

They have this common with the other *Benjans*, that they marry their Children very young, which is the less to be wondred at, inasmuch as it is very certain, that the *Indians* of both Sexes are capable of engendring much sooner then any other Nation: so that there are not any but are fit for the work of generation at ten or twelve years of age. To this purpose I have a Story, which may seem fabulous, but I have it from such grave persons, that I shall make no difficulty to communicate it upon their credit.

They marry their Children very young.

Not many years since, even in the reign of *Scach Choram*, who is yet living, a certain *Rasboutes* Wife, who liv'd at *Agra*, was brought to bed of a Daughter, which at two years of age had Breasts as big as those of any Nurse. A Lock-smith, neighbour to the *Rasboute*, advised the Father and Mother to permit, that the hot Iron might be apply'd thereto, which is the ordinary remedy they make use of against superfluous humours. They consented thereto; but as soon as they had applied the foresaid Remedy, the Lock-smith died, and soon after, the Father and Mother, and all those that had been present at the said cure. The child had at three years of age, what those of her Sex are not wont to have till twelve or thirteen. The year after she had nothing of that kind, but her Belly was so swollen as if she had been with child. That swelling was little abated the year following, and at six years of age she was brought to bed of a Boy. But this was thought a thing so extraordinary all over the Country, though they marry very young, as I said before, that *Schach Choram* sent for both Mother and Child, and ordered them to be brought up at the Court.

A remarkable Story.

Besides the *Benjans*, there is yet another sort of *Pagans* in the Kingdom of *Guzuratta*, whom they call the *Parsis*. These are the *Persians* of *Fars* and *Chorasan*, who fled into those parts, to avoid the persecution of the *Mahumetans* in the seventh Age. For *Abubeker*, having undertaken to establish the *Mahumetan* Religion in *Persia* by force of Arms, the King perceiving it was impossible for him to oppose it, took shipping with eighteen thou-

The Parsis.

sand

land men at *Ormus*, and landed in *Indoſthan*. The King of *Cambaya*, who was a *Hindan*, or *Indian*, that is, a *Pagan*, as himſelf, received him to dwell in his Country, into which that liberty drew ſeveral other *Perſians*, who, with their Religion, have preſerv'd and continued their ancient manner of life. Their habitations are for the moſt part along the Sea-coaſt, and they live very peaceably, ſuſtaining themſelves by the advantage they make out of the *Tobacco* they plant, and the *Terry* they get out of the Palms of thoſe parts, and whereof they make *Arak*, in regard they are permitted to drink Wine. They intermeddle alſo with Merchandiſe, and the exchange of Money, and keep Shops, and are of all Trades, except thoſe of Farriers, Black-ſmiths, and Lock-ſmiths; in regard it is an unpardonable ſin among them to put out the fire. 1638

Their manner of life.

The *Parſis* believe that there is but one God, Preſerver of the Univerſe: That he acts alone, and immediately, in all things; and that the ſeven Servants of God, for whom they have alſo a great Veneration, have only an inferiour adminiſtration, whereof they are oblig'd to give an account.

The firſt of theſe Servants is called *Hamaſda*, and hath the Government of Men, and his charge is, to induce them to the exerciſe of good Works. *The ſeven Servants of God.*

The ſecond, whom they call *Bahman*, hath the overſight of Cattel, and preſides over all the living Creatures that are upon Earth.

The third, named *Ardybeſh*, preſerves Fire, and hinders it from being put out.

The fourth is called *Sarywar*, and is entruſted with the charge of Metals, about which they are very curious; and accuſes thoſe who neglect the making of them clean; which negligence is a mortal ſin among them.

The fifth, whom they call *Eſpander*, hath a care of the Earth, and keeps it from being polluted, and hinders it from being otherwiſe uſed then it ought.

Anwaerdath, who is the ſixth, hath the ſame charge over the Water, as *Eſpander* hath over the Earth, and keeps it from being defiled with filth.

The ſeventh, whom they call *Ammadath*, looks to the preſervation of Fruits, Trees, Herbs and Pulſe, but without any power either to advance or retard their production. For theſe ſeven ſubalternate Spirits are appointed by God, only to take cognizance of the abuſes committed in this World, and to make their report thereof to him.

Beſides theſe ſeven Servants, whoſe dignity is very great, God hath twenty ſix other Servants, who have all their particular Functions. *Twenty ſix other Servants of God.*

The firſt, whom they call *Saroch*, takes poſſeſſion of the Soul immediately upon its departure out of the Body, and conducts it before two Judges, whom they call *Meer Reſus*, and *Saros*, to be examined, and to receive according to their Sentence, either its condemnation or abſolution from its ſins. Their manner of proceeding in judgment, is, to put the good and evil Works into two Scales, that they may judge of them according to their weight. The good and evil Angels ſtand about the Scales, and carry away the Souls adjudged to them, either into Paradiſe, where they enjoy eternal bliſs, or into Hell, there to be tormented to the end of the World, which they believe will be renewed at the expiration of a thouſand years; and then, they ſhall enter into other Bodies, to lead a better life then they had done in the former.

The fourth of theſe Servants is called *Beram*, and hath the overſight of all Military affairs; upon which account it is that they addreſs themſelves to him, that they may obtain of God Victory, by his Interceſſion.

The fifth is *Carraſeda*, that is to ſay, the Sun.

The ſixth *Auva*, that is, the Water.

The ſeventh is called *Ader*, and governs the Fire, under *Ardy beſth*.

The eighth is *Moho*, or the Moon.

The ninth is *Tiera*, that is, Rain.

The tenth, called *Gos*, hath the overſight of Cattel.

The eleventh, who is called *Farwardy*, hath the cuſtody of the Souls which are in Paradiſe.

The twelfth, named *Aram*, is he that gives Joy or Sadneſs to Mankind.

The thirteenth, named *Goada*, governs the Winds, and makes them blow as he pleaſeth.

Dien, who is the fourteenth, teaches Men the Law of God, and inſpires them with good motions to obſerve it.

Apirſanich, who is the fifteenth, is he who beſtows Wealth on Men.

Aſtaet, who is the ſixteenth, is he that gives Men Underſtanding and Memory.

The ſeventeenth, whom they call *Aſſaman*, is Superintendent over Commerce.

The eighteenth, called *Gamigat*, hath the Government of the Earth.

Mariſpan,

1638. *Mariſpan*, who is the nineteenth, is Goodneſs it ſelf, who is communicated to thoſe that invocate him.

They call the twentieth *Amiera*, and his Preſidentſhip is over Money, whereof he hath the diſpoſal.

The one and twentieth is called *Hoêm*, and is he, without whoſe concurrence there happens no Generation of Men, or Beaſts, or Production of Fruits.

Dimma and *Berſe*, are indifferently deſign'd to attend all Men: and the three remaining, whom they call *Dephader*, *Dephemer*, and *Dephdin*, are engag'd upon the particular Service of God, who imployes them about all Affairs indifferently.

The *Parſis*, who call theſe twenty ſix Servants by one general name, *Geſhoo*, that is to ſay, Lords, believe, that they have an abſolute power over the things whereof God hath entruſted them with the Adminiſtration. Whence it comes, that they make no difficulty to worſhip them, and to invocate them in their extremities, out of a perſwaſion, that God will not deny them any thing they deſire upon their Interceſſion.

They have a very great reſpect for their Doctors and Teachers, and allow them a very plentiful ſubſiſtance, with their Wives and Children, though ſome among them intermeddle alſo with Merchandiſe, which they are permitted to do according to their Law; but theſe are not ſo highly eſteemed, as thoſe others who ſpend all their time in teaching Children to read and write, and explicating their Law to the people. They have no *Moſqueys*, nor other publick places, for the Exerciſe of their Religion: but they make uſe, to that purpoſe, of ſome room in their houſes, where they do their devotions ſitting, and without any inclination of the body.

They have no Moſqueys.

Nor have they any particular day in the week deſign'd for that end, but they obſerve the firſt, and twentieth day of the Moon. Though their Moneths conſiſt of thirty dayes a piece, yet does their Year conſiſt of 365. dayes, for they add five dayes to the laſt Moneth. Their Prieſts are not known by their habit, in regard it is common to them, not only with all the reſt of the *Parſis*, but alſo with all the other Inhabitants of the Country; from whom they are diſtinguiſh'd by a String or Wreath of Wooll or Camels Hair, wherewith they make them a Girdle, which comes twice about the body, and is ty'd with two knots behind, which is the only diſtinctive mark of their Religion, and ſo inſeparable from their Profeſſion, that if it happen to be loſt, he who is ſo unfortunate as to have loſt it, may neither eat, nor drink, nor ſpeak, nay not ſtir from the place where he is till another be brought him from the Prieſt who ſells them. The Women wear of them as well as the Men, after they are come to twelve years of age, at which time they are thought capable of comprehending the Myſteries of Religion.

The badge of their Religion.

Their houſes are little and dark, very poorly furniſh'd, and they have a great affectation to live in the ſame quarter. They have no particular Magiſtrate among them, yet do they not think much to accept of the employments which the *Mahumetans* give them, and create among themſelves two of the moſt conſiderable of the Nation, who decide ſuch differences as may ariſe, and for which they never plead before any other Judges.

Their Houſes.

There is nothing ſo precious among them as Fire, which they keep in very carefully, upon this account, as they affirm, that there is not any thing affords ſo lively a repreſentation of the Divinity as Fire does. Whence it comes, that they never put out a Candle, or a Lamp, and never make uſe of Water to quench the Fire, though the Houſe were in danger of being burnt; but they endeavour to ſmother it with Earth. For it is the greateſt misfortune can happen to them, to find the Fire ſo far out in their Houſes, as that they muſt be forc'd to go out among their Neighbours to get ſome.

Fire is accounted ſacred among them.

They alſo marry their Children while they are very young, but they ſuffer the Parents to bring them up at their own Houſes, till they are come to fifteen or ſixteen years of age, and then they conſummate the marriage. Their Widows are permitted to marry the ſecond time; whence it comes that there are not ſo many diſorders committed among them, as there are among the other Nations. But Adultery and Fornication are the greateſt ſins they can commit, and which, no doubt, they would puniſh with death, if they had the adminiſtration of Juſtice in their own hands.

They ſeverely puniſh Adultery.

When any one is ſo ſick, as that there is little hopes of his recovery, he is taken out of his bed, to be laid on a little bed of green Turfs upon the ground, where he lies till he give up the ghoſt, and immediately after, five or ſix Men, whoſe imployment it is to make the Graves, take him from the ſaid Pallat of Turfs, put a Shroud about him, and lay him upon an Iron-grate, made after the form of a Biere, upon which they carry the body to the place of burial, which is above a League from the City. Theſe places, or, if we may call them ſo, Church-yards, are divided into three parts, all incloſed with a Wall of twelve or fifteen foot

Their manner of burial.

foot high,one whereof is for the Men, another for the Women,and the third for Children. 1638
Over the Graves there are Bars laid croſs like a Grate, upon which they lay the body, there to remain till the Crows and other devouring Birds have conſumed them, ſo as that the Bones fall into the Grave. The Kindred and Friends accompany the Corps with horrid cries and lamentations, and make a halt when they are come within 500. paces of the Grave, till ſuch time as the Grave-makers have laid it upon the Grate, and made certain Prayers for the Soul. About a moneth or ſix weeks after,they carry the Turfs upon which the deceaſed party died, to the Church-yard, as a thing polluted, which they would not ſo much as touch; and every moneth they make a Feaſt for the neareſt of the Kindred, in memory of the departed. If it happens that they touch a dead Carkaſs, or the Bones of a dead Beaſt,they are oblig'd to caſt off their cloaths, to cleanſe their bodies,and to do pennance for nine dayes together, during which, neither Women nor Children dare come near them. They are of this particular perſwaſion, that they whoſe Bones chance to fall into the Water, are irrecoverably damned.

Their Law forbids the eating of ought that hath had life; yet are not theſe prohibitions ſo rigorous, but that in caſe of neceſſity, nay even in the time of war, they kill Sheep, Goats,tame Fowl and Fiſh, and eat thereof: But they religiouſly abſtain from the Oxe and Cow, nor do they kill Elephants, Camels, Horſes or Hares; but as to the Oxe and Cow, they forbear them ſo ſtrictly,that they commonly ſay, they had rather feed on their Fathers and Mothers then eat of an Oxe or Cow.

They are permitted to drink Wine and Terry, but are forbidden the drinking of *Aquæ vitæ*, and above all things, being overcome with drunkenneſs: This is a ſin among them, which cannot be expiated without undergoing a very ſevere pennance, which a man muſt either ſubmit to, or be content to quit their communion. *Drunkenneſs.*

Their ſtature is none of the greateſt, but they are of a clearer Complexion then any of the other *Indoſthans*,and their Women are beyond compariſon whiter and fairer then thoſe of the Country, or thoſe of the *Mahumetans*. The Men wear great buſhy Beards, cut round or ſomewhat Spade-wiſe. Some cut off their Hair, others let it grow to the full length. Thoſe who cut their Hair,leave growing on their Crowns a Lock or Tuft about an inch in compaſs.

They are the moſt ſelf-ended and covetous ſort of people in the World, uſing all poſſible induſtry to over-reach and circumvent thoſe they trade withall, though otherwiſe they have an averſion for theft. They are of a better Nature then the *Mahumetans*, at leaſt if it may be ſaid there is any good Nature conſiſtent with a ſelf-ſeeking mind, when it is once poſſeſſed with the baſeſt and moſt infamous of all Vices, Avarice.

There are in the Kingdom of *Guzuratta* two other ſorts of Pagans, one whereof are the *Indous*, who come out of the Province of *Multhan*, and the parts about *Aſmeern*, and are not *Benjans*,inaſmuch as they kill all ſorts of Beaſts, and eat thereof,excepting only the Oxe and Cow. They eat their Meals within a Ring or Circle, within which they permit not the *Benjans* to enter. They are for the moſt part Souldiers, and the *Mogul* makes uſe of them for the keeping of the moſt conſiderable places of his Kingdom. The other ſort comes out of the Kingdom of *Baghenal*, which is commonly called the Kingdom of *Golcanda*, and they are called the *Jentives*. *The Indous.* *Jentives.*

Theſe are a ſort of very ignorant people, who refer themſelves,as to matter of Religion, to their *Bramans*. They believe, that in the beginning there was but one God, who took others into a participation of his power, according as Men came to deſerve that honour by their heroick Actions; and it is to this kind of Saints that they build *Moſqueys*. *Their belief.*

They believe the Immortality and Tranſmigration of Souls, upon which perſwaſion they abhor the effuſion of bloud. Accordingly are there not to be found any Robbers or Murtherers among them; but on the other ſide, they are generally Lyars and Cheats, in which good qualities they exceed all the other *Indians*. They ſeverely puniſh Adultery, but they ſo openly permit Fornication, that there are whole Families among them, whom they call *Bagawaro*, who proſtitute themſelves publickly.

Beſides all theſe, they have yet among them another ſort of people, whom they call *Theers*, who are neither *Pagans* nor *Mahumetans*, for they have no Religion at all. They are altogether imployed about the ſcouring of Wells,Sinks,Common-Shores, and Privies, as alſo the fleaing of dead Beaſts, whoſe fleſh they eat. *Theers.*

They alſo conduct condemn'd perſons to puniſhment, and are ſometimes the Executioners of them. Whence it comes that they are an abomination to all the other *Indians*, who are oblig'd to purifie themſelves from head to foot, if any of theſe people, whom,upon that occaſion, they call *Alchores*, ſhould touch them. Which is the reaſon that they

ſuffer

1638. suffer them not to live within Cities, but assign them Habitations in the extremities of the Suburbs, that they may be as far as may be conveniently from the conversation of other men.

We shall not make it our business here to speak of the Religion of the *Mahumetans*, wherewith the Kingdom *Guzuratta* is peopled, in regard that, some few points only excepted, it is common to them with the *Turks* and *Persians*, whereof there hath been an account given in the precedent Travels of the Embassadors. But we shall continue a little further the digression wherein we are ingag'd, and treat of the manner of life of the *Mahumetans* of the *Indies*, which is much different from that of the *Turks* and *Persians*.

The marriage Ceremonies of the Indian Mahumetans.

We will begin with their Ceremonies of Marriage. The Friends on both sides being agreed, and the Wedding-day appointed, there is brought to the Bridegrooms door a Horse, whose Mane and Crupper are beset with all sorts of Flowers, as is also the piece of Net-work, wherewith they cover the Bridegrooms face, who gets on horseback, accompanied by his Kindred and Friends, having on each side two Pages carrying Umbrelloes of painted Paper, and before him Musick, and certain Men, who cast into the Air, Squibs, Crackers, and other Fire-works. In this Equipage he passes through the principal Streets of the City, and at last comes to the Brides door, where he entertains her with his Musick and Fire-works, for the space of half an hour. Then he goes into the house, where he sits down on pieces of Tapistry, purposely set there for that Ceremony; and whither the Bride comes to him accompanied by her Kindred, and the *Molla* and *Kasi*, or Judge of the place. The *Molla* reads certain passages of the *Alcboran*; and after he hath taken the Bridegrooms Oath, that in case of Divorce, he will provide for the subsistence of his Wife, he blesses the marriage, and goes his way. The rest of the company stay in the room to eat *Bettelé*, and some other Drugs, but they drink no Wine, instead whereof, they take Pills of *Amfion* or *Opium*, which works the same effect, and intoxicates them as Wine does. The Kindred and Friends continue their Assemblies, five or six, sometimes eight or ten dayes together, especially when the marks of the Consummation of marriage are apparent upon the sheets of the new married couple. But if the Bridegroom find it more beaten and common then he expected, he uses it as a high-way, and without any more ado abandons it to the publick; as on the contrary, if he be not able to force himself a passage, and that in the three or four first dayes of his marriage, he gives not visible assurances of his abilities in the work he hath undertaken, one of the Brides nearest Kinswomen sends him a Distaffe, with this message; That since he is incapable of doing mans work, 'tis but fit he should be put to womans.

The effects of Opium.

They may be divorced.

Their marriages are not indissoluble, as they are among *Christians*, nay indeed among the other *Mahumetans*, among whom there is no Divorce made, till the grievances of the parties be first examined, and after that, not without the authority of the Judge. But here the men make it an expres Article in their Contracts of marriage, that they may be divorced, not only in case of Adultery or sterility, but also in case of ever so little aversion they may conceive against their Wives; provided some course be taken by them for their subsistence, during their lives.

Not a word of any restitution of Dower, in regard the Women there do not bring their Husbands any thing besides their Clothes and Jewels: Nor indeed is there any but have their Pendants, Rings and Bracelets, of each good store.

The Women go seldom abroad, and those that are of any quality go in close Coaches, or are carried in *Palanquins*, or Litters, according to the *Indian* mode. There are indeed those who ride on horseback, but they have their faces cover'd with a Skarf; so that they are only the meaner sort, or the common ones, that go a foot, or are seen with their faces uncovered. They are deliver'd without any pain almost, in so much that it is seldom seen there that Women are above two or three hours in labour.

They bring up their Children well.

The *Mahumetans* bring up their Children with much care and tenderness, send them to School as soon as they are capable of learning any thing; and there they are taught to read and write. Those who are not of ability to maintain their Children at School, bestow them on some person of quality, or send them to the Wars, as soon as they are able to bear Arms. They who put themselves into the service of others, enter into a very unhappy condition; inasmuch as they are allow'd but three or four *Ropias* a moneth, towards meat, drink and cloath.

It is observed, that the Children of the *Mahumetans* have a particular tenderness of those that brought them into the world; nay, that it is sometimes so great, that they would rather starve themselves, then suffer those from whom they derive their life, should want any thing requisite for the preservation of their own.

There

There is hardly any person of quality, but makes him a handsom Garden, within which he builds a fair house, having a great number of little windows of all sides, which is to serve for a place of Sepulture for them, and all their Family after them; in these kind of Structures they lay out vast sums of money. 1638.

Their Interments.

The Ceremonies of their Interments are these. Immediately upon the Departure, the Kindred bewail the deceased, and ask him, why he would dye? and whether he wanted those conveniences which he should have had? *&c.* Then they dine, and there is a Feast made, in memory of the deceased. In the mean time, the Body is well washed, there is a clean perfum'd Sheet wrapped about it, and it is put into an open Coffin, from which three or four *Mollas* never stir, but continue near the Body, reading and praying for the Soul of the deceased, till it be carried to the ground. The Coffin is cover'd with Cotton, Velvet, or some other more precious Stuffe, according to the abilities of the deceas'd, and the Kindred and Friends accompany the Body, which is carried by ten or twelve Men to the place of burial, the *Mollas* singing in the mean time certain Hymnes, of thanksgiving Songs, to the glory of God. The Body is laid down upon the right side, with the Face turned towards the West, the Feet towards the South, and the Head towards the North; and the Coffin is covered with a board, to keep the Earth from touching the Body, and defiling it. While the Body is let down into the Grave, the Kindred mutter certain Prayers between their teeth; and that done, all the company returns to the house of the deceased, where the *Mollas* continue their Prayers for his Soul, for the space of two or three dayes: and during all this time, there is no fire made within the house, but the meat is dressed elsewhere.

They are called Mansulmans *or* Mussulmans.

They assume the quality of *Mussulmans*, and believe that there is no salvation out of their Communion, treating as Hereticks and Infidels, not only the *Christians*, but also all such as profess any other Religion then theirs. Nay, they would not eat of what a Christian or Pagan had dress'd, unless it be Bread, Butter, Cheese, Preserves, or any thing of that kind. They have a far greater aversion for the *Roman* Catholicks then they have for the *Protestants*, upon this account, that they cannot endure the worshipping of Images, nor the Adoration of things visible.

Their stature and complexion.

They are for the most part of a good stature, and there are few hunch-back'd or lame among them. They among them who are called *Mogolies*, are of a clearer Complexion then the others, but they have all their Hair black, and without curling.

They love not flaxen or fair hair'd people, and have an aversion for such as are red hair'd, out of an opinion they have, that they are Leprous. For that Disease is very common in those parts; nay the more in this regard, that the Pox, which is no less common, is never so well cured, but that it leaves some corruption in the bloud, which by insensible degrees infects the whole body, and, in time, degenerates into Leprosie. The *Mollas* suffer their Beards to grow, but all the rest shave, not only their Beards, but also their Heads, excepting only a little tuft, or lock, which they leave upon the Crown; upon this perswasion, that by the said lock, *Mahumet* is to take them and lift them up to Heaven.

Their Habit.

Both Men and Women are cloath'd much after the same manner. Their Garments, which are of Cotton, Silk, or Brocadoe, according to the several qualities of the persons, are close above, like our close Coats, but from the waste downwards they grow wider and wider, till they come to the small of the leg, where their breeches, which come down to the feet, are gathered into many folds. Their Shooes are of *Spanish* Leather, or some Silk-stuffe, or Brocadoe, the quarters very low, in regard they put them off ever and anon, when they go into their Chambers, the Floors whereof are covered with Tapistry. As to what they wear about their Heads, it is rather like that of the *Turks* then that of the *Persians*, and is made of a very thin Stuff, of Cotton or Silk, and wrought with Gold or Silver Thread. They call it *Sheer*, and never put it off, but when they go to bed. Upon their ordinary Garment, they wear a kind of Cloak, which they call *Pomercis*, against the Cold and Rain. They tye their Garment about with a Girdle, which they call *Commerbant*, which is made of a Silk-stuffe, wrought with Gold Thread, upon which they have another, which is a larger, of a very fine Cotton. Persons of Quality wear in their Girdles a kind of Armes or Ponyards, short and broad, which they call *Ginda*, or *Catarre*, the handle and sheath whereof are of Gold, and many times set with precious Stones.

Their Houses.

The Houses of Persons of Quality are spacious enough, and consist of several Appartments, Halls, Chambers and Closets. The Roofs of their Houses are flat, so as that a Man may go upon them, to take the fresh Air, and lye there in the night. There is no House almost, but hath its Garden and *Tanque*; but their Buildings are poor,

1638. for their Walls are but of Earth, plaiſtered over with a Compoſition, made of Free-ſtone beaten ſmall, Lime, Gum and Sugar, which makes a dazling white, and is as ſmooth as Glaſs. Their Houſes are but poorly furniſh'd, even the Kitchin it ſelf, where you ſee only a few Diſhes and Stoves: but the Women in their own Lodgings take no ſmall pride in ſetting out their Gold and Silver Plate.

The Ceremonies of their Viſits. The Men receive their Viſits in a Hall, where they ſit on ſeveral pieces of Tapiſtry: At their entrance into the Room they mutually ſalute one another with their *Salom*, which they accompany with a low inclination; and if the Perſon whom they ſalute be of Quality, they put the right hand to their heads, to ſhew the power they are willing he ſhould have over them. When there is no ſubmiſſion due on either ſide, the Viſitants think it enough to ſalute one the other only with an inclination of the body, and ſometimes they take one another by the lock, ſaying, *Grab anemcas*, that is, *be it to you according to the prayers of the poor.* He who receives viſits keeps his place, and cauſes thoſe who come to ſee him, to ſit on both ſides of him. They are very civil and very reſerved in their converſation, inſomuch that they are never ſeen conteſting or loud in their diſcourſe, and never uſe any geſtures of either the hand or the head. When they would whiſper to any one, they cover their mouth with a Skarf or Napkin, leſt their breath ſhould offend the perſon whom they ſpeak to. They who make Viſits about buſineſs, take leave as ſoon as they have done; but intimate Friends continue their Viſits, till the Maſter of the houſe be called to dinner.

Their expence. They are very expenſive in Cloaths, Feaſting and Women; for their Law allowing them to take all pleaſures imaginable, provided they do not injure their Neighbours, they are willing enough to make their advantage of that permiſſion, and ſo purſue all the delight their hearts can wiſh. When they eat, they ſit upon Tapiſtry, and are ſerved by a Carver. They have no Napkin, nor need any, for they never touch the Meat with their hands.

Their Domeſticks. They keep as many Servants as they can maintain, aſſigning every perſon his particular Employment, wherein the others are ſo exact, that they who are appointed to do one thing, will not do the leaſt ſervice for another. For a *Selvidar*, whoſe place it is to look to the Horſes, will not meddle with an Oxe, or do any thing about the Cart, becauſe that is the duty of the *Belluwan*. The *Serriewan* hath the overſight of the Camels, and the *Mahout* that of the Elephants.

The *Fraſſy* looks to the Tents and Tapiſtry; and the *Santeles* are Lacqueys. Theſe have a great Plume of Feathers on their Heads, and two little Bells upon their Breaſts, and will eaſily travel fifteen or ſixteen Leagues a day. They are not kept in the Houſe, but have their Wages, on which they live, though it amounts not to above three or four *Ropias* a Moneth. But they have withall certain Vails, calied *Teſtury*; yet with all the Advantages they can make of their ſervices, it is as much as they can do to ſubſiſt.

Their greateſt expence is that which they are at about their Wives. For being permitted to have three or four, if they pleaſe, they are oblig'd to maintain them, with their Eunuchs and Slaves, according to their quality, by allowing them a certain ſum monethly, as alſo by finding them Cloaths, Pearls, and Houſhold-ſtuffe. Their Polygamy hath this convenience in it, that there is no Woman, but uſes all Induſtry and Artifice imaginable to gain her Husbands affection, and defeat her Rivals. All the careſſes, all the kindneſſes ſhe can think of, ſhe makes uſe of to ingratiate her ſelf.

There is no Drug eminent for its venereal Vertues, but ſhe will find out ſome means or other to give him, to excite him to Voluptuouſneſs; and ſhe thinks no complyance too great, to purchaſe his more frequent enjoyments. They have alſo a great kindneſs for the Eunuchs, in whoſe cuſtody they are, to engage them to afford them more liberty in their reſtraint, which they brook ſo ill, that in thoſe parts a man would think Polygamy ſhould rather be permitted the Women then the Men.

The condition of Tradeſmen. But of all, Tradeſmen are in the ſaddeſt condition, in as much as the Children cannot be put to any other Trades then what their Fathers are of, and there is this inconvenience withall, that a piece of work muſt paſs through three or four hands before it be finiſhed; ſo that all they can do is to get five or ſix pence a day. They muſt accordingly fare very poorly, their ordinary Diet being only *Kitſery*, which they make of Beans pounded, and Rice, which they boyl together in water till the water be conſumed. Then they put thereto a little Butter melted, and this is their Supper, for all day they eat only Rice and Wheat in the grain.

Their Houſes. Their Houſes are low, the Walls of Earth, and covered with green Turfs. They make

make no fire in their Houſes; for having nothing that is combuſtible but Cow-dung, the ſtink of that would be inſupportable; whence it comes that they burn it before their Doors. They alſo rub the walls with the ſame dung, out of an imagination, that it keeps away Fleas and other Inſects. 1638.

Merchants are infinitely more happy then Tradeſmen; but they alſo have this inconvenience, that as ſoon as they have gotten any wealth together, they are expoſed to the envy of the Grandees, who find out wayes to fleece them, as ſoon as they make any ſhew of it. And whereas they cannot do it with Juſtice, they many times make uſe of ſuch pretences as coſt thoſe their lives who have acquired exceſſive riches. *Merchants.*

All the *Mahumetans* of theſe parts may be ſaid to profeſs the ſame Religion; but they have among them certain Superſtitions, and particular manners of life, whereby they are diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral Sects, though it may be alſo alledged, that they are to be accounted rather ſo many Nations, then different Sects. For when they are diſtinguiſhed into *Patans*, *Moguls*, or *Mogollies*, and *Indoſthans*, who are ſubdivided into many other more conſiderable Fractions, as *Sayet*, *Seegh*, and *Leet*, it muſt be confeſs'd, that if there be any difference in their humours, and manner of life, they brought it out of the Countreys whence they came, and that it is not to be attributed to their Religion. For it is certain that the *Patans* are thoſe, who in the precedent Travels of the Embaſſadours, are called *Padars*, a ſort of ſelf-conceited, inſolent, cruel, and barbarous people. They ſleight others, for no other reaſon, then that they are not ſo raſh as themſelves in hazarding their lives without any neceſſity. *Patans.*

The *Moguls*, on the contrary, who came out of great *Tartary*, are good natur'd, mild, diſcreet, civil, obliging, and full of complyance; whence it comes, that they are more reſpected then the others. *Moguls.*

The *Indoſthans*, or *Hinduſthans*, are the ancient Inhabitants of the Country, and diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt by their colour, which is much blacker then that of the two former. Theſe are a Ruſtical ſort of people, and covetous, and not ſo ingenious and crafty as the *Patans* and *Moguls*. *Indoſthans.*

In the Province of *Hica-chan*, there lives a certain people, whom they call *Blotious*, who are of a ſtrong conſtitution, and courageous, as the *Patans*. They are for the moſt part employed about the carriage of Merchandiſes, they let out Camels, and undertake the Conduct of the *Caffilas*, and this they do with ſo much fidelity, that they would rather loſe their lives, then endure the reproach of having loſt any thing committed to their charge. *Blotious.*

There are no common Inns in all the Kingdom of *Guzuratta*, nor indeed in all the *Mogul*'s Countrey; but inſtead thereof, in Cities, as alſo in ſome Villages, there are certain publick Buildings, called *Sarai*, built by ſome perſons out of Charity, for the convenience of Strangers and Travellers, who, were it not for thoſe, would be forc'd to lie in the open Air. Theſe are the *Caravanſeras*, which have only the four walls, and a covering over head; ſo that to be accommodated therein, a Man muſt bring along with him what is not to be had there. *No Inn in Guzuratta.*

In travelling through the Countrey, they make uſe of Camels, Mules, Horſes and Oxen. They have alſo a kind of Coaches, for two or three perſons, which are drawn by Oxen, whereto they are ſo accuſtomed, that they eaſily go ten or twelve leagues a day. The upper part or covering of theſe Coaches is of Cloath or Velvet; but thoſe which carry Women are cloſe of all ſides.

Perſons of all quality make uſe alſo of Elephants, and are ſometimes carried in *Palanquines*, which are a kind of Litters or Sedans, carried by two men upon their Shoulders with a bar. They bring up their Elephants with much care, and are at great charge about them. They delight much in Hawking and Hunting. Their Greyhounds are ſomewhat leſs then ours, but they tame Tigers and Leopards, whereof they make uſe in hunting, and theſe ſurpriſe their prey at a ſudden leap, but they never purſue it.

They are particularly induſtrious at the catching of River-fowl, by means of the Skin of a tame Duck, which being fill'd with Hay, they ſwim even with the Water, and drawing the Decoy-duck after them, they inſenſibly get among the others, and take them by the feet, without ever frighting them.

They are very expert at the Bow, which they make of a wild Oxes horn, and the Arrows of a very light kind of Cane; nay, they are ſo excellent at it, that ſometimes they will take a Bird flying. *Their expertneſs at the Bow.*

They delight much in Cheſs, and have alſo a kind of Game at Cards. They are lovers of Muſick, though there be no great Harmony in their own. But above all things they are befotted with judiciary *Aſtrology*, in ſo much that they never

1638. undertake any buſineſs of conſequence, but they firſt conſult the *Minatzim*.

They have ſome of Ariſtotle's, and Avicenna's Works.

They have ſome of *Ariſtotle*'s Works tranſlated into the *Arabian* tongue, which they call *Aplis*, as alſo ſome Treatiſes of *Avicennas*, for whom they have a very high reſpect, becauſe he was born at *Smarcanda*, under the juriſdiction of *Tamerlam*. Their Writings are not ill, and their Productions are not void of Eloquence. They keep a Regiſter of all the remarkable Actions that are done among them, and have ſuch an exact account thereof, as might ſerve to write a Hiſtory of the Countrey.

Their Language.

Of their Language there are many Dialects, but it is eaſie enough to be learnt, and they write as we do, from the left hand to the right. Moſt of any quality about the *Mogul*'s Court ſpeak the *Perſian* tongue; nay ſome, but very few, ſpeak alſo the *Arabian*.

The Diſeaſes of the Country.

The moſt common Diſeaſes of thoſe parts are the bloudy Flux, and burning Feavers; and the Remedy they ordinarily make uſe of againſt them is Abſtinence. They have good ſtore of Phyſitians, but no Surgeons. Barbers, of which Profeſſion there is a great number, are they who let bloud, and apply Leeches.

Winter begins in June.

In the Kingdom of *Guzuratta*, Winter begins towards the end of *June*, and laſts till *September*: but there are not ſuch continual Rains there as at *Goa*, for it rains only in certain Intervals, and particularly at new and full Moon. The North-wind blows conſtantly for ſix moneths together, and the South-wind for as many. The hotteſt moneths in the year are *April*, *May*, and the beginning of *June*, during which the ſultrineſs of the weather is ſuch, that it were inſupportable, were it not that ſome Winds riſe ever and anon, which moderate the exceſſive heats; but with that convenience they bring along with them an inconvenience, which is, their raiſing ſuch an extraordinary Duſt, that it deprives a Man of the ſight of the Sun.

The Commerce of Guzuratta.

There is a vaſt Trade driven in many Commodities all over the Kingdom of *Guzuratta*, but particularly in Cotton and Linnen Cloaths, which are in fairneſs and fineneſs equal to thoſe of *Holland*; as alſo in ſeveral Silk-ſtuffes, as *Coutoms*, which are of ſeveral colours, *Satins*, *Taffatas*, *Petolas*, *Commerbands*, *Ornis*, of Gold and Silk, which Women commonly make uſe of to cover their Faces withall, *Brocadoes*, Tapiſtry, or *Alcatifs*, *Chitrenges*, or ſtreaked Carpets, to lay over Cheſts and Cabinets, quilted Coverlets of Silk or Cotton, which they call *Geodris*, or *Nalis*, Tents, *Perintos*, or *Neuhar*, which they make uſe of inſtead of Couches, *Cadels*, or Bed-ſteads, Cabinets of *Lacque*, Cheſs-boards of Tortoiſe-ſhell, Seals, Beads, Chains, Buttons, and Rings of Ivory, Amber, Rock-Cryſtal, and Agat,

The manner of making Indico.

The beſt *Indico* in the world comes from about *Amadabath*, from a Village call'd *Chirchees*, whence it derives the name. The Herb of which they make it is like that of yellow Parſnip, but ſhorter, and more bitter, ſprouting forth into branches like a Reed, and growing, in kind years, ſix or ſeven foot high: the Flower is like that of a Thiſtle, and the Seed like that of Fenu-greek. It is ſown in *June*, and cut in *November*, and *December*. It is ſown but once in three years, and the firſt year the leaves are cut off within a foot of the ground. The ſtalks are taken away, and the leaves are ſet a drying in the Sun, and that done, they are ſet a ſoaking, for four or five dayes, in a Stone-trough, containing about ſix or ſeven foot water, which is ever and anon ſtirred, till ſuch time as the Water hath ſuckt out the colour and vertue of the Herb. That done, they let out the Water into another Trough, where they ſuffer it to ſettle for one night. The next day, all the Water is taken away, and what is left in the bottom of the Trough is ſtrain'd through a courſe Cloath, and is ſet a drying in the Sun. And this is the beſt *Indico*; but the Countrey people adulterate it, by mixing therewith a certain Earth of the ſame colour. And whereas the goodneſs of this Drug is diſcovered by its lightneſs, they have the cunning to put a little Oyl into it, to make it ſwim upon the water.

The ſecond year, the ſtalk which was left the year before ſhoots forth other leaves, but they are not ſo good as thoſe of the firſt. Yet is this preferr'd before *Gyngey*, that is, wild *Indico*. It is alſo the ſecond year that they ſuffer ſome part of it to grow up to ſeed. That of the third year is not good, and conſequently not ſought after by forraign Merchants, but is imploy'd by the Inhabitants of the Countrey in the dying of their Cloaths. The beſt *Indico* is almoſt of a violet colour, and hath ſomewhat of its ſmell, when it's burned. The *Indoſthans* call it *Anil*; and after it hath been in the ground three years, they ſuffer the Land to lye fallow for one year ere they ſow it again.

Saltpeter.

Moſt of the *Saltpeter* which is ſold in *Guzuratta* comes from *Aſmer*, ſixty Leagues from *Agra*, and they get it out of Land that hath lain long fallow. The blackeſt and fatteſt ground yields moſt of it, though other Lands afford ſome, and it is made thus. They make certain Trenches which they fill with their Saltpetrous Earth, and let into them ſmall Rivulets, as much water as will ſerve for its ſoaking, which may be the more effectually done,

they

they make use of their feet, treading it till it become a Broath. When the Water hath drawn out all the Saltpeter which was in the Earth, they take the clearest part of it, and dispose it into another Trench, where it grows thick, and then they boil it like Salt, continually scumming it, and then they put it into earthen pots, wherein the remainder of the Dregs goes to the bottom; and when the Water begins to thicken, they take it out of these pots, to set it a drying in the Sun, where it grows hard, and is reduc'd into that form wherein it is brought into *Europe*. 1638

Borax, or the green Earth which the Goldsmiths make use of in the refining of Gold and Silver, is found in a Mountain, in the Province of *Purbet*, under the jurisdiction of the *Raja*, *Biberom*, towards great *Tartary*; whence there is brought also good store of Spikenard, Quicksilver, Musk, and Copper, as also a certain colour, which dyes a very beautiful brown. The *Borax* grows in the River *Jankenckar*, which at his coming out of the Mountain falls into the River *Maseroor*, which crosses the whole Province, and produces that Drug, which grows in the bottom of the River, as Coral doth: The Inhabitants of *Guzuratta* call it *Jankenckhar*, and keep it in Pouches of Sheep-skin, which, for its better preservation, they fill with Oyl. *Borax.*

The *Hingh*, which our Drugsters and Apothecaries call *Assa fœtida*, comes for the most part from *Persia*, but that which the Province of *Utrad* produces in the *Indies* is the best, and there is a great Traffick driven in it all over *Indosthan*. The Plant which produces it is of two kinds; one grows like a Bush, and hath small leaves, like Rice, and the other resembles a Turnip-leaf, and its greenness is like that of Fig-tree leaves. It thrives best in stony and dry places, and its Gum begins to come forth towards the latter end of Summer, so that it must be gathered in Autumn. The traffick of it is so much the greater in those parts, upon this account, that the *Benjans* of *Guzuratta* make use of it in all their Sawces, and rub their Pots and drinking Vessels therewith, by which means they insensibly accustom themselves to that strong Scent, which we in *Europe* are hardly able to endure. *Assa fœtida.*

The *Amphion*, *Offion*, or *Opium*, which is spent in *Europe*, comes from *Aden*, or *Cayro*; but that which is sold in the *Indies* comes out of the Province of *Gualor*, in *Indosthan*, and is nothing but the juyce which is got out of Poppy, by an incision made therein, when it begins to grow ripe. All the Eastern Nations are great Lovers of it, in so much that the young people, who are not permitted the use of it, and the meaner sort, who are not able to buy it, will boyl the Poppy it self, and eat of the broath which is made thereof. And whereas the Poppy among them is called *Pust*, they thence call those *Pusty*, who make use of that broath, instead of *Opium*. The *Persians* affirm, that they were the first who made use of it, and that all other Nations did it in imitation of their Grandees, who took it, at first, to provoke sleeping. They take every day a small pill of it, about the bigness of a Pea; not so much in order to sleeping, as that it should work the same effect as Wine does, which infuses courage and great hopes into those, who otherwise would not discover much of either. The *Caffees*, or Messengers, who travel into the Country, take of it to hearten themselves; but the *Indians* make use of it for the most part, that they may be the better fitted for the enjoyments of Women. No doubt but it is a poyson, which kills, if a Man do not accustom himself thereto by little and little; and when he hath so accustomed himself, he must continue the frequent use of it, or he dies, on the other side. It so weakens their Brains who take it continually, that they run the hazard of losing the use of their Reason, and the principal functions of their Understanding, and become in a manner stupid, if they recover not themselves by the same Remedy. Opium.

We have spoken already of *Lacque*, and shall have occasion to say somewhat of it elsewhere.

We shall therefore here only add, that in *Guzuratta* there grows abundance of *Cummin*, *Ginger*, and *Mirobalans*, which they traffick much in, both dry'd and preserv'd with brown Sugar. There are also several other Drugs, which have their use in Physick. *The Drugs of Guzuratta.*

There are found in the same Kingdom Diamonds, but not many, Pearls, Emeralds, Granats, or Garnets, Agats, *&c.* Alablaster, red Marble, Jasper-stone, which the Inhabitants have the Art to polish above all others. *Their precious Stones.*

There is but one kind of weight all over the Kingdom of *Guzuratta*, which they call *Mon*, that is to say, a hand, which weighs fourty *Ceers*, and makes thirty pounds and a half, each pound containing sixteen ounces; and a *Ceer* weighs eighteen *Peysses*, which is a kind of brass money that makes about twelve ounces. *Their Weights.*

They have two kinds of Ells; the lesser makes but half an Ell, and a sixteenth part of the measure of *France*; and nineteen of the greater sort make thirteen Ells three quarters of the same measure. *Their Measures.*

They have also two sorts of Money, to wit, the *Mamudies*, and the *Ropias*. The *Mamudies* *Their Mamudies.*

1638. *modies* are made at *Surat*, of Silver of a very base alloy, and are worth about twelve pence *sterl.* and they go only at *Surat*, *Brodra*, *Broitschia*, *Cambaya*, and those parts. Over all the Kingdom besides, as at *Amadabath* and elsewhere, they have *Ropias Chagam*, which are very good Silver, and worth half a Crown French money. Their small money is of Copper, and these are the *Peyses* we spoke of, and whereof twenty six make a *Mamoudy*, and fifty four a *Ropia*. They also make use of Almonds, whereof thirty six make a *Peyse*, as also of certain Shells, which they call *Kaurets*, and are gathered on the Sea-side, eighty whereof amount to a *Peyse*. *Spanish Ryals* and *Rixdollars*, are worth there five *Mamoudies*, in regard they convert them into their own Coins with much advantage, by the change they make either to weight or alloy, and many times as to both. They esteem the *Larris* of *Persia*, the Silver whereof is very good. They have also a certain Coin of Gold, which they call *Xeraphins*, and is worth about thirteen *Ropias* and a half; but there are very few of them. The *Chequines*, and *Ducats* of *Venice*, are more common there, and are worth eight and a half, and sometimes nine *Ropias*, *Surat* money, according to the change, and the rate set on the money, which rises or falls according to the plenty or scarcity of money, upon the place where it is paid.

Much counterfeit money in the Indies.

There is abundance of counterfeit Money coin'd in the *Indies*, whence it comes that there is no payment made, but it is done before these Changers, whom they call *Xaraffes*, who have their Shops at the corners of the principal Streets, and for a small matter, secure the goodness of the Money, which they are so well acquainted with, that they immediately discover whether it be counterfeit or not.

Their ordinary way of accounting is by *Lacs*, each of which is worth a hundred thousand *Ropias*; and a hundred *Lacs* make a *Crou*, or *Carroa*, and ten *Carroas* make an *Areb*. A *Theil* of Silver makes eleven, twelve, or thirteen *Ropias*, current money. A *Massas* and a half make a *Theil* of Silver, ten whereof make a *Theil* of Gold. They call their Brass or Copper money *Tacques*; and it is prohibited, upon pain of death, that any should transport either Gold, Silver, or coined Brass out of the Country.

The fertility of Guzuratta.

Speaking before casually of the fertility of this Country, we said, it wanted not any thing requisite for the life of Man. It produces Wheat, Rice, Pease, Beans, Barly, Millet *Turkish* Wheat, Flax, Mustard-seed, *&c.* Oyl, Butter, Cheese, though somewhat dry, and over-salted, to please the palats of Forreigners; and all these it is better stor'd with then any Province of *Europe*. Their Wheat is much bigger and whiter then ours, and they make bread of it, not to be baked in an Oven, as we do, but upon Iron plates. The poorer sort, and particularly the *Benjans*, make a kind of Flawns of it in Frying-pans over their fire of Cow-dung, which they make use of instead of Wood. Their Pease and Beans are somewhat less then ours, but much more delicate, especially their red Chices, wherewith in some places they feed their Horses, Oxen and Buffles, instead of Oats, which is a kind of Grain not used in the *Indies*. They do not make any Hay at all, nor ever cut any Grass, but what is eaten while it is green. Their Sowing time is in *May*, and their Harvest in *November* and *December*.

Their way of baking bread.

No Oats in the Indies.

Their seed-time and harvest.

There is not any person in the *Mogul*'s Countrey, possess'd of any real Estate in Land. But when Seed-time is coming on, the Peasants apply themselves to the Governour, or him who is next under the King in the several Provinces, and acquaint him how much ground they intend to cultivate that year, upon condition to allow the King a third part, nay sometimes half the profits, in so much that it often happens, that the Peasants hardly get in the charges they had been at in the manuring of it. On the contrary, the *Mogul* leaves all the Meadow-ground to be Common, and makes little or no advantage thereof; whence it comes, that most Grounds lye fallow, and bring forth only Grass.

The Mogul is really possessed of the whole Country.

The Gardens.

They sow in their Gardens all sorts of Pot-herbs, as Lettice, Succory, Sorrel, Parsley, *&c.*, Radishes, Navew, Cabbages, Cowcumbers, Citruls, Garlick, Onions, Parsnips of several kinds; but above all, Melons, which in delicacy exceed those of all other parts. The Rose only excepted, there is almost no Flower but is sought after more for its colour then scent: for though those they call *Mogera* and *Scampi* have a good smell, yet are the Women more in love with them for their colour then scent. The former are white, the latter yellow, and both are to be had all the year long, as also the Grass wherewith all the Fields are covered, unless it be when the excessive heat of the Summer dries it up.

Trees.

Besides the Trees known to us, and which bring forth Lemmons, Citrons of several kinds, and Pomegranats; there are also those called *Ananas*, *Banasses*, *Jaccas*, *Cocos*, and Fig-trees, of which they most cultivate the *Cocos*-trees, out of which they get the Terry. There is also near *Surat* a kind of Grapes, but much less then those of *Persia*, and much dearer then any other Fruit of the Countrey. We shall have occasion to speak of it elsewhere, and shall therefore only add here, that their Forrests, which are full of these sorts of

Trees,

Trees, are ſtor'd, beſides the Creatures we have ſpoken of heretofore, with a kind of wild Dogs, which they call *Jakals*; but it is death for any to hurt them, or any of the other Beaſts, that are yellow or black, becauſe that ſport is reſerv'd for the King, and the Governour of the Province. 1638.

Their Horſes are not comparable to thoſe of *Perſia* and *Arabia*; yet are they at great charge in keeping them, allowing a Groom for every Horſe, and feeding them after a particular manner. When they give them of that kind of Peaſe called *Cicheres*, whereof we ſpoke before, called by them *Donua*, they cauſe them to be beaten and boil'd. Beſides which, they give them, twice a day, morning and evening, two pounds of Barly-meal, which they make up into a Paſte with half a pound of Butter, and a pound of Sugar. *Their Horſes.*

The Oxen of this Countrey are of the ſame making with ours, ſave that they have a great bunch or riſing between the Shoulders. The *Mahumetans* are the only people that eat of them, as they do alſo of Mutton; but they are only the poorer ſort that do ſo. Perſons of quality feed on Kid, which they either roaſt whole, making a Pudding of Rice, Almonds, and Raiſins of the Sun, in the belly, or they ſtew them with Butter and Pepper, which they call *Brenghie*, and is very good meat. They eat alſo of thoſe *Perſian* Sheep that have ſuch fat tails; but this is a very ſcarce diſh, and conſequently reſerv'd for great Mens Tables, and extraordinary Entertainments. *Their Beef and Mutton.*

They have alſo Fowl, as Capons, Peacocks, Geeſe, wild Ducks, Teal, Partridges, Pigeons, Herons, Sparrows; as alſo all ſorts of Birds of prey, as Faulcons, Taſſels, Hawks, Eagles, *&c.* *Their Fowl.*

They want no River fiſh, as Carps, Breams, Eels, *&c.* and Salt-fiſh is extraordinary good, and very cheap, proceeding hence, that the Pagans eat not of it at all, and the *Mahumetans* love Fleſh better then Fiſh. They have alſo all ſorts of Shell-fiſh, as Oyſters and Crabs, and particularly a certain Fiſh (which in the Maritime Towns of *Picardy* is called *Cheurette*, and is a kind of great Prawn) ſo big, that a dozen of them makes a good diſh. It is very remarkable, that whereas, upon all the Coaſts of *Europe*, this Fiſh is beſt at the Full-moon, in thoſe parts it is ſo at the New; and at the Full, Shell-fiſh are in a manner empty. The Fiſh called *Tubarons*, which devour Men, are often ſeen in thoſe parts, and that is one reaſon why all perſons ordinarily bathe and waſh themſelves in *Tankes*. *Fiſh.*

Their Ships are but poorly built, in ſo much that they have no other way to diſpoſe of their Artillery but upon the deck, and conſequently in the open Air. The greateſt Voyages they make are thoſe of *Java* and *Sumatra*, Eaſtward; and to *Aden* and *Meca* upon the Red-ſea. They ſometimes carry above a thouſand perſons together, who for the moſt part go upon Pilgrimage to *Meca*, that at their return they may be put into the number of their *Heggoi*, or Saints. They ſet ſail at the beginning of the *March-Moon*, and return in *September*, for the tempeſts, which reign from *June* till that time upon thoſe Coaſts, makes them ſpend ſix moneths in a Voyage which might be performed in two. *Their Ships*

The Commodities they tranſport to the Coaſts of *Aden*, are Cotten, Linnen-cloath, Indico, Camphire, Tobacco, Allum, Sulphur, Benjamin, Pepper, and other Spices, Mirobalans, and ſeveral other ſorts of Preſerves, and they bring back very little in Commodities, to wit, Coral, Amber, *Miſſeit*, wherewith they dye red, *Kahwa* or *Coffee*-berries, and *Opium*, which is accounted the beſt of all the Eaſt; but their beſt returns conſiſt in Gold and Silver coined. *Their trading to the Red-ſea.*

The other Veſſels, which are leſs, and go from *Surat*, *Cambaia* and *Broitſchia* upon the Coaſts of *Perſia*, bring home Brocadoes, Silk-ſtuffes, Velvets, Chamlets, Pearls, dry Fruits, as Almonds, Raiſins of the Sun, Nuts, and Dates, and above all Roſe-water, wherewith they drive a great Trade. Theſe go away in the moneths of *January* and *February*, and return in *April*, or the beginning of *May*. There are other Ships of a hundred, two hundred, and three hundred tuns burthen, which carry to *Acim*, in the Iſland of *Sumatra*, all ſorts of the Commodities of the Country, and bring home Sulphur, Benjamin, Camphire, Percelain, Tin and Pepper. Theſe laſt ſet ſail in *May*, for this reaſon, that the *Portuguez*, who forbid the ſelling of Pepper any where but in the Cities where they have eſtabliſhed their Commerce, upon pain of death and confiſcation of Goods, and guard the Coaſt againſt the Pirats of the *Malabares*, draw not into their Havens till that time; and therefore they muſt ſo order their Affairs, that they may be at home again in *October*, before the *Portuguez* ſet out their Fleets to Sea. *To the Perſian Gulf.* *To Achim.*

The *Malabares*, who inhabit that part of the *Indian* Coaſt, which reaches from *Cap di Rama*, ten Leagues from *Goa* Southward, as far as *Cap di Comori*, about a hundred and ſeven, or a hundred and eight Leagues in length, and comprehends the Cities of *Calicut*, *Onor*, *Bacalir*, *Bacanor*, *Mangalor*, *Cananor*, and *Granganor*, have alſo very great trade at *Surat*, *Cambaya* and *Broitſchia*, and bring thither *Cayro*, which is the bark of the *Cocos*-trees, whereof *The Commerce of the Malabares in Guzuratta.*

1638. whereof they make Cordage for Ships: *Copera*, or the pith of the ſame Trees, brown Sugar, which they call *Sigaga*, *Areca* and *Bettelé*, which they call in their Language, *Dimang*; a certain kind of Wood which dyes red, called *Patang* and *Harpus*, wherewith Ships are calked, as alſo Rice and other proviſions. They carry home *Opium*, Saffron, Coral, Cotton, Thread, Linnen-cloaths and other Stuffes. They come to *Surat* and upon the Coaſts, in the moneth of *December*, and go away in *April*.

The Commerce of the Portuguez.

The *Portuguez*, who for a long time had all the advantages of the Trade of *Guzuratta*, and were become Maſters thereof, by means of the Forts they had built at *Daman*, *Diu*, and *Goa*, to make their party good againſt the *Malabares*, their irreconcileable Enemies, brought thither Lead, Tin, Vermilion, Quickſilver, all ſorts of Woollen-clothes, Ivory, Sandal-wood, Pepper, *Cardomomum*, or grains of Paradiſe, Cloves, Porcelane, *China*-Stuffes, Cinnamon, *Cocos*, *Cayro*, Veſſels of Gold, Vermilion-gilt, made in *Europe*; and bought there all ſorts of Stuffes, Cotton-clothes, Indico, Saltpeter, *Lacque*, Sugar, *Mirobalans*, Preſerves, Bed-ſteads, Cabinets, and other pieces made of *Lacque*, which they brought to *Goa*, and diſpoſed into their great Ships or *Carracks*, which ſet thence for *Portugal* in *January* and *February*. They bought there alſo, Butter, *Aſſa fœtida*, *Opium*, Cummin, Cotton and Thread, to be tranſported to *Malacca*, *China*, and *Sapan*, where they traded many times at two hundred upon one hundred profit. But ſince the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſetled themſelves in the Kingdom of *Guzuratta*, they have been forc'd to quit ſome part of that Trade, and to content themſelves with what they ſtill carry on at *Goa*, whereof we ſhall give ſome account in the ſecond Book of this Relation.

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MANDELSLO'S TRAVELS INTO THE INDIES.

The Second Book.

THe *Engliſh* Preſident, Mr. *Metwold*, who had reſign'd his charge in the *Indies* to his Succeſſour, Mr. *Fremling*, having taken all requiſite order for our Voyage, went the firſt day of *January*, 1639. to take his leave of the *Sulthan*, who receiv'd him very kindly, and preſented him with a Veſtment of *Brocadoe*, the Collar whereof was made of two *Martins* Skins with Sables, which he then had about him; as alſo many other rare things, which he entreated him to keep for his ſake. At our coming out of the *Sulthans* Palace, we were received into a Shallop, which brought us aboard the *Mary*, then lying in the Road, two Leagues from the mouth of the River. The new Preſident, and the chiefeſt of the *Engliſh* Officers, accompanied us into the Ship, where they ſtayed three dayes, entertaining and treating one another, and drowning in good Wine the affliction which was to enſue upon ſo long a ſeparation. *JANUARY.* 1639. Mandelſlo leaves Surat.

We ſet ſail the fifth, two hours before day, and got at night in ſight of the City of *Daman*, where we found one of our Ships which was gone before us, to take up a *Portuguez* Veſſel that was to go along with us to *Goa*. The Governour ſent us a Veſſel of Wine, about the bigneſs of a Barrel, and ſome other refreſhments, notwithſtanding the ſiege which the King of *Decam*, his Neighbour, then maintain'd againſt the place, but with little good ſucceſs, in regard the Haven being not block'd up, the *Indians* could not prevent the ſending in of relief into the City, even in the day time. *Comes to* Daman.

The Kingdom of *Decam*, or rather *Cuncam*, for ſo it is more commonly called, though from its *Metropolis* it ſometimes gets the name of *Viſiapour*, reaches all along that Coaſt, from *Ingediva*, which lies within twelve leagues of *Goa*, towards the South, to a place named *Siffarde*. The Neighbouring Princes are, on the North-ſide, the King *Neſamſa*, who is poſſeſs'd of the Country which lies between the Province of *Dolte Babib*, within the Kingdom of *Decam*, and the Kingdom of *Bailama* on *Daman* ſide; and on the Eaſt, the King of *Benghenal*, whoſe reſidence is in the City of *Golcanda*, which is corruptly called *Golconda*.

The chief Maritime Cities of the Kingdom of *Decam*, are *Geytapour*, *Raſapour*, *Carapatan*, and *Dabul*; but the *Metropolis* of the Kingdom is *Viſiapour*, eighty Leagues from *Dabul*, and eighty four from *Goa*.

The way from *Goa* to *Viſiapour* lies according to the following direction, which we

1639. thought fit to insert here, purposely to take occasion by that means to discover a good part of the Country.

The way from Goa to Visiapour, Ditcauly. As soon as you come out of *Goa*, you cross the River *Mazre de dios*, to get into the Country of the King of *Visiapour*, in which the first place you come to is the City of *Ditcauly*, three Leagues from *Goa*. The Governour of this City is Governour also of the Fort of *Ponda*, which is upon the same River. From *Ditcauly* to *Danda* are counted six Leagues.

Danda. This City is of a competent largeness, and hath very fair Streets. It is seated upon the River *Dery*, which falls into the Sea near those Isles, which the *Portuguez* call *Islas quemadas*. Its Inhabitants are *Decanins* and *Benjans*, who traffick very much at *Goa*.

The Mountain of Balagatta. From *Danda* to the Mountain of *Balagatta*, are nine Leagues, and you pass through the Villages of *Amby* and *Herpoli*, and at the foot of the Mountain, through that of *Amboly*. This Mountain reaches along the Kingdom of *Cuncam*, as far as the Coasts of *Coromandel*; and there on the top of it Plains, whose fertility is equal to that of the most pleasant Valleys.

Herenekassi. Berouly. Werserée. Outor. Berapour. Matoura. Calingra. From *Amboly*, to the Village of *Herenekassi*, upon the River of the same name, there are eleven Leagues, and within Cannon shot of it, you pass through the Village of *Berouly*, which lies in a Valley between the Mountains of *Balagatta*. Two Leagues thence, you come to the Village of *Werserée*; three Leagues thence, to that of *Outor*; and six Leagues and a half further, to that of *Berapour*; half a League thence, to that of *Matoura*, and a League thence, to that of *Calingra*. About five hundred paces from *Calingra*, you come to the Village of *Kangir*, and ere you get much further, to a *Hamlet*, which hath no other name then that of *Bary*, which is given to all those places that have no particular name.

Worry. Attrowad. About a League thence is the Village of *Worry*, and half a League further that of *Attrowad*, near which, upon an eminent place, there is a very magnificent *Pagode*, of the Countrey, or *Mosquey*, which may be seen at a very great distance. About two Leagues and a half from this *Pagode*, you turn upon the left hand, and go through the Village of *Badaraly* to *Kerwes*, which is also two Leagues and a half from *Badaraly*. From *Kerwes* to *Skeokory* are accounted two Leagues; and from *Skeokory*, to a very sumptuous *Benjane Pagode*, five Leagues.

Badaraly. Kerwes. Skeokory.

Rajebag. From this *Pagode* may be discovered, at a great distance, the Castle of *Mirsis*, two leagues thence, upon the left hand, and you go thence to *Rajebag*, which is about a league distant from the said *Pagode*. *Rajebag* is a very great City, and drives a great trade in Pepper, which the Inhabitants transport to *Bisnager*, and elsewhere.

It is part of the Dowry of the Queen of *Visepour*, who hath there a Governour under her.

Getteuy. About a League from *Rajebag*, you come to a very noble Well; about two Leagues thence, you cross the River *Cugny*; and about half a League further you come to the City of *Gotteuy*. You leave it on the left hand, yet go through one Gate of it, to pass through the Villages of *Goetesi* and *Omgar*, which are but about five hundred paces thence; and about half a League further, you come to the great River *Corstena*, which runs through the whole Kingdom of *Decam*, as far as *Masulypatan*. About a League and a half from the River, you go through the Village of *Eynatour*, and not far thence, through that of *Katerna*, and thence to those of *Tangly* and *Erary*, and so to the River *Agery*, which is distant thence about a League and a half. About three Leagues further you come to the City of *Atteny*, which is so considerable as to be a common Market to all the adjacent Country, whence are daily brought to it abundance of all sorts of provisions. About four Leagues thence, you come to the Village of *Bardgie*, and at three and a half further, pass through the Village of *Agger*, which is within three Leagues of the City of *Talsenghe*, which is distant from that of *Homoware* three other Leagues, and thence there are as many to the City of *Ticota*, which is within six Leagues of *Visiapour*.

Before you come to the chief City, you pass through the Villages of *Nouraspour* and *Sirrapour*, which are in a manner its Suburbs, and whereof the former was heretofore the ordinary residence of the King *Ibrahim Schach*, who reign'd at the beginning of this last Age: but now it is wholly ruin'd, and the Materials of its Palace and great Houses are convey'd thence for the carrying on of those which are building at *Visiapour*.

The City of *Visiapour* is of such largeness, that it is above five Leagues in compass. The Walls, which are very high, are of Free-stone, encompass'd with a great Ditch, and several Fortifications, mounted with above a thousand great Pieces, of all sorts, Iron and Brass.

The

The Kings Palace is in the midst of the City, from which it is divided by a double Wall, and two Ditches, being above 3500. paces in compass. He who commanded there in the time of *Sulthan Mamedh Idelshach*, the Son of *Ibrahim*, was called *Nammouth-chan*, by Countrey an *Italian*, born at *Rome*. His command extended also over the City, and the 5000. men who kept Garrison therein, besides the 2000. who were the constant Garrison of the Castle. The City hath five distinct Suburbs, where the principal Merchants have their habitations, and particularly in that of *Schanpour*, where live most of the Jewellers. The other Suburbs are called *Gurapour*, *Ibrahimpour*, *Alapour* and *Bomnenaly*. The Inhabitants are *Decanins*, that is, of the Kingdom of *Decam*, or *Benjans*, *Moguls*, and *Jentives*, of whom an account hath been given before. 1639.

To go from *Visiapour* to *Dabul*, you return the same way as far as the City of *Atteny*, whence you go to the Village of *Agelle*, which is two Leagues distant from it, and thence to the City of *Arecq*, which is six Leagues and a half from *Agelle*. From *Arecq* to the City of *Berce* are three Leagues, and thence to *Mirsie* three Leagues. This City, which is called also *Mirdsi*, and *Mirisgie*, is large, but not very populous, having, on the North-side, a Castle, so well fortifi'd, that the *Mogul*, who sometime besieg'd it with all the Forces of his Kingdom, was forc'd to raise the Siege. In this place are also to be seen the Tombs of two Kings of *Delly*, who were enterr'd there above five hundred years since. The Inhabitants of the City, as also those of the Country thereabouts, have a great veneration for that place. From *Mirdsi* to the Village of *Epour* are two Leagues, and thence to the City of *Graeen* three. It is not easily decided, whether it be one City or two, inasmuch as it is divided only by the great River *Corsena*, the distance between both parts being about 800. paces; and there are so many houses on either side of the River, that they may be taken for two considerable Cities, though one be much less then the other From the River to the Village of *Toncq*, are counted two Leagues and a half; thence to that of *Astava* one, and thence to the City of *Asta* two Leagues. Between this last Village and the City, there is a Hamlet, which is called *Barry*; but it is to be observ'd, that this name is given to all those places which have not any in particular, as we said before. The City of *Asta* is very considerable for its trading, and hath a noble Market, where may be had all sorts of provisions. The *Mogul*, who sometime came as far as this place with his Army, hath left behind him sufficient marks of the devastation which attends the marches of such numerous Armies. Graeen *two Cities.*

Having left *Asta*, you come to the great City of *Ballouwa*, which is distant from it three Leagues; and three more thence to those *Oëren* and *Isselampour*, which lye distant one from the other not above a Cannon-shot. You leave the former on the right hand, and the other, which hath a strong Castle, and its particular Governour, on the left. Two Leagues from *Isselampour*, lies the Village of *Taffet*, and three thence, that of *Cassegam*, whence there are above two Leagues to the City of *Calliar*, which is wholly destroy'd. Two Leagues thence, there is a little Village called *Galoure*, whence you pass through the Village of *Winge*, and afterwards by the City of *Qualampour*, where much Linnen is made, and by that of *Domo*, to the City of *Tamba*, which is six Leagues from *Galoure*. The City of *Tamba* is considerable both for its largeness, and its being very populous. It lies on the other side of a River, the name whereof I could not learn; for that of *Coyna*, which they give it, is a general name, and signifies only a great River. The Inhabitants are *Benjans* and *Jentives*, who live by Commerce and Tillage. Ballouws, Oëren *and* Isselampour. Taffet. Cassegam. Calliar. Galoure, Winge. Qualampour. Domo. Tamba.

From the City of *Tamba* to the Village of *Morel* are two Leagues, and thence to that of *Suppero* two Leagues; to *Belour* four; and thence to the Town of *Werad* two Leagues. This Town lies nine Leagues from the Mountains of *Balagatta*, and there is not far from it a Village, called *Patan*, which was sometime the retreat of a famous Robber named *Hiewoghy*, who made all he took pay a certain Ransome: and when ever notice was brought him of any design against his person, he got into the Mountain, whither it was impossible to pursue him. From *Werad* to the Village of *Helewacko*, and the River which runs by it, are counted above three Leagues. This River, which comes down from the City of *Chaury*, which is thirty six Leagues distant from this Village, hath no other name then that of the Village, though they give it also that of *Coyna*, as being indeed the greatest of any in the Kingdom of *Cuncam*. From the River to the Village of *Gattamatta*, which is within the Mountains of *Balagatta*, are three Leagues; and thence to the Village of *Pory* three more. This Village is seated at the foot of the Mountain, which is at that place very rough and craggy. Thence to the Village of *Camburley* are two Leagues, and thence to that of *Chipolone* two more: this last Village lies upon the River *Ghoyhbeer*, which falls into that which runs by *Helewacko*, whence it comes, that those who go to *Dabul* by water embark at that place, *Dabul* being sixteen Leagues from it. At the same place they also Werad,

1639. embark all the Merchandiſes which are tranſported to all parts of the Kingdom, paying a *Larin* and a half upon a *Candy*, which comes to four *Quintals*, or four hundred weight and a half carriage.

The City of Dabul deſcrib'd. The City of *Dabul* is ſeated upon the River *Kalewacko*, at ſeventeen degrees, forty five minutes, on this ſide the Line, though *Linſchoten* puts it at eighteen degrees. It is without doubt one of the moſt ancient Cities of the whole Kingdom; but now it hath neither Gates nor Walls, and all its Fortifications conſiſts in two Batteries, on the Rive-ſide, upon which there are four Iron Guns. The Wood, which lies on the left hand as you go into the River, repreſents a great Caſtle; and at the foot of the ſame Wood may be diſcover'd a white Tower, which ſerves for a *Pagode* or *Moſquey*, and is an infallible direction to Pilots. The entrance into the River is ſomewhat difficult, there being at the mouth of it a Sand-bank, which at low-water is dry; ſo that as you go in, you muſt alwayes keep towards the South, in regard that, even at low water, you have on that ſide between five and ſix fathom water, unleſs it be at the very mouth of the River, where you have not above twelve or fourteen foot water at moſt. The Road is good within a League of the River, but it is incomparably better four Leagues thence, in the Bay of *Zanquizara*. Twelve Leagues thence lyes the Haven or Road of *Ceitapour*, which is within twenty Leagues of *Goa*, at ſeventeen degrees, ten minutes, and is no doubt the beſt on all the Coaſt; for calling Anchor behind the Iſland, which ſhelters it, you need not fear being expos'd to any wind.

Raſapour. Three Leagues thence lyes the City of *Raſapour*, which is one of the chiefeſt maritime Cities of the Kingdom of *Cuncam*. The Bay of *Wingurla*, nineteen Leagues from *Raſapour*, and three from *Iſlas quemadas*, is a convenient Haven, but we ſhall forbear any further deſcription thereof, in regard it is not our deſign at preſent to afford materials for a Maritime Map of thoſe parts.

The Inhabitants of *Dabul* are either *Pagans* or *Mahumetans*, whoſe principal trading is in Salt, which is brought thither from *Oranubammara*, as alſo in Pepper. Heretofore there were ſet forth thence ſeveral Veſſels for the Gulf of *Perſia*, and the Red-ſea; but now their Commerce that way is ſo inconſiderable, that they hardly ſend out three or four wretched bottoms for *Gamron*. The Cuſtom paid there is three and a half upon the hundred; but the *Engliſh* pay only a moyety thereof.

The Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Cuncam* or *Decam*, though they are for the moſt part *Benjans*, eat any kind of fleſh, unleſs it be that of an Oxe, Cow, Buffle, or wild Oxe, and a Swine. They have a certain veneration for the Oxe and the Cow; but Swines-fleſh is an abomination to them. As to their manner of life, their Marriages, Entertainments, Purifications and other Ceremonies, they imitate therein the *Benjans* of *Guzuratta*. Their Houſes are of Straw, and the Doors ſo low, that a Man cannot get in without ſtooping. All that's to be ſeen within them is only a Mat, on which they lie in the night, and a pit in the ground, wherein they beat their Rice. Their habit is the ſame with that of the other *Benjans*, ſave that their Shooes, which they call *Alparcas*, are of wood, ty'd up over the Inſtep with ſtraps of Leather. Their Children go naked till they come to ſeven or eight years of age, and they are for the moſt part by profeſſion Gold-ſmiths: There are alſo among them ſome who work in Braſs: they have Phyſitians, Barbers, Chirurgeons, Carpenters and Maſons, who work for the *Mahumetans*, the other *Benjans*, and the *Parſis*, whereof there is a greater number in thoſe parts, then there is of *Decanins* and *Canarins*. They make uſe of the ſame Armes as the *Indoſthans* do, and they have this common with them, that they are not ſo good as either thoſe of *Turkey* or *Europe*.

Their principal Commerce conſiſts in Pepper, which is tranſported by Sea into *Perſia*, to *Surat*, and into *Europe*; as alſo in proviſions, wherewith all the neighbouring Provinces are thence ſupply'd. There are made alſo in thoſe parts great quantities of Linnen-cloath, which is tranſported by Sea out of the Kingdom; and they traffick much by land with the Inhabitants of *Indoſthan*, *Golcanda*, and the Coaſts of *Coromandel*, whither they carry Cotton-clothes, and Silk-ſtuffes. There are abundance of Jewellers at *Viſiapour*, and there is found thereabouts great quantity of Pearls; but it is not there they are to be had cheapeſt, ſince they are brought thither from other places. There is alſo abundance of *Lacque* made in the Mountains of *Balagatta*; but it is not ſo good as that of *Guzuratta*.

The *Portuguez* drive a great trade there, eſpecially with the Merchants of *Ditcauly* and *Banda*, which lye but three or four Leagues from *Goa*, buying Pepper at ſeven Ryals the Quintal, or hundred weight, and at eight, when they pay for it in Stuffes, or ſome ſlight Commodities made of Iron, as Snuffers, Hinges, *&c.* made in *Europe*.

Veneſars a people of Decam. There is in the Kingdom of *Cuncam* a certain people called *Veneſars*, who buy the

Wheat

Wheat and Rice, which is brought to the Market, in Cities, once a week, and ſell it again in the Country of *Induſthan*, and the other neighbouring Provinces, into which they go with *Caffilas*, or *Caravans*, of five or ſix, and ſometimes nine hundred or a thouſand Beaſts loaden; with which they carry their Families, eſpecially their Wives, who are as expert at their Bows and Arrows as the Men, and by that means becomes dreadful to the *Rasboutes*, who never durſt ſet upon them, nor yet the *Couliers*, who exerciſe their robberies on all without any diſtinction, upon this encouragement, that the *Rajas*, who ſhould puniſh them, protect and connive at them. 1631.

The money of Decam.

There are two ſorts of money in the Kingdom of *Cuncam*, to wit, the *Larims*, or *Laris*, which come from *Perſia*, and the *Pagodes*. Eight *Perſian Laris* make a *Pagode*, which is worth ten *Laris* of *Dabul*. They have alſo a certain ſmall braſs Coin, which they call *Baſaruiques*, nine whereof make a *Peiſe*, and eighteen *Peyſes* a *Laris*. But in regard there is no City, nay indeed no Village, which hath not ſome Coin or other peculiar thereto, it is impoſſible to aſſign the juſt value thereof. Beſides, there is ſuch abundance of counterfeit money, that though there be no payment made, but in the preſence of the *Xiraf*, or Money-changers, yet it is a very difficult matter to ſhun it; for the Changers themſelves thruſt in what is not current among that which is, notwithſtanding the penalties appointed by the Laws to be inflicted on thoſe, who either make or put off counterfeit money, which are very rigorouſly put in execution.

The weights.

They make uſe of the ſame weights as they do in the Kingdom of *Guzuratta*, ſave that twenty *Maons* of *Surat* weight makes twenty ſeven of *Cuncam*; and the ordinary *Maon*, which conſiſts of forty *Ceeres*, and ſixteen *Peyſes*, makes twenty ſeven pounds; each pound making two marks. They have a particular weight for the Pepper, which they call *Goemy*, and weighs twelve *Maons*, four *Maons* make a Quintal or hundred weight, and twenty make a *Candy*.

The King of Decam tributary to the Mogul.

The King of *Cuncam*, or *Viſiapour*, is a Tributary of the great *Mogul*'s, eſpecially ever ſince the diſorders, which happened under the King *Idal-ſcach*: which were occaſion'd as you ſhall find in the enſuing relation.

The Hiſtory of Chauas-Chan.

In the time of *Sulthan Ibrahim Schach*, the Father of *Idal-Schach*, there was belonging to the ſervice of the Maſter of the Chappel, or the Kings Muſick, a certain Slave, named *Chauas*, a perſon of underſtanding and courage, of a pleaſant humour, and ſo taking a Converſation, that the King, who had particular notice of him, begg'd him of his Maſter, and preferr'd him, after ſeveral other employments, to the overſight of that apartment, where his Wives and Concubines were lodg'd, But it prov'd his misfortune one day, that the King calling to him for drink, they gave him of a bottle that ſmelt of Oyl; upon which the King commanded him to leave his preſence. Yet was not his diſgrace ſo great, but that the King had yet ſomewhat of the ancient kindneſs for him, for he made him Captain of the Caſtle-gate, and beſtow'd on him the Government of the City; which he manag'd with ſo much conduct, that the King being upon his death-bed, and *Muſtapha-Chan*, his Favourite, refuſing to undertake the Regency during the Princes Minority, who was then but ten years of age, that great and important charge was conferr'd on *Chauas*, who had the Dignity of *Chan* long before. His Regency, for the ſpace of ten years, had the approbation of all the people, but *Idal-ſcach*, being come to the twentieth year of his age, began to think it irkſome to be under the tuition of a revolted Slave, and openly to condemn the familiarity of his converſation with the Queen his Mother. He had alſo engag'd the State into a very unjuſt and extreamly deſtructive War; upon this account, that he paid yearly to the *Mogul*'s Deputies, the tribute of thirty Millions of *Pagodes*, which the King ow'd him, yet afterwards he caus'd them to be robb'd at their return, by perſons ſet on purpoſe to do it, who brought him back again all the money. The *Mogul Scach Jahan*, who was then living, made his complaints thereof at firſt, as of a diſorder, which *Idal-ſchach* was oblig'd in juſtice to take ſome courſe to prevent: but finding himſelf abus'd and laugh'd at, he entred *Cuncam* with an Army of two hundred thouſand fighting men, where he laid ſiege to the Caſtle of *Perinda*, which certain *Hollanders*, who had been ſent priſoners thither, helpt to maintain for the ſpace of two years, till ſuch time as a peace was concluded with the *Mogul*, after the death of *Chauas-chan*, who was kill'd as followeth.

He is made Regent of the Kingdom.

Engages the State in a war.

The King implores the aſſiſtance of his Grandees againſt him.

Idal-ſchach, not able any longer to ſuffer the extraordinary and unjuſt power of his Guardian to be exerciſed over him, as we ſaid before, made his complaints againſt him to the Governours of Provinces and places of truſt, intreating them to adviſe and aſſiſt him againſt the uſurpation of *Chauas-chan*. They met together, and ſent a Meſſage to the Regent; that their King having attain'd an age fit to govern the Kingdom himſelf, it was time he return'd into his hands the adminiſtration of Affairs; to which end it were fit

he

1639. he came out of the Caſtle, and liv'd in the City as the other Grandees of the Kingdom did; giving him withall to underſtand, that if he ſlighted theſe Remonſtrances of theirs, they ſhould be forc'd to employ ſome part of the Kingdoms Forces to oblige him thereto. But *Chauas-chan* being very unwilling to deveſt himſelf of an Authority which he had been poſſeſt of for ſo many years, and over-confident of the affection of his Creatures, as alſo of that of the people, which he had made it his main buſineſs to acquire, during the Regeney, by a liberality truly Royal, made no reflection on theſe Remonſtrances, till he found ſome of the great Ones, with an Army of thirty thouſand men at the City Gates. Being reduc'd to this extremity, he took a reſolution which proved his ruine.

He attempts the life of his Prince.

For, imagining that the people had ſo great an affection for him, as to proclaim him King, in caſe there were no other, he reſolv'd to make away the Prince, and to kill him with his own hands. To that end, and full of this deſign, he goes out of his Chamber one night, while the Army was not yet come within five Leagues of the City, and being come to the door of the Kings Lodgings, the Guards having made no difficulty to let him paſs, and finding it lock'd, contrary to the cuſtom, he would have forc'd it: but the King awaken'd at the noiſe, asked who was there. He made anſwer that it was he, and that he had ſome Letters of great conſequence to communicate to him, which he had juſt then received from ſome of the chief Commanders of his Army. The King made anſwer, that it was an unſeaſonable time of the night for the reading of Letters, and bid him come again the next morning, and thereupon immediately getting up, he went to the *Mahael*, or Queens Lodgings, to whom he gave an account of the preſumptuous demeanour of *Chauas-chan*, in coming to his Chamber door at ſuch an hour. The Queen, who was a Woman of a ſolid judgment, made ſuch reflections on his procedure, that it was preſently reſolv'd, that they ſhould, with the ſooneſt, make away that pernicious Miniſter. They employ'd to effect their deſign a *Meldar*, or Gentleman of the Kings Chamber, and one named *Chideram*, Grand Faulconer, and Overſeer of the Rams and wild Oxen, which the King keeps for fighting. As ſoon as it was day, the King preſented himſelf upon his Throne, accompany'd by thoſe two perſons who were to be employ'd in the foreſaid execution; and having ſent for *Chauas-Chan*, he delivered him a ſeal'd Letter, and ſaid to him; *There* Chauas-Chan, *look into that Letter, which I have juſt now receiv'd from the Generals of my Army, give me an account of the Contents of it.* But while *Chauas* was opening it, in order to the reading of it, the *Meldar* run him into the Breaſt with a Ponyard, but with ſo much precipitation, that, not ſtaying to ſee what effect the Wound he had given him would have, he went preſently along with the King into the Womens Lodgings. Another Gentleman, who was preſent at the blow, perceiving the Wound was not mortal, and pretending a kindneſs to *Chauas*, run immediately to him, embrac'd him, ask'd him what might be the occaſion of his diſgrace, and making as if he would have taken the Ponyard out of the Wound, wherein it ſtill ſtuck, thruſt it ſo much the further in, that he fell to the ground. The Eunuch, who was with him, got him convey'd to his own houſe. But the Queen having notice of what had paſt, as alſo of the diſorder, wherein the King and the *Meldar* had drawn off, commanded *Chideram* to go and make an end of him. *Chauas-Chan* ſeeing *Chideram* coming into his Chamber, and imagining he came out of civility to give him a viſit, ſaid to him; *Wo is me*, Chideram, *who is it that hath thus murthered me?* But *Chideram*, not ſuffering him to fall into further diſcourſe, made anſwer, *Traytor, 'tis I*; with which word he run upon him and cut off his head. There were preſent at this daring action *Chauas-chan*'s Brother, who was Captain of the Caſtle-gate, three Chirurgeons, two Captains, friends of *Chauas*, and ſome other of his Kindred who were preſent; yet they not only made not the leaſt oppoſition, but ſuffered themſelves to be all tamely kill'd, not one proffering to avoid that fatal deſtiny.

But is prevented.

And kill'd.

Chauas-Chan had among his Domeſticks a certain *Caffre*, who coming to hear of his Maſters death, run immediately to the Caſtle, with an intention to diſpatch the King; but he met by the way with about thirty Souldiers, who ſtop'd him. He made a ſhift to kill ten of them with his own hands, and had diſpatch'd the reſt, had he not been over-power'd by number, which increas'd as the noiſe of the attempt ſpread more and more into the City. They cut off his head, and hung it up as a Trophey, upon one of the Towers of the Caſtle.

His Friends would revenge his death.

One of *Chauas-chans* Creatures, whoſe name was *Morary*, was advanc'd with ten thouſand Horſe, within five Leagues of the City of *Viſiapour*; in ſo much that the King fearing that General might aſſemble all the Friends of the deceaſed, cauſed him to be proclaim'd a Traitor againſt his Prince, and ſet his Head at a certain price. His own Army ſeiz'd his perſon, and receiving intelligence, that another Lord, named *Rundelo*, was coming up to the relief of *Chauas-chan*, and intended to joyn with *Morary*, they ſent him a by-

way

way to the City, whither he came about eight at night. He ſent a Meſſage to the King, 1639
propoſing, that if his Majeſty would pardon him, and beſtow on him the Government of the *Brammenes*, he would pay him yearly twenty thouſand *Pagodes*; but thoſe Propoſitions were rejected, and the King ordered him to have his hands cut off, and his tongue cut out, and that in that poſture he ſhould be led all about the City; but he died by the way.

Chauas's ingratitude towards his Benefactor.

The only Action that had eclips'd the Miniſtry of *Chauas-chan*, was the diſgrace of *Muſtafa-chan*. This *Muſtafa* was he, who of all the Lords about the Court, was moſt in credit with *Ibrahim Schach*, as being the perſon upon whom he had caſt his eye for the Guardianſhip of the Prince his Son. But he, unwilling to accept of it, excus'd himſelf, and recommended the merit of *Chauas-chan*, who requited him with the greateſt ingratitude that ever was heard of. *Chauas* would needs have that Lord to countenance by his Authority whatever had been done during the time of the Regency, and finding it impoſſible to corrupt him, he reſolved to diſpatch him out of the way, by perſwading the King, that the honeſt old Man had ſome deſign upon his life. The young Prince implicitely crediting what was told him by his Favourite, reſolved to ſecure his perſon, which oblig'd *Muſtafa-chan*, who had notice thereof, to ſtand upon his guard, and to fortifie himſelf in his houſe, having about him 700. Horſe, and 2000. Foot. The place was regularly beſieg'd with ten Guns; and after he had held out ſix dayes, he was forc'd to render it and himſelf up at mercy; for moſt of his people, nay his very menial ſervants fell off from him. *Idal-Schach* hearing that *Chauas-chan* intended either to put *Muſtafa-chan* to death, or at leaſt to have his eyes out, prevented both, by repreſenting to him, that the *Mogul*, to whom he was ally'd, would concern himſelf in the Fortunes of *Muſtafa-chan*; and upon theſe conſiderations, he was ſent priſoner to the Caſtle of *Bellagam-Chapour*, being allow'd of all his vaſt Revenues, but five *Pagodes* to live upon.

The Mogul concerns himſelf in Muſtafa's Fortunes.

Accordingly the *Mogul*, *Schach-Jahan* had no ſooner intelligence brought him of the diſgrace of *Muſtafa-chan*, but he ſent an Envoy to *Idal-Schach*, to require, that he might be ſet at liberty, and put into poſſeſſion of all his eſtate, or that he ſhould be oblig'd to declare a War againſt him. *Idal-Schach* promis'd to do both, but *Chaurs-chan* eluded the performance of that promiſe, ſo that *Muſtafa* got not out of priſon, till after *Chauas* his death: upon which, he was reſtored to his former dignity, enjoying near ten millions of *Pagodes* of yearly revenue. He kept ordinarily a thouſand Domeſticks, and three thouſand Horſe at his own charge abroad, beſides thoſe he maintained at his own Palace. *Chideram-chan*, who had been very inſtrumental in the death of *Chauas-chan*, was next in credit to *Muſtafa*; and next to him, *Agu-raſa*, who was Governour General of the Caſtles of *Ponda*, *Perinda*, *Salpour* and *Bellegam-chapour*. He was one of *Chauas-chan*'s Creatures: whence it came, that upon the death of his Patron, he was not ſo much in favour as he had been, but was continu'd in his employments, though he deſir'd to be disburthen'd of the care of publick Affairs by reaſon of his age.

The King of Decam able to raiſe 200000. men.

They ſay, the King of *Cuncam* is able in a ſhort time to raiſe two hundred thouſand Men; yet, as we ſaid before, he is a Tributary to the *Mogul*. *Adelham-Schach*, great Grand-father of *Idal-Schach*, in the year 1586. took the City of *Goa* twice from the *Portuguez*: but conſidering at laſt, that War deſtroyed his Countrey, he treated with them, and by the Treaty concluded between them, he left them the Countrey of *Salſette*, with 67. Villages, that of *Bardes*, with 12. and that of *Tiſuary* with 30. Villages, provided that the Inhabitants of *Cuncam* ſhould enjoy freedom of Commerce all over the *Indies*; yet with this further proviſo, that they ſhould be oblig'd to ſell all their Pepper to the Merchants of *Goa*, who had made a general Treaty to that purpoſe, upon pain of Confiſcation. But this Treaty hath not been ſo well obſerved, but that there were, on both ſides, from time to time great diſſatisfactions, which by an unhappy accident broke forth into ſomething of Hoſtility in the year 1635. For, upon intelligence brought to the *Portuguez*, that four of the Kings Ships, bound for *Meca*, and ſome parts of *Perſia*, were partly loaden with Pepper, they ſent four Frigots to Sea after them, which ſet upon the Kings Ships, and after a vigorous reſiſtance, wherein a *Portuguez* Captain was kill'd, took them, and having brought them to *Goa*, kill'd in cold bloud all the *Indians* that were aboard; ſo that it was not queſtioned, but that the King of *Cuncam* would declare War againſt the City of *Goa*.

His Artillery.

There is not any Prince in all thoſe parts ſo well ſtor'd with Artillery as the King of *Cuncam*. Among others, he had one Braſs piece, which requir'd a Bullet weighing eight hundred weight, with five hundred and forty pound of fine Powder; which did ſuch execution, as was reported, that at the ſiege of the Caſtle of *Salapour*, at the firſt firing, it made a breach in the wall of forty five foot in length. The Caſter of it was a *Roman* born, and

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1639. the moſt wicked of mankind; ſince he had the inhumanity in cold b'oud, to kill his own Son, to conſecrate that monſtrous Piece with his bloud, and to caſt into the Fire, wherein he had melted his Metal, one of the Kings Treaſurers, who would call him to account for the charge he had been at therein. But it is time we proſecute our Voyage.

Bacim. *Jan.* 7. We came betimes in the morning before the City of *Bacim*. Being come near the City, the *Portuguez* Governour gave us ſeven Pieces, and we anſwer'd his civility with three. We ſtay'd there above four hours expecting a *Portuguez* Jeſuit, whom we had promis'd to carry to *Goa*; but finding he came not within the time he had promiſed, we kept on our courſe. Being got about a League thence, we perceiv'd coming out of the Port a *Portuguez* Frigot, which, as we imagin'd, came to bring the Jeſuit aboard us; whereupon we ſtruck ſome of our ſail, to expect it: but the Captain told us, that it was the Governours deſire to the Preſident, that that Frigot might go to *Goa* under the *Engliſh* Colours, as fearing to meet ſome of the *Dutch*, who inceſſantly rove up and down that Coaſt. He brought us, as a Preſent from the Governour, three Oxen, ſome Sheep, Bread, ſeveral Baskets of Citrons and Oranges, and divers other refreſhments, wherewith we merrily purſu'd our Voyage.

Wedneſday, *Jan.* 9. with a good North-wind, we paſs'd by the Iſles of *Bandera* and *Bambay*, which reach all along the Coaſt, from *Bacim*, as far as *Raſiapour*. That of *Bambay* is of a conſiderable bigneſs, and hath a very good Haven towards the Continent.

Raſiapour. *Jan.* 10. We paſs'd in ſight of *Raſiapour*, which is but 21. Leagues from *Goa*. In the afternoon we paſs'd by the City of *Fingerla*, within four Leagues of *Goa*, where the *Hollanders* have a Factory; and in the evening we diſcover'd the Iſles about *Goa*, and afterwards the two Caſtles which ſecure the entrance of that noble City.

Come to Goa. *Jan.* 11. We caſt Anchor under the Caſtle *Deguard*, about a quarter of a League from the City. We found in the Haven ſix Gallions and a Carrack, whom we ſaluted with our great Guns. The *Mary* fir'd twenty five, the other nine, and the third five. The General of the Gallions gave us a volley of his greateſt pieces. The Caſtle fir'd three; we, in anſwer thereto, five; the other two, eight between them. Immediately after, came aboard us a *Portuguez* Captain to complement the Preſident from the Viceroy. Not long after, came the General of the Gallions aboard us in perſon, in a Gondole gilt and cover'd with Scarlet. At his coming into the Ship there were twenty Guns fired. After the firſt Complements, he intreated the Preſident to go along with him in his Gondole to the Gallion, to refreſh himſelf for ſome hours: But the Preſident excus'd himſelf, in regard he was then going to the City, and promis'd, at his return, to give him a viſit aboard. The Gallions were there only to keep the Haven againſt the twelve *Dutch* Ships, which pretended to block up the City of *Goa* towards the Sea. At our coming thither, they were got off at ſome diſtance, to recover themſelves after an Engagement, wherein they had loſt two of their Ships, ſome few dayes before, which were burnt by the Fire-ſhips: but the next day they came up again, and caſt Anchor in the Road, to hinder the Carrack from getting out, while the Frigots and little Veſſels, which could go along the Coaſt, brought thither all ſorts of Proviſions and Commodities, ſo freely, that, one day, I ſaw coming in a *Caravan* of above three hundred Boats, loaden with Pepper, Ginger, *Cardamomum*, Sugar, Rice, Fruits, and Conſerves.

The Preſident, who as he went up the River had his Trumpets ſounding before him, went ſtrait to the houſe of the *Fiador de la faſende*, who is as it were the Overſeer of the Exchequer, it being with him chiefly, that he was to negotiate the buſineſs, which had occaſion'd his calling at *Goa*. The *Fiador* was ſick in bed, yet did he receive the Preſident with all civility, and promis'd to do him all the good offices he could expect, from the friendſhip they had long before contracted together. Thence the Preſident was carried in a *Palanquin* to the Lodgings which were aſſign'd him: whither as ſoon as he was come, he ſent to demand audience of the Viceroy, which was immediately granted him. The Viceroy's Palace lies upon the River, ſo that we went thither by boat. We found upon the River-ſide, many *Hidalgos*, or Gentlemen, of the Viceroy's retinue, who conducted us into the Hall, where he was to give the Preſident audience. The Guards, who were all clad in the ſame livery, had taken their Armes, and ſtood in two files in the Anti-chamber, through which there was an entrance into the Hall, which was richly furniſh'd, and full of the Pictures of ſeveral Princes of *Europe*. The Viceroy, who was all in black, as were alſo all his Courtiers, roſe out of his Chair at the Preſidents coming in, and ſate not down again till the other was ſet. All the reſt of the Company ſtood before the Viceroy, ſome only of the Gentlemen excepted, who carried us into one of the croſs Rooms to entertain us.

The Engliſh Preſident viſits the Viceroy.

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The President, having dispatched his business, took leave of the Viceroy, who brought him to the Hall door, where he stood bare, till we were all got out. The same Gentlemen, who had receiv'd us at our coming out of the Boat, brought us back to the River, shewing us, as we came along, twelve excellent Horses, sumptuously cover'd and harness'd, which had been purposely brought thither, that we might take notice of the Viceroy's magnificence. We saw there also a *Biggel*, which is a Creature about the bigness, and much of the same colour as a *Renne*, but is headed like a Horse, main'd like an Ass, having black and cloven feet, and upon his head two black horns. 1639.

We had hardly dined, at our return to our Lodging, ere we were tir'd with Visitants. Most of the *Portuguez* Lords came to salute the President; and there was no Monastery but sent its Deputies to complement him. The ten dayes we stay'd at *Goa* were spent in reciprocal Visits and continual feasting. One of the noblest Entertainments we had, was that which was made us the 15. of *January*, by a *Portuguez* Lord, who had been Governour of *Bacim*, and was then newly come to the government of *Mozambique*. Every course consisted only of four dishes of Meat, but they were so often chang'd, and the Meat so excellently well dress'd, that I may truly say, I never was at the like. For with the Meat there was brought such variety of excellent Fruits, that by the continual change and intermixture of both, the appetite was sharpened and renew'd. But what was most remarkable, was, that though the *Portuguez* Ladies are as seldom seen as those of the *Muscovites* and *Persians*, yet this Lord, knowing he could not any way more oblige the *English*, then by allowing them the sight of Women, we were serv'd at Table by four handsom young Maids of *Malacca*, while he himself was attended by two Pages and an Eunuch. These Maids brought in the Meat, and fill'd our Wine; and though he himself drunk not any, yet would he have the *English* treated after their own way, and drink to what height they pleas'd. Being risen from Table, he brought us into a spacious Chamber, where he again press'd us to drink; and when the President was to take leave of him, he presented him with a noble Coverlet of *Watte*, a quilted Covering for a Horse, a fair Table, and a rich Cabinet of *Lacque*.

The Jesuits *of* Goa *treat him,*

The next day, being the 16. we dined at the Profess'd House of the *Jesuits*, who had invited us to a sumptuous Feast. There were in this House a hundred and fifty Fathers, and at least as many Scholars or Students, yet did not that great number near fill that noble Structure, which was four stories high, and had the pleasantest prospect in the World, as well towards the Sea, as on the Land side. They first shew'd us all the conveniences of the House, their Wealth, and the order they observ'd in their Oeconomy. Then they brought us into a fair arched Hall, as big as an ordinary Church, which was beset with Tables placed all along the Walls. The Cloath was laid, with the Trenchers, the drinking Cups, and Earthen pots, and they had brought in Bread and Fruit. In the midst of the Hall, there was another little square Table, cover'd and furnish'd as the rest, for those who were to do pennance for their having done any thing contrary to the discipline of the Order. In the midst of the Entry to this Hall, there was a Pillar, out of which issued a Spout of water for the washing of their hands. Then they carried us up to the third story, to another Hall, which was not as large as that below, but so richly furnish'd, as might become the Appartment of a very noble House, as well in point of Tapistry as other things. The Table prepared for us was very large, and plac'd in the midst of the Hall, cover'd with a noble Cloath, beset with Fruit, and Bread, and *China* dishes, which Persons of Quality in those parts do prefer before those of Silver.

A feast at the profess-ed house of the Jesuits.

The Father Provincial, having given the President the precedence, sate down by him, and afterward ordered all our company to be so plac'd, as that, between every two, there were two *Jesuits* to entertain and discourse with us; the rest standing behind to wait on us. The Meat was brought in little dishes of Porcelain, to every man his own dish; and this for several courses, both of Flesh and Fish, all excellently well dress'd. The desert was suitable to the rest of the entertainment, and consisted in Tarts, Florentines, Eggs dress after the *Portuguez* way, admirably well perfum'd, Marchpains, and Conserves, both dry and liquid.

At our rising from Table, they conducted us into several Chambers, where they left us, to take the ordinary repose, during the greatest heat of the day. There was in every Chamber three Beds, and in the midst upon a Table a great Vessel of Porcelane, full of fair Water. Then they came and carried us into a Hall, where we were to have the divertisement of a Ball, which was danc'd by the Children of certain *Indians*, whom they had baptiz'd and instructed in the *Roman* Catholick Religion. The Arch-bishop of *Goa*, who was Primate of all the *Indies*, was there also in person, as well to participate of the divertisment, as to entertain the President, by order from the Viceroy. The Dancing-master

1639. made the firſt entrance alone, and did pretty well for a *Portuguez*: The Habits of the Dancers were very rich, but they had no Viſards on, nor any thing upon their Heads, but a Crown of Flowers. The nobleſt entrance, and that which diſcover'd the ſubject of the Ball, was that of fifteen perſons who came in, bringing along with them, ſome pieces of a broken Pillar, ſome Garlands of divers Flowers, wherewith they adorn'd the Pillar after they had, after ſeveral turnings, abſolutely ſet it together, all performed with obſervance of the Muſick. At the upper end of this Pillar came out a Flower, made like a Tulip, which opened of it ſelf, while they danc'd, till at laſt there came out of it an Image of the bleſſed Virgin, with her Child in her arms, and the Pillar it ſelf opened in ſeveral places, to caſt out perfum'd Waters like a Fountain. After they had danc'd a while, they took the Pillar aſunder, after the ſame manner as they had put it together, and went out of the Room in very good order. The *Jeſuits* told us, that by that invention they repreſented the pains they had taken, in planting among the *Pagans* and *Mahumetans* of thoſe parts, the Church of God, whereof our Saviour is the only Pillar or Corner-ſtone. After this there was an entrance of twelve Youths, who ſung and play'd every one upon a different Inſtrument, all done in exact meaſure. There came in alſo ſome *Morris-dancers*, who danc'd to the *Caſtagnets*, and kept meaſure with the Muſick ſo exactly, that I never ſaw any thing like it. There came in alſo one Man alone, who was covered with Birds-neſts, and cloath'd and mask'd according to the *Spaniſh* mode, who began the *farce* of this Comedy, by ridiculous and fantaſtick poſtures, and the Ball was concluded with the coming in of twelve Boys, dreſs'd like Apes, which they imitated in their cries and poſtures. The Ball being over, we ſtaid there a while to hear their Muſick, which was altogether after the *Portuguez* way. As we took leave of our Entertainers, they told us, that they made uſe of thoſe Divertiſements, as well to reduce the *Pagans* and *Mahumetans* of thoſe parts to the embracing of *Chriſtian* Religion, by that kind of modern Devotion, as to amuſe the Children, and divert them after their ſtudies.

Another Feaſt at the Jeſuits Colledge.

The 18. of *January*, we were invited to dinner by the *Jeſuits* of the Colledge, which they call the *Bon-Jeſus*. We were receiv'd at the entrance by ſome of the moſt ancient Fathers, who ſhewed us in ſeveral Halls and Chambers the Pictures of ſeveral Princes and Perſons of Quality, who had been of their Order; as alſo the Hiſtories of thoſe of their Society, who had ſuffer'd Martyrdom for *Chriſtian* Religion; among whom the Authors of the Gun-powder plot in *England* were not the leaſt. But they forbore giving us the Explication thereof; only they entertain'd us with a long relation of the cruelties, exercis'd ſome years before, upon thoſe of their Society in *Japan*, where the Emperour had made uſe of the moſt exquiſite torments could be invented, upon the *Chriſtians*, as well the Forreigners, who had ſpent their endeavours in planting Religion in thoſe parts, as upon the *Japonneſes* who had made profeſſion thereof.

Having ſhew'd us whatever was worth the ſeeing in their Colledge, they brought us unto the Church, which is no queſtion one of the moſt ſumptuous the *Jeſuits* have in all *Aſia*. The Structure is vaſt and magnificent, and the Ornaments are ſo ſutable to the greatneſs thereof, that it were not eaſie to imagine any thing more noble. The firſt thing we were ſhewed was the High-Altar; but though it were one of the nobleſt I ever ſaw, yet came it not, in wealth, near another leſſer one, which had been built in honour of Saint *Francis Xavier*, whom they call the *Apoſtle of the Indies*. We were ſhewed his Image, which was upon wood, drawn according to the life, and we were told his body was ſtill to be ſeen in that Church, in the ſame poſture as it was at the time of his departure.

The *Jeſuits* told us, that the body of the ſaid Saint *Francis Xavier* was found in the Iſland of *Ceylon*, and that it was diſcovered only by a moſt delightful ſmell, which had brought thoſe who found it many Leagues diſtance from the Sea, to the place where it was hidden. Which ſtory does not agree very well with what others write of the ſame body. For beſides, that the ſcent which is carried from the Iſland of *Ceylon* ſo far into the Sea, proceeds from the Grove of Cinnamon, wherewith that Iſland is in a manner covered.

The Sepulchre of Francis Xavier.

Maphæus, one of the graveſt Authors that ever were of the Society, ſayes in expreſs terms, that *Francis Xavier*, not ſatisfied with the progreſs he had made in the *Indies* by the means of his preaching the Faith of *Chriſt*, would needs try whether it might have the like ſucceſs in *China*: but that he died on the Sea-ſide, as ſoon as he landed. Whereto he adds, that the Maſter of the Ship, which had carried him thither, cauſed the Corps to be put into unſlak'd Lime, to the end he might carry away the bones, after the fleſh had been conſumed; but that after certain dayes, that conſuming matter had not made any impreſſion upon it, and that the body, inſtead of being corrupted, ſmell'd very ſweetly; and that thereupon they reſolv'd to carry it to *Goa*, where it was received with

with great Ceremonies. They related to us a great many Miracles wrought by that Saint; 1639.
but I remember only two or three of the moſt conſiderable; to wit, that he had cauſed the Sun to come back an hour after it was ſet; that he commanded the Sea and the Winds with the ſame power, as our Saviour had ſometimes done; and that he had raiſ'd up two Men, one whereof had been buried a whole day before.

Out of the Church they brought us into their Refectory, where the Tables were placed all along the walls, as we had ſeen them in the Profeſſed Houſe, and in ſo great a number, that there was room enough for two hundred perſons. Yet were there only four of the chiefeſt among them that dined with us, while all the reſt ſtood and waited on us. We were as well treated by theſe as we had been by the others: but I muſt confeſs theſe gave us the beſt Canary that ever I drunk. Of all the Moral Vertues, there is not any the *Jeſuits* endeavour more to practiſe then Sobriety, in ſo much that Drunkenneſs is a Vice they can the leaſt of any be charged withall; and yet at this time they often call'd to drink, I conceive, purpoſely to engage us, to make it appear that it was not out of pure Complement we commended their Wine. After dinner, they carried us up into the Steeple, whence we could take a view of all the City, the Sea, the River, and all the adjacent Champion, as far as the Mountain, much better then we could have done from the fourth Story of the Profeſſed Houſe.

The Hoſpital of Goa.

As we took leave of them, they promiſed to ſend two of their Fathers to our Lodgings the next morning, who ſhould ſhew us the great Hoſpital, whereof the *Jeſuits* have the overſight. It is a very noble Structure, conſiſting of Chambers, Halls and Galleries, able to lodge above a thouſand ſick perſons, who are very carefully ſupplyed with all things. Every Bed is mark'd with a certain Figure; and thoſe which are not taken up, are known by their mark, which is ſtanding upright; whereas thoſe which are, have the mark in ſome other poſture. The nobleſt Appartments of the Hoſpital were the Kitchin and the Apothecaries ſhop belonging to it, both well furniſhed with all things neceſſary for the accommodation of the ſick, whereof there were a very great number; but moſt of the Pox, or Bloudy-flux. Thoſe who are to look after them have this foreſight, that they would not have the ſick to be diſheartened by ſeeing others dye; for as ſoon as they perceive the ſick party ſo far ſpent as that there is no way but death for him, he is carried to a private room, whither a Prieſt is ſent to him, who ſtirs not thence till he be dead.

The Monaſtery of the Auguſtines.

Having view'd the Hoſpital, we went to ſee the Monaſtery of the *Auguſtines*, which they call the Convent of our *Lady of Grace*. It is ſeated upon a little eminency, ſo that, ſeeing it at a certain diſtance, a man would take it for one of the nobleſt Palaces in the World. The Friers carried us all about it, and ſhewed us particularly the rich Copes and other Prieſts Veſtments, which they ſaid were given them by Perſons of Quality, who had ſpent ſome time among them. I deliver'd them the Letters of recommendation, which the *Auguſtines* at *Iſpahan* had given me, directed to them: whence it came that their civilities towards me were extraordinary. They proffer'd to ſhew me what was moſt remarkable about the City; but in regard I had already ſeen as much as I deſir'd, I thank'd them, and came away with the reſt of the company.

The Vice-roy's Preſents to the Preſident.

As ſoon as the Preſident had diſpatch'd his buſineſs with the Viceroy, who paid him nine thouſand pounds ſterling, in ready Money, and promis'd him the reſt ſhould be paid, either in Money, or Commodities, to thoſe *Engliſh* Merchants, whom, to that purpoſe, he had brought from *Surat*, he return'd their civilities, of whom he had received any, and took leave of all. The Viceroy, the General of the Gallions, and all the principal Lords about the Court, ſent him very conſiderable Preſents. The former preſented him with ſeveral Skins of Cinnamon, a *Biggel*, ſome Butts of Sack, Sheep, and certain Baskets of Fruit, and other refreſhments. The *Jeſuits* ſent him *Aqua vitæ*, and good ſtore of all ſorts of Conſerves, dry and liquid, with an intreaty, that he would take along with him, for *England*, certain *Jeſuits*, and among the reſt, one who had liv'd long enough in *China* to be throughly acquainted with the Country. Of all the Preſents that were ſent him, what the Preſident eſteemed moſt, was a Bottle of Oyl, which had been extracted out of the Flower of Cinnamon, and a Candle made of the Oyl extracted out of Cinnamon it ſelf.

Mande ſo leaves Goa.

Jan. 20. We left *Goa*, and met upon the River with above a hundred ſmall Veſſels, loaden with all ſorts of Proviſions and Commodities, which came from *Cananor*, and the Coaſts of *Malabar*, and had paſſed, notwithſtanding the Block-houſe of *Dutch* Veſſels, which could only hinder the Gallions and Carracks from getting thence, to go for *Portugal*, or towards the *Moluccas*. As ſoon as we were got out of the River, we made ſtrait to the Generals Gallion, which was called the *Bon-Jeſus*, and carried ſixty four Braſs Guns, all Cannons or Culverings. There were aboard her ſix hundred Men, Mariners and Souldiers;

1639. ers; and it was one of the nobleſt Veſſels I ever ſaw. The General receiv'd the Preſident with much civility, and brought him into his Chamber, in and about which were an Anti-chamber, a Cloſet, and two Galleries: and after a Collation of Conſerves and Sack, contrary to the cuſtom of the *Portuguez*, who never proffer a Man drink, unleſs he ask for it, he ſhew'd us all the Ship, which had the name of a Gallion, but might very well be accounted a Carrack by reaſon of the bigneſs of it. The other Veſſels of the Fleet were alſo very noble ones, there being not any one among them, that had not fifty Guns at leaſt. The General and Preſident were in private diſcourſe, for about half an hour, after which the Preſident took his leave, and the General conducted him to a door which was in the Stern of the Ship, at which it was more commodious getting out, then it is in other Ships by Ladders of Ropes. As ſoon as the Preſident was got into the Boat, all the *Portuguez* Fleet fir'd their Guns. The Governour of the Caſtle *de Guarde*, having ſaluted the Preſident, who was his intimate Friend, with all the Guns he had, preſented himſelf upon the Battery, put off his Hat, and took leave of us. The Preſident being come aboard, ordered twenty Guns to be fired, which the General anſwered with twenty others; whereupon we went into the Road, and lay between the *Portuguez* and *Dutch* Fleets.

Goa deſcribed.

But, ere we leave *Goa*, it will not be amiſs, to give yet a little further account of what we found moſt remarkable in that City, which no doubt is one of the nobleſt and greateſt of thoſe the *Portuguez* are Maſters of in any part of the *Indies*. It lies in the Kingdom of *Cuncam*, or *Decam*, fifteen Degrees on this ſide the Line, in an Iſland, which the River divides from the Continent. *Alfonſo Albuquerque* took it by Compoſition, on the 16. of *February*, 1510. from *Zabaim Dalcam*, Prince of *Goa*, who recovered it again from him on the 30th of *May* following; but on the 21. of *November* in the ſame year, *Albuquerque* receiving freſh Forces from a Fleet, which *Diego Mendez Vaſconcelos* had then newly brought from *Portugal*, ſet upon the City and took it by ſtorm. The City of *Goa* was, even at that time, very conſiderable for its Traffick, but much leſs then it is now, as may be ſeen by the Walls of the old City, which are yet ſtanding, though the Gates be down, in ſo much that there is nothing between it and the new City, built by the *Portuguez*, ſince they eſtabliſhed their main Trade there. It hath on the South-ſide the Iſland of *Salſette*, which is divided from the Continent only by a ſmall Rivulet, as is alſo the Iſland of *Bardes*, which lies on the North-ſide, and under which Ships may caſt Anchor with all ſafety, without fear of any Winds. The Caſtle *de Guarde* lies at the foot of a Rock, on which they have built a Tower, in form of a Redoubt, wherein, in the night time they make a Fire, for a direction to Ships, and it hath ſeveral Braſs pieces placed even with the Water. From the mouth of the River to the Haven are about two Leagues, but it is equally broad all along, even at the place where it runs between the Iſland and the Continent, though in ſome places it be ſo ſhallow, that in Summer time there is not above two foot water.

The Iſland of *Goa* does not produce any thing, and is ſo barren, that ſome few Lambs and Goats excepted, it is not able to ſuſtain any thing; and yet the *Portuguez* have ſome Gardens there, and in them ſome Fruit, but it is to be attributed rather to their induſtry, then to Nature. Palm-wine is there in abundance, and all other proviſions are brought thither from the two forementioned Iſlands, or from the Continent, ſo plentifully, that they are ſo cheap there, that notwithſtanding the Block-houſe of the *Hollanders*, a Hog might be had for a Crown, ſix ſucking Pigs, ten Pullets, or eight wild Ducks, for as much; but there are very few Oxen there, then which Sheep are yet more ſcarce. They permit not the *Indians* to go over into the Continent, without leave obtain'd from thoſe who keep the paſſages, who make a mark in their Armes, which they are oblig'd to ſhew as they come back: for the *Portuguez* would not have the *Decanines* and *Canarines* come into the City without a Paſs-port. All the freſh-water they have within the City comes from a Fountain, which repreſents a *Lucrece*, out of whoſe Wound there comes Water enough to ſupply the whole City: but the Ships take in freſh-water near the Caſtle, above which there comes out of the Rock a Rivulet, which there falls into the River.

Goa hath now no wall.

The City hath now neither Gates nor Walls, but the River, which makes the Iſland, ſecures it againſt the attempts, which an open place might be expoſed to. The publick Buildings are very fair, and the Palaces of great Perſons very magnificent, eſpecially in their Houſhold-ſtuffe.

Its inhabitants.

The Inhabitants are either *Caſtizes*, that is, *Portuguez*, born of Father and Mother *Portuguez*; or *Meſtizes*, that is, born of a *Portuguez* Father, and *Indian* Mother. The *Meſtizes* are diſtinguiſhed from the others by their colour, which inclines towards the Olive; but

but those of the third Generation are as black as the Inhabitants of the Country; which happens also in the fourth Generation of the *Cafizes*, though there were no mixture among them. The *Portuguez* are either *Titulados*, as those who are employed in the principal charges; *Fidalgos da casa del Rey*, that is, Gentlemen in ordinary of the King's House; *Mocos Fidalgos*, young Gentlemen, that is, the Sons of *Titulados*, or *Cavalleros*, or newly admitted to Gentility by the King, *Cavalleros Fidalgos*, *Escuderos Fidalgos*, or simply Gentlemen. There are also such as have the quality of *Mocos da camra*, or Grooms of the Kings Chamber, who pass also for Gentlemen. All the rest are *Hombres*, *Honrados*, and *Soldados*. The former are Merchants or Tradesmen, and appear publickly with the same gravity, and almost with the same retinue as Gentlemen; in as much as, some only excepted, who cut Leather for Shooes, and Stuffes for Clothes, all the rest have their business done by Slaves. 1639

No Person of Quality goes abroad afoot; for some are carried by their Slaves in a *Palanquin*, and others ride on Horseback, or go in painted and gilty Gondoles; but not any without a Slave to carry an Umblello, or Fan.

The *Portuguez* have the reputation of being very highly conceited of themselves; but those of *Goa* are such in so high a degree, as well in their gate, as all their other actions, that they treat, as unacquainted with the World, such as are newly come from *Portugal*, and are not accustom'd to their manner of going and life. They are excessively civil one to another; nay, they are, in this, so ceremonious and exact, that he who should omit to render a person, that gives him a visit, the honour he conceives due to himself, whether it be in making him sit down otherwise then he would, or not bringing him to the street-door, must expect the effects of a deep resentment, whereof the least are cudgelling or caning, which they liberally bestow on persons of mean condition, who being below them, have omitted giving them the respect they look for from those that are not their Equals, though indeed they owe them not any. *The Portuguez of Goa proud der then any other.*

Winter begins there towards the end of *June*, with a South-west Wind, which comes from the Sea, and reigns for the space of four moneths, all along that Coast, from *Diu*, as far as the Cape of *Comory*; and during all that time, the Sea is not only innavigable, but there are few Havens, where Ships can ride in safety, and unexpos'd to Storms, mixt with terrible Thunder and Lightning, which disturb the Air there in that season. Which is yet so much the more to be wondred at, inasmuch as, at the same time, the Coast of *Coromandel*, which is in the same *Peninsula*, and at the same degree of elevation, and in some places is but twenty Leagues distant from that of *Malabar*, enjoyes a pleasant Spring, and the most divertive season of the year. Accordingly, those who go from *Cochim* to Saint *Thome*, by land, as they pass over the Mountain of *Balagatta*, which divides the whole *Peninsula*, as the *Apennine* does *Italy*, discover, from the top of the Mountain, on the one side, a clear and temperate Air, and on the other, a Country cover'd with a perpetual mist, and drown'd with the Rains that continually fall. The same observation may be also made in those Ships, which go from *Ormus* to the Cape of *Rosalgate*. Where, as they pass the Cape, they suddenly pass out of fair Weather, into dreadful Storms and Tempests. Whence it comes that, in those parts, there are but two Seasons, as there are also principally but two Winds that reign there in the Summer time, to wit, those of the East, which the *Portuguez* call *Therentos*, which come from the Land-side, and blow from mid-night till mid-day; but they are not felt above ten Leagues within the Sea; and those of the West, which they call *Virasons*, which come from the Sea, immediately after dinner, and blow all the rest of the day. *Winter begins in June.*

This change of Seasons from one extremity to another is the cause of many Diseases among the *Portuguez*; but the most common there are those which they call *Mordexin*, which kills immediately, burning Feavers, and bloudy Fluxes, against which they have in a manner no remedy but bleeding. The Plague is a Disease not known in the *Indies*; but, to make amends, they have the Pox, which destroyes every year a great number of *Portuguez*. For, though the Country produces present and topical Remedies against the Disease, yet so violent are their inclinations to Women, who, on the other side, are as mad for Men, that they will not take the time to be cur'd of a Disease, which is not got off by Remedies, if they be not accompany'd with a very regular diet. The Women of those parts have an excessive affection for white Men, and, being kept very much in restraint, they are put to all imaginable inventions, to let them know how passionately they love them, and to get them into their Lodgings: where they many times prosecute their delights, even in the Husbands presence, by means of a Drug, which so stupifies his Senses, as that he seems either to have lost them, or to sleep with his eyes open. *The Diseases of those parts.*

The *Indians* call this Herb *Doutre*, *Doutry*, or *Daturz*, and the *Turks* and *Persians Datula*. *Garcias*

1639. *Garcias ab horto*, and *Chriſtopher d' Acoſta*, affirm, that it is a kind of *Stramonea*; that the Herb grows abundantly all over the *Indies*, in the ſhade, and that it is ſomewhat like Bears-foot. They extract the juyce of it, while it is green, or they beat the Seed to powder, and mix it in Conſerves, or put it into his drink, whom they would reduce to that condition for twenty four hours: during which time he is depriv'd the uſe of all his Senſes, ſo that he does not ſee what is done before him, though his eyes be open, unleſs ſome body moiſten the ſoles of his feet with fair water, which revives and recovers him, much after the ſame manner as if he awoke out of a ſound ſleep.

The Women go abroad. There are few *Portuguez* Women, or *Meſtizes*, ſeen going about the City; and when they go abroad, either to Church, or upon neceſſary Viſits, they are carried in cloſe *Palanquins*, or are attended and watch'd by ſo many Slaves, that it is impoſſible to ſpeak to them. When they appear in publick, they are all very richly attir'd, in Velvet, Flower'd-Sattin, or Brocado, and adorn'd with abundance of Pearls and precious Stones; but at home, they go in their Hair, and have about them only a Smock, which reaches to the Navil; and thence downwards, they have Petticoats of painted Clothes falling down to the Feet, which are bare. They eat no Bread, as liking the Rice better, now that they are accuſtomed to it; nor do they fare over-deliciouſly as to other things, their ordinary ſuſtenance being Salt-fiſh, *Mangas*, or only Rice, ſoak'd in a little Fleſh or Fiſh-broath. They make uſe of certain Bottles, made of a kind of black Earth, which they call *Gorgolettes*, and have a Pipe coming up to the brims, ſo as that they may ſuck up the Water without lifting up the Bottles to their mouths.

The jealouſie of the Portuguez The Men there are ſo jealous of their Wives, that they permit not their neareſt Relations to ſee them: for Chaſtity is ſo ſtrange a Vertue in thoſe parts, that there is no Woman but contrives all the wayes imaginable to purſue her enjoyments, never minding the breach of thoſe Laws which God and Nature hath impoſed upon them, though the frequent misfortunes which happen upon that occaſion ſhould engage them to be more cautious and reſerv'd. The perpetual idle life they lead makes them ſo high in their deſires, for they do not any thing of buſineſs in the world, but ſpend the day in chewing of *Bettele*, which adds fuel to the flames of their lewd inclinations, as do alſo the Cloves and Nutmegs, which they eat, out of an imagination that they prevent the corruptions of the Teeth and Stomack, which commonly make the Breath ſtink.

The *Indian* Women, who conceive by an *European*, have ſo great an affection for their Children, that they would rather dye then part with them. Children are not cloath'd till they are of age to wear Breeches: and till that time they are brought up by Slaves, or other *Indian* Women.

The Portuguez Souldiers. The Souldiers live after another rate among them. For thoſe who go in that quality from *Portugal*, do not liſt themſelves under any particular Captain, nor will be engaged to continue in any one certain place to keep Garriſon there: but when they come to the *Indies*, they do what they pleaſe themſelves. Accordingly they have no pay, but when they are in actual ſervice upon the Engagements they are forc'd to at Sea, againſt the *Malabars*, or the *Dutch*. But the Captains, who have occaſion for theſe people, treat them with much civility, and give them now and then ſomewhat towards their ſubſiſtence, that they may be aſſured of their perſons and ſervices, when they have any work for them: ſo that they have what to live upon, yet ſpend not much. For commonly they live ten or twelve in the ſame houſe, where they diet together, having but two or three Servants among them, and as many Suits of Clothes, for thoſe who go abroad, either to beg, or upon ſome deſign, while the reſt ſtay at home, till their turns come to march out.

Their Marriages and Chriſtnings. The Marriages and Chriſtenings of the *Portuguez* are celebrated with very great magnificence. The Friends and Relations come on horſeback to the Bridegrooms door, and thence march before him to Church, into which he enters, accompanied by two of his Friends, who are inſtead of God-fathers to him; and the Bride follows him in a *Palanquin*, accompanied alſo by her two God-fathers. After the benediction of the marriage, they reconduct the new married couple to their houſe, into which only the God-fathers enter with the young couple, who go into a Balcony, or ſtand at a Window, to give the company thanks, which in the mean time ſhew a thouſand tricks in the Street. Their Chriſtenings are performed, in a manner, with the ſame Ceremonies, ſave that, at theſe there is carried an Ewer with a clean Napkin, a Salt-ſellar, and in the midſt a Silver Baſin, in a heap of Roſes, or other Flowers, a Wax-candle, into which they put a piece of Gold or Silver, for an Offering to the Prieſt. The God-father, and the Mid-wife, are carried with the Child in *Palanquins*.

Their Slaves. Moſt of the *Portuguez* have many Slaves of both Sexes, whom they employ not only about

about their persons, but also upon any other business they are capable of; for what they get comes in to the Master. Whence it comes that handsome Wenches are sought after, to be imploy'd in the selling of Fruits, and such Commodities as the *Portuguez* send to market; to the end their beauty might draw in Customers, and so they by a double way of trading, bring in double profit to their Masters. Their keeping, as to diet, stands them in very little; and all the cloathing they give them is only as much Linnen-cloath as will cover the privy parts. The Children born between Slaves belong to the Master, unless the Father will redeem them, within eight or ten dayes after they are born; which if they let slip, they are not afterwards admitted to do it, and the Master disposes of them; and when they are able to do any thing, makes use of them himself, or sells them in the Market, as we do Cattle. 1639

The Inhabitants of the Country, and their houses.

The Inhabitants of the Country are *Pagans*, and for the most part *Benjans*. Their Houses are all of Straw, and very little, having no light but what comes in at a little low door. All their Houshold-stuffe consists principally in certain Mats made of Rushes, which serve them both for their lodging at night, and to lye down upon at meals. Their Dishes, Drinking-cups, and Napkins, are made of Fig-leaves, of which they also make Pitchers and Oyl-pots, and their ordinary sustenance is Rice, which they boyl in Earthen pots. They daub over their Houses with Cow-dung, out of an imagination that it drives away Fleas.

They are so superstitious, that they never go abroad till they have said their prayers; and if they chance to meet a Crow, where-ever they be, they immediately return home, and undertake no business of any consequence that day. When they travel, they do their devotions before their *Pagodes*; and the *Portuguez* tollerate their Idolatry, upon this account, that the Inquisition hath no power, but only over such as either are Christians, or have been such. They have also their particular ceremonies for their Marriages, their birth-dayes, and other dayes, and seasons of the year: but they differ so little from those whereof we have spoken already, that we shall need say nothing of them. There are among them some very able Physitians, who are so highly respected at *Goa*, that they are permitted to have their Umbrellos carried with them; which is a Priviledge allowed only persons of quality: nay the *Portuguez*, even to the Vice-Roy himself and the Arch-Bishop, make use of them, rather then of those of their own Nation. They never eat but with those of their own Sect, though they were ready to starve. Nay, in this particular they are so scrupulous, that if, in their journey to *Cochim*, their provision should fall short, they would rather starve, then be oblig'd to eat what another had sown or made ready. Most of the Porters about *Goa* are Christians, as are also their Money-changers, whom they call *Xaraffes*, who make an external profession of Christianity, but, in their dealing, are *Jews*, apt to over-reach and deceive all that have to do with them. There are in *Goa* many *Decanins* and *Canarins*, who have Shops there, and buy of the *Portuguez*, Porcelane, Velvet *Damask*, and other Stuffes of Silk and Cotton, as also some *China* Commodities, all by whole sale, and afterwards sell them again by retail. These also bring Provisions from the Continent, and trade therein, having to that end their Brokers and Factors, who mannage their business, while they go to *Cambaya*, and along the Coast to improve their Traffick. There are amongst them Goldsmiths, Jewellers, Gravers, and other Artizans, who do things incomparably better then any of ours. These also farm the Kings Demesne in the Islands of *Bardes* and *Salsette*; upon which account, having sometimes occasion to go to Law, they are so well vers'd in the Laws and Customs of *Portugal*, that they need no Advocates to plead their Causes.

The Decanins excellent Gravers, &c.

Most of the *Canarins* are either Husband-men, or Fisher-men. There are some of them have no other employment then dressing the *Cocos*-trees, to get the Wine and Fruit they produce. Others only wash Linnen, or whiten Cloath. The Peasants bring in every day to the City, wild Fowl, Milk, Fruit, Eggs, and other provisions to be sold. Their Wives are deliver'd with the greatest easiness imaginable. They make no use of Midwives, but are deliver'd alone, wash their Children themselves as soon as they are born, put them under a few Fig leaves, and return to their work, as if they had not been about any such thing. The Children brought up after this rate, grow so hardy and strong, that it is an ordinary thing to see Men among them of a hundred years of age, yet have not a Tooth missing, but all the time in perfect health. They are all excellent Swimmers, whence it comes, that they venture over to the Continent in their little Boats called *Almadies*, which indeed are so little, that they can hardly carry one person: in so much that they are frequently overturn'd, but they recover them again by swimming, cast out the Water, and prosecute their Voyage. Though in these parts they burn the dead bodies instead of burying of them, yet are not the Women oblig'd to burn themselves with their

Their women deliver'd without pain.

They live in perfect health to 100 years of age.

1639. their Husbands Corps, but only to cut off their Hair, and make a Vow of perpetual Widowhood.

The Jews of Goa. The *Jews*, who live at *Goa*, have there their Temples and Synagogues, and enjoy an absolute liberty of Conscience. They are either *Indians* born of, Father and Mother, *Jews*, or they come out of *Palastine*; these last, for the most part, speak the *Spanish* tongue.

The *Mahumetans*, who live there, trade for the most part to *Meca*, and other places upon the Red-sea, whither they carry Spices. The *Portuguez* and the *Mestizes* have their greatest Trade in *Bengala*, *Pegu*, *Malacca*, *China*, and in *Guzuratta*, at the City of *Cambaya*. No Person of Quality at *Goa*, but goes once a day to the Market, whither the Merchants, nay, most Gentlemen come, as well to hear what news there is, as to see what there is to be sold; for, from seven in the morning to nine, (after which the heat is such, as that a Man is not able to stay there) the publick Criers, whom they call *Laylon*, sell there by outcry, all sorts of Commodities, but especially Slaves of both Sexes, and Jewels. There you shall see the Crier loaden with Chains, Gold Rings, and precious Stones, and followed by a great number of Slaves, all to be sold. There are also to be sold there, *Persian* and *Arabian* Horses, Spices, all sorts of Aromatick Gums, *Alcatifs*, Porcelane, Vessels of Agat, several things made of *Lacque*, and whatever is thought precious or rare in any other part of the *Indies*. Merchants and Tradesmen are distinguished by Streets; so that Silk-men are not shuffled in among Linnen-Drapers; nor the Druggists among those who sell Porcelane. The greatest profit they make is in the exchange of Money. For when the *Spanish* Fleet comes in, they buy Ryals at ten or twelve in the hundred loss; and in *April*, when the Ships go away for the *Molucca's* and *China*, where the Ryals are much esteem'd, they sell them again at twenty five or thirty in the hundred profit, notwithstanding the Order there is to sell them at four hundred Reis. They make the same advantage by the change of the *Laris*, which they also sell at ten or twelve in the hundred profit.

Their money. They have several sorts of money. The least is that which hey call *Basarucques*, which on the one side have a Globe, on the other two Arrows cross'd. They are made of Tin and Lattin mixt together, and eight of these *Basarucques* make a *Ventin*, whereof five make a *Tanghe*. Five *Tanghes* make a *Serafin* of Silver, which, according to the Kings Command, is set at three hundred *Reis*, and six *Tanghes* make a *Pardai*. The *Serafin* hath on the one side Saint *Sebastian*, on the other a sheaf of Arrows. There are also *Serafins* of Gold, coined heretofore at *Ormus*, of a more refin'd metal then any other Moneys of the *Indies*; whence it comes, that the Gold-smiths melt down all that fall into their hands of them. They have also *Santemes* of 16. *Tanghes*, and *Pagodes* of 14, 15. and 16. *Tanghes*.

Customes upon Forreign Commodities. Forreign Merchants pay at their coming in eight in the hundred for all Merchandises, and as much at their going out; but the Farmers of the Customs are so reasonable in their valuing of them, that the Merchants have no cause to complain. They have also this favour, that if a Merchant hath paid the Customs at his coming in, and hath not put off his Commodities, he may carry them to some other place, without paying ought at the Exportation. In like manner, a forreign Merchant that hath bought of a *Portuguez*, or other Citizen of *Goa*, Spices, or any other Commodities of *Malacca* or *China*, may enter them under the Sellers name, and so avoid paying the Customes due at exportation.

The Viceroy of Goa. The Viceroy at the time of our being there, was *D. Pedro de Silva*. His person was not answerable to his quality, but he had about him above fifty Gentlemen, who gave him the same respect as they could have done the King himself. This charge is continued in the same person, but for three years, as well in regard it were dangerous, a Subject should longer be possess'd of a Dignity, which differs from the Soveraign only in time; as that the King of *Spain* hath many Lords to gratifie with an Employment, which enriches them sufficiently in that time. For, besides that his whole Court lies at the Kings charge, he hath the disposal of all his Revenue, and every year makes a Visit for sixty or eighty Leagues about, which is worth to him very much. But the Presents which the neighbouring Princes, and the Governours and under Officers make him, are not to be valued. He hath his Council of State, and his Courts of Law and Equity. He is absolute Judge in all civil Causes, the most important only excepted, wherein there may appeal be made to the King. Criminal Sentences are executed there, notwithstanding the Appeal; but it is not in the Viceroy's power to indict a Gentleman, but he is oblig'd to send him, with the Informations brought in against him, to *Portugal*, unless the King order some other course to be taken with him. The Viceroy at his arrival into the *Indies*, lands in the Island of *Bardes*, or some other Haven on that side, whence he immediately sends his Agents to *Goa*,

to

to take poſſeſſion of his charge, and what ever depends on it. His Predeceſſour makes way for him, upon the firſt news he receives of his Arrival, unfurniſhes the Palace, and leaves him only the Guards and the bare walls. Thus much we thought fit to ſay of the City of *Goa*. 1639.

January 22. about noon, the Preſident ſent away the two Ships which came along with us from *Surat*, and were to carry thither the money which had been received at *Goa*; and after he had diſmiſs'd certain *Jeſuits*, and ſeveral other perſons of quality of *Goa*, who were come to viſit him aboard, we hoys'd ſail, yet expecting to come aboard our Ship the General of the *Dutch* Fleet, whoſe name was *Van Kenlen*, who had intreated him to convey ſome Letters to his Superiours. But he came not. In the Evening we ſaw all the *Dutch* Fleet under ſail, whence we imagin'd that the General intended to give us a viſit, but with the night we loſt ſight of them, and having a reaſonable good wind, kept on our courſe. Mandelſlo continues his Voyage.

Jan. 23. At break of day, we had a ſight of the *Dutch* Fleet again; and then we conceiv'd they were going to relieve the King of *Ceylon*, who had intreated the General to aſſiſt him againſt the *Portuguez*, who had declar'd war againſt him. About noon, we were at thirteen degrees latitude, and out of ſight of land. But in regard we intended to go towards the Coaſt of *Malabar*, upon intelligence brought us, that an *Engliſh* Ship, coming from *Bantam*, richly loaden with Spices, had been ſet upon and ſpoil'd by the *Malabar* Pyrates, the next day we chang'd our courſe, and took it more Eaſtward, ſo to get towards the land. The *Malabars* had taken their advantage of the condition that Ship was in, which was ſo over-burthen'd, that ſhe could make uſe of but ſix Guns; they found indeed no great difficulty to enter her; but they were no ſooner in, ere the *Engliſh* ſent above ſix hundred of them, with the upper Deck into the Sea. They diſpatch'd as many with the ſecond; but afterwards being themſelves forc'd to go to the Stern, to avoid the fire, they yielded to the *Malabars*, who, with the Ship, took the Captain, the Maſters Mate, the Clark, and fourteen others, whom we intended to redeem.

About noon we paſs'd in ſight of *Monteleone*, a high Mountain, from which the *Malabars* diſcover, at a diſtance, the Veſſels they conceive they may ſet upon with advantage, and at night we came to the Haven of *Cananor*, where we found three *Engliſh* Veſſels, the *Dragon*, the *Catharine*, and the *Seymour*, commanded by Captain *Weddell*, one of the moſt experienced Sea-Captains of his time, one that had been at the taking of *Ormus*, and was then entertain'd into the ſervice of a new Company, erected not long before in *England*, for the trade of the *Indies*. Having fired ſome Guns to ſalute the Caſtle, we ſent to Captain *Weddell*, to know what condition the *Engliſh* priſoners were in; and hearing they were moſt of them ſet at liberty, we would ſtay no longer on that Coaſt. Monteleone.

The *Portuguez* have a Garriſon in the Caſtle of *Cananor*, but the City is inhabited by *Malabars*. They call by that name all thoſe people who live upon that Coaſt from the City of *Goa*, as far as the Cape of *Comory*, or *Comorin*. The Country is very fertile, and brings forth abundance of Spices, but particularly the beſt Pepper in the *Indies*, which is moſt eſteem'd, becauſe the grain of it is bigger then it is any where elſe, even then that which grows in *Sumatra* and *Java*. The Inhabitants go ſtark naked, covering only thoſe parts, which Nature would not have ſeen even in Beaſts. They make holes in the tips of their Ears, and are black, but have not ſuch great Lips as the Moors of *Africk*. They tye up their Hair together upon the Crown of the Head, and let their Beards grow to the full length, without any ordering or trimming, in ſo much that they are not unlike thoſe figures, under which we would repreſent the Devil. Nor is their diſpoſition unſuitable to this pleaſant external ſhape, for they underſtand nothing of civility, nor are capable of any Commerce or Converſation. They are for the moſt part Pyrates and Souldiers, who may be ſaid to have raſhneſs rather then courage, and are expert enough in the handling of their Armes, which are Sword and Buckler, Bows and Arrows. They make alſo a kind of Muskets themſelves, and uſe them with advantage. They obey neither the King of *Cuncam*, nor the Viceroy of *Goa*, but they have their particular King or Prince, who alſo performs the functions of High-Prieſt, and is of the Sect of the *Bramans*. Theſe were the moſt conſiderable enemies the *Portuguez* met with, at the beginning of their eſtabliſhment in the *Indies*: but ever ſince they made a Treaty with them, they have liv'd in very good correſpondence. Their Prince, whom they call *Zamorin*, is alſo King of *Calicuth*, upon the ſame Coaſt. In the year 1604. the *Dutch* made a Treaty with him, for the freedom of Trade; but the *Portuguez* coming to be more powerful in thoſe parts, and the *Dutch* finding it eaſier to ſettle themſelves in other places, where they continue their Trade with greater advantage, they have neglected the friendſhip of theſe The Malabars. Zamorin Emperour of Calicuth and Cananor.

1639. Barbarians. I obſerv'd at *Cananor*, that there were ſome men among them, who never par'd their Nails; and that there were others, who wore Bracelets and Rings about their Armes. Theſe are the Gentry of the Country, whom they call *Nayres*, that they may be diſtinguiſh'd from Perſons of meaner condition, whom they call *Polyas*. The *Nayres* are very proud, and conceited of themſelves, and permit not the *Polyas* ſo much as to touch them. They alwayes go with their Sword and Buckler, wherewith they make a noiſe in the Streets as they go, and perpetually cry out *Po*, *Po*, that people ſhould make way for them. As ſoon as they perceive them coming, they cloſe on both ſides, look down to the ground, and do them reverence. Some affirm, that this punctilio of Honour, whereby they pretend to a reſpect due to them from all that are not of their race, was one of the things that moſt obſtructed the Treaty which the *Portuguez* were ready to conclude with the King of *Cochim*, at their firſt eſtabliſhment, in regard they would have the *Portuguez* do them the ſame ſubmiſſions as the *Polyas* did. The *Portuguez*, on the other ſide, who are as highly conceited of themſelves as any Nation in the World, refuſed to do it; ſo that to decide the difference, it was agreed, that a *Portuguez* and a *Nayre* ſhould fight for the honour of the two Nations; upon condition, that the Conquerour ſhould give the Law to the conquered. The *Portuguez* Champion had the advantage, and by that means obtain'd the precedence for his Nation; and ever ſince that time, the *Portuguez* have the ſame honour done them by the *Nayres*, as they have done them by the *Polyas*. Many of theſe *Nayres* never marry, in regard they have a certain priviledge to ſee the Wives and Daughters of their Camerades, and to that end, to go into their Houſes at any time of the day. When they go into any Houſe upon that ſcore, they leave their Sword and Target at the Street-door, which mark prohibits entrance to all others whatſoever, nay the very Maſter of the Houſe himſelf, finding thoſe Armes at his Door, paſſes by, and gives his Camerade full liberty to do what he pleaſe. The *Polyas* are not ſo much honour'd as to have the *Nayres* viſit their Wives, who muſt be content with their own Husbands; for it were a great crime in a *Nayre* to defile himſelf, by converſing with the Wife of a common perſon. The *Nayres* are all Souldiers, made uſe of by the King, both for his Guard and in his Wars. On the contrary, the *Polyas* are forbidden the bearing of Armes, and ſo are either Tradeſmen, Husbandmen, or Fiſhermen.

The priviledges of the Nayres

The writing of the Malabars.

The *Malabars* write with a Bodkin upon the bark of the *Cocos*-tree, which they cut very thin, and in an oblong form like a Table-book, drawing a String through the middle, which hold the leaves together, and comes twice or thrice about the box or caſe, which is as it were a covering to it. Their Characters have nothing common with thoſe of the other *Indians*, and are underſtood only by their *Bramans*, for moſt of the common people can neither write nor read.

The order of ſucceſſion in Calicuth.

The King of *Calicuth* doth not eat any thing, which had not been preſented before to his *Pagode*; and it is to be particularly obſerved, that in this Kingdom it is not the Kings Son, but the Kings Siſters Son, who inherits the Crown, it being the common perſwaſion, that the Children born of the Queen, are begotten rather by their *Bramans* then by the King himſelf.

Cochim *deſcribed.*

As concerning the City of *Cochim*, it is to be obſerved, that there are two Cities of the ſame name in the Kingdom of *Cochim*, one whereof lies upon a great River, and belongs to the King of *Cochim*, the other to the *Portuguez*. This laſt, whereof we now ſpeak, is ſeated upon the ſame Coaſt, at ten degrees on this ſide the Line, having on the Weſt-ſide of it the Sea, and on the Land-ſide a Forreſt of black Trees, whereof the Inhabitants of the Country make their Boats called *Almadies*. Theſe Trees they make hollow, and ſo their Boat is all of one piece, yet with theſe they make a ſhift to go along the Coaſt as far as *Goa*. The Port is very dangerous, by reaſon of the Rocks which make the entrance into it very difficult.

At the beginning of Winter, there falls ſuch abundance of Rain in the neighbouring Mountains, that ſeveral Brooks are of a ſudden by that means overflown, and run with ſuch violence, that the Earth which they carry along, and which is ſtopped by the Waves that are forc'd by the Wind againſt the Earth, makes in that place a kind of Bank, which ſo ſtops up the mouth of the Haven, that 'tis impoſſible to get into it or out of it, during that time, nor indeed till the Wind, which changes with the ſeaſon, forces the Sea back again, which carries along with it the filth which the Rain had left in that place.

The *Portuguez* carry on a great Trade in this place in Pepper, which the King of *Cochim* ſells them at a certain rate, agreed upon with the Viceroy at his firſt coming to *Goa*; but the Inhabitants of the Country, and other Forreigners, pay dearer for it.

The

The King of *Cochim* is one of the moſt powerful Princes of thoſe parts; it being certain, that he is able to raiſe above a hundred thouſand men, the moſt part *Nayres*, who are obliged to ſerve at their own charge, either with Horſe or Elephants. As to their manner of life, it is not fully ſo brutiſh as that of the *Malabars*, but they obſerve the ſame Cuſtom, for the ſucceſſion of their Kings, and the Conſummation of their Marriages, which work is performed by their *Bramans*. 1639

The Nayres of the K. of Cochim.

A great Privilege of the Bramans.

This ſort of people is ſo highly reſpected amongſt them, that the Maſter of the Houſe ſeeing a *Braman* coming into it, makes him way, retires, and leaves him alone to do what he pleaſe with his Wife. They make holes in their Ears, and hang little weights of Lead at them, which ſtretch them ſo much, that in time they reach down to their Shoulders. The principal Commerce of this place conſiſts in Pepper, Ginger, and Cinnamon.

The Zamorin of Calicuth was ſometime Emperour of the Malabars.

It is not long ſince all the *Malabars* had but one King; but *Sarama Perymal*, Monarch of all that Coaſt, from *Goa*, as far as the Cape of *Comeri*, having imbrac'd the *Mahumetan* Religion, and deſirous to end his life in ſolitude, near the Sepulchre of his great Prophet, diſtributed his Territories amongſt his Friends, upon condition that the Kings of *Cananor*, *Cochim* and *Chaule*, ſhould acknowledge the Soveraignty of the King of *Calicuth*, on whom he beſtowed the Dignity of *Zamourin*, or Emperour; but ſince the eſtabliſhment of the *Portuguez* in thoſe parts, the power of *Zamourin* is grown ſo low, that at the preſent, the King of *Cochim* is more powerful then he.

January the 26. We left *Cananor*, and ſaw going thence Captain *Weddell*, who would gladly have come along with us into *England*, had he not been obliged to go and diſpatch ſome buſineſs he had to do at *Cochim* and *Calicuth*. Captain *Weddell* caſt Anchor there, but we only fired ſome Guns, and purſued our Voyage.

An Engagement with the Malabar Pirates.

The next day we diſcover'd, at a great diſtance, eighteen Sail of Ships, which coming directly towards us, eaſily diſcover'd what their deſign was. We had much ado to clear our Guns, for the Ship was ſo loaden that every hole was full. However we had the time to put our ſelves into a poſture of receiving thoſe Pyrats, who had not the confidence to come within Cannon-ſhot of us, while day-light might diſcover them; but preſently after midnight, as ſoon as the Moon was up, they ſet upon us on all ſides, though with little advantage, for they were ſo well receiv'd, that at the firſt firing of our Guns we ſunk two of their Frigots, and made three or four others incapable of further ingaging. Our ſmall Shot in the mean time playing upon thoſe which came neareſt our Ship, that they thought it their beſt courſe to let us alone.

Paſs in ſight of Cochim.

The ſame night we paſs'd by the Caſtle of *Chochim*, and the next day, the twenty eighth, we could diſcern no more then fourteen of the *Malabar* Frigats, which follow'd us a far off, whereupon we conceiv'd the other four were ſunk. Mean while, we continued on our Voyage with a favourable Wind, diſcovering towards the Eaſt, a low Country planted with *Cocoes*, and ſomething farther, towards South-eaſt, the Cape of *Comory*, the moſt Southerly quarter of this part of the *Indies*, by the Ancients call'd *India* on this ſide *Ganges*.

The Cape of Comory.

The night following, the *Malabars* made as if they would again attaque us, and two of their Frigots came within our Cannon, we only gave them two Volleys without Bullets to draw them nearer, but they retreated.

The Iſle of Ceylon.

On the morrow, the twenty ninth, we ſaw the Iſle of *Ceylon*, at the head whereof we were fix'd as immoveable by a Calm, which laſted three weeks compleat. This Iſland lies ten Leagues from the Continent, extending from South-ſouth-eaſt to the North-eaſt, betwixt the Capes of *Comory* and *Nigapatam*, which lies at eleven degrees, towards the Coaſt of *Coromandel*. 'Tis in length ſixty Leagues, in breadth forty, and about two hundred and fifty in compaſs. They ſay, it was heretofore much larger then now at preſent, and that the flowings of the Sea, which in thoſe quarters are exceeding violent, carried part of it away, on the ſide towards *Comory*. This, without diſpute, is the richeſt and moſt fertile of all the Eaſtern Iſlands, if we may credit *Maffeus*, the moſt learned and grave Author that hath written of the Affairs of the *Indies*, or particularly the experienc'd and famous *S. Borhart* in his *Phaleg*; this is without doubt the Ancients *Taprobane*, though *Mercator*, *Joſ. De l' Eſcale*, *Em. Oſorius*, and others, take the Iſle of *Sumatra* to be it, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

The ancients Taprobane.

Its deſcription.

Howſoever, it is moſt certain, *Ceylon*, or *Zeilon*, is the moſt conſiderable of all the *Indian* Iſlands, for it produces not only all ſuch things as the other Iſlands afford, but moreover, there ſhall you ſee whole Forreſts of Orange and Lemmon-trees, as alſo of Cinnamon, which emits its odour very far upon the Sea, and great quantity of precious Stones, in ſo much as, except the Diamonds, there is no Stone which is not there found. They fiſh

1639. *When discovered by the Portuguez.*

likewise there for Pearls, but they are not so fair as those of *Baharam*: but in recompence it produces the best Ivory of the World. *Laurence*, Son of *Francisco Almeida*, discover'd it in the year 1506. who took possession of it in the name of *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, erecting there a Column, with an Inscription, signifying, that it had no owner, though at the same time he had a Treaty with one of the Kings of the Island, wherein he promised him the King of *Portugal*'s protection, for two thousand five hundred *Quintals* of Cinnamon, in acknowledgment. The *Portuguez* have since fortified the Town of *Colombo*, which lies at seven degrees on this side the Line, and kept it, till the *Hollanders*, three years since, in the year 1657. took this important place from them; by this means dispossessing them of all they held in this Island.

The *Hollanders* began not their Commerce here till the year 1602. in the time of *Fimala Derma Suri Ada*, King of *Candy*, who is the most puissant, and in a manner the soveraign of the Island, who succeeded to the Crown by wayes so extraordinary, that I perswade my self 'twill not be tedious to the Reader, to hear the particulars.

The History of Fimala Derma King of Candy.

Mara Ragu, King of *Settavacca*, had three Sons legitimate, and one natural, called *Derma*. Some will have this *Derma* to be the Son of a Chyrurgion; but they are mistaken, it being certain, he was the Son of *Mara Ragu*, begotten on one of these *Balladeiraes*, or Dancers, such as almost all the *Indian* Princes keep for their divertisement. *Mara Ragu* had an affection for this Child, and caus'd him to be brought up a Souldier, that one day he might command his Forces; wherein *Derma* improv'd so well, and acquir'd such reputation, that the Army, who conceiv'd it would be a happiness to be under a Martial Prince, established him in the Throne, this unnatural Child having first taken away the lives of his Father and his three legitimate Sons. The *Cingales*, who in this Island of *Ceylon* are as the *Nayres* amongst the *Malabares*, had some regret to admit this change, and be Subjects to a Bastard: but he began his reign with such severity, and ordered so many executions, that they who murmur'd most were compell'd to entertain what they could not hinder, till such time as they found means to make him away by poyson.

Derma murthers his Father and three Brothers.

The death of *Derma*, and that of the King of *Candy*, which happened much about a time, very much advanced the establishment of the *Portuguez* in this Island. For, allowing to the *Cingales* their ancient Liberties and Priviledges, and without scruple of Religion, intermarrying with them, they stood fair to become Masters of the Island, had it not been for the opposition of one Lord of the Nation, of whom they had good reason to be confident. His name was *Fimala Derma Suri Ada*, and was grand *Modeliar*, that is, Constable of the Kingdom of *Candy*, when the King dyed. He was Son to one of the cheif Princes of the Kingdom, and in his youth had his breeding amongst the *Portuguez*, who brought him to *Colombo*, where he was baptized, and named *Don John* of *Austria*, in remembrance of the natural Brother of *Philip* the second King of *Spain*. Afterward they educated him at *Goa*, whither they brought him at such time as *D. Emanuel de Sousa Continno* was Viceroy; and he was there likewise while *Matheo Albuquerque* succeeded *D. Emanuel* in the same Dignity. The *Portuguez* observing him to be a graceful person, and being, as they thought, sure of his affection, made no difficulty to confer upon him the Office of Grand *Modeliar* of *Candy*, and by this means to set him in the first rank of the whole Kingdom, wherein *D. John* of *Austria* made such use of his trust, that he gain'd the affection of all the Souldiery, so as that after the decease of the King, the *Cingales* promoted him to succeed in his place.

Fimala declares against the Portuguez

The first thing he did, was to put to death all the *Portuguez* in the Town of *Candy*, and to declare war against the rest. There was yet a Princess, Heir to the Crown, whom the *Portuguez* had brought to *Mannar*, where they baptized her, and named her *D. Katharina*, with design to make use of her when occasion should require, as in the present Conjuncture it did. For *Pedro Lopes de Sousa*, Captain General of *Malacca*, conceiving he could raise the Inhabitants of *Candy* in favour of this Princess, enters the Kingdom with a powerful Army, and with him brings along *D. Katharina* with intention to marry her, by which means he would make himself King, having first caused her to be acknowledged Heir. He became Master of the capital Town without much difficulty, but that prov'd his ruine. For *D. John*, who, with his *Cingales*, was retir'd to the Woods, did not only annoy him in cutting off all the *Portuguez*, who came out of the Town for forrage or other necessaries of livelihood; but he so cut off all Provisions, that *Lopes*, to maintain his Army, was constrain'd to betake himself to the Field, and leave the Town, to give *D. John* battel. It was fought in the year 1590. upon a Sunday; and notwithstanding the advantage the *Portuguez* had of their Fire-arms, and above fourty Elephants arm'd for war; *D. John*, who would now have no other name then *Fimala Derma Suri Ada*, routed and absolutely defeated them. *Lopes* was kill'd upon the place, and *D. Katharina* became pri-

Gives Battle.

soner

ſoner to *Vimala*, who afterwards married her, by this means acquiring a right to the Crown, which before he only held by the Sword. 1639.

Four years after this Victory, *D. Jeronimo d' Azeuedo*, General of the Conqueſts of *Zeilon*, having receiv'd Orders from the King of *Spain* for a new attempt on the Kingdom of *Candy*, raiſes a potent Army, which the Viceroy of *Goa* reinforc'd with all the Cavaliers and *Hidalgos* attendance: he advances to *Ballene* the place where the firſt Battle was fought, and thence ſends defiance to the King of *Candy*. *The ſecond Battle given.*

The *Portuguez* were not more fortunate in this, then they had been in the former battle; for though the *Portuguez* Army receiv'd not a defeat, and *D. Jeronimo* got high honour by his retreat for five dayes together in ſight of the Kings Army, that purſued him to the very Gates of *Colombo*; they were notwithſtanding ſo weakned, that from that time the *Portuguez* durſt never attempt the Kingdom of *Candy* by force. Nevertheleſs they ceaſe not to maintain a war by ſurprizes and incurſions one upon another.

For not long before the *Hollanders* arrived in the Iſle of *Zeilon*, the *Portuguez* were moſt baſely trappan'd by the double intelligence, which one *Jeronimo Dias* kept with them. He was by birth a *Portuguez*, but as the reſt of his Nation, who ſettle amongſt the *Indians*, making no difficulty to plant themſelves in places where there is no publick exerciſe of Religion, eaſily loſe that whereof they had only a ſleight and ſuperficial knowledge; ſo this man having renounc'd his Religion, undertook to betray his Country-men, as I am about to tell you. This *Jeronimo*, being priſoner to the King, remain'd at *Candy* till he had contrived the means to betray the *Portuguez*. Afterwards he eſcaped, and returning to *D. Jeronimo d' Azeuedo*, told him, that if he thought fit, he would undertake to kill the King of *Candy*. *Azeuedo* ſuppoſing after the Kings death, 'twould not be hard for him to poſſeſs himſelf of the Kingdom, hearkens to the Propoſition, raiſes to himſelf an aſſurance in a Man, who undertakes in cold bloud to murther a Soveraign Prince; allows him three Captains, *Chriſtoval Jacomo*, *Albert Primero*, and *Jean Pereina*, with two Souldiers, to aſſiſt him in this enterprize, which he made appear very feaſible: promiſing to make him King of *Candy* immediately upon the Kings expiration, and furniſhing him with a good ſum of money for the purpoſe, without which, he ſaid, there was nothing to be done. *Dias* would go alone, as well that he might ſeem to have eſcaped from the *Portuguez*, as to diſpoſe the King to put theſe five *Portuguez*, his Complices, into the Fort of *Ballene*; for that he was to perſwade the King, that they came likewiſe to render themſelves to him, to ſerve againſt the other *Portuguez*: but being come to the King, he diſcover'd the double dealing he had contriv'd, ſo as the night following, the King re-inforc'd the Garriſon of *Ballene* Fort, and went in perſon thither, on deſign to ſurprize the *Portuguez*, who were ambuſcado'd in the Woods, to aſſault the Fort upon notice of the Kings death. *The treachery of a Portuguez Renegado.*

Theſe five *Portuguez*, Confederates in *Dias*'s treaſon, being arrived at the Fort, were received in; but as they entred were conveyed into private rooms, where they were diſarm'd and put into Irons: which could not be carried with ſo much ſecrecy, but ſome of thoſe *Cingales* the *Portuguez* brought along with them diſcovered it, ſo as returning with ſpeed they gave notice to the *Portuguez* in the Ambuſcade, who otherwiſe had run the hazard to be cut in pieces through the ill ſucceſs of the enterprize. *Jeronimo Dias* for his ſervice was rewarded with the dignity of Grand *Modeliar*, which he enjoy'd at the time the *Hollanders* arriv'd in the Iſland of *Zeilon*, where they ſped no better then the *Portuguez*. For the King of *Candy*, who in the year 1602. received their Admiral with civility, in the year following, caus'd their Vice-admiral, with fifty of his Men, to be put to death in cold bloud; in ſo much as for that time they were conſtrained to lay aſide all thoughts of ſettling a trade there. But ſince they have found opportunity for a firm eſtabliſhment, by gaining from the *Portuguez* the Fort *de Punto de Gallo*, and fortifying the Port *de Negombo*, where they drive a great trade, much augmented by their taking likewiſe the Town of *Colombo* from the *Portuguez*, where theſe laſt kept commonly a Garriſon of eight hundred men. *The Hollanders ill treated in the Iſle of Zeilon.*

The King of *Candy* is the moſt puiſſant and moſt abſolute of all the Kings of *Zeilon*. He delights in the *Portuguez* manner of building, and fortifies his Holds after the modern way. This Kingdom extends it ſelf along that River, on which the City of *Vintane* is ſcituate, where the Kings Galleys and other Veſſels have their retreat. It contains many fair and well-built Towns. The Inhabitants are like the *Malabars*, but not ſo black. They go naked as low as the Navel, but ſome uſe Coats or Dublets after the *Portuguez* faſhion. In their Ears they hang Pendants, and the greateſt part have a *Cris* or Poniard by their ſides. Women have likewiſe their Breaſts bare, and go very decent in habit, and in their converſation with Men diſcover much of modeſty. They dreſs their Heads much like the *European* Women, laying their Hair very cloſe on their Head, and tying their Treſſes *The Kingdom of Candy.* *The Inhabitants.* *The Women.*

1639. Treſſes behind. They wear Collars of Gold or Silver, and Rings upon their Hands and Feet, and their Arms and Legs beſet with abundance of precious Stones. Their houſes are conveniently enough built, and the Women very skilful in Cookery. The *Cingales* addict themſelves to nothing at all, nor are they fit for war, by reaſon they are accuſtomed to ſo idle a life they can indure no hardſhip.

Victuals cheap. Throughout the *Indies* there is no part ſo abounds in all ſorts of Victuals, as this Iſle *Zeilon*. Fowl, Fiſh, Veniſon, Poultry, Butter, Milk and Honey, are at extraordinary low rates, as well as *Ananas*, *Bannanas*, *Cocos*, *Jacques*, *Mangas*, Oranges, Lemmons, Citrons, and all other ſorts of Fruits. They eat of all things in general, even of Pork, and all ſort of Cattle, except the Oxe, Cow, or Buffle; Wine they drink not, no more then the *Mahumetans*, who dwell amongſt them, and enjoy a full liberty of Religion. Theſe Iſlanders are of the ſame Religion as other Pagans in theſe parts. They bear great reverence to their *Bramans*, who obſerve a more auſtere way of living, and eat not of any thing hath had life, by reaſon that for the whole day they adore the firſt Beaſt they meet with at their coming out of doors in a morning. Maids are here married at the age of ten or twelve years: And they burn their dead Corps.

Their Religion.

Fimala Derma Suri Ada had gotten ſome tincture of Chriſtian Religion, if at leaſt it be to be found amongſt the *Portuguez*; it was ſoon raz'd out by the compliance he had for the *Cingales*; and after his deceaſe his Succeſſors fell back to Paganiſm. There are ſome amongſt them, who adore the head of an Elephant, wrought in wood or ſtone, and ſay, their intention is to obtain wiſdom; for they are of opinion, the Elephants of *Ceilon* are not only more knowing then other Elephants, but further, that they out-go men in judgment. In their houſes they have a Basket, wherein they put ſuch things as they deſign for an offering to their *Pagodes*, to whom they have a particular devotion in their ſickneſſes, becauſe it is from them alone they look for remedy. They hold, as matter of faith, that the World ſhall not periſh ſo long as their grand *Moſquey*, which may be ſeen at a great diſtance from the Sea, between *Punto de Gallo* and *Monte Calo*, ſhall be extant. Another particular opinion they have of a Mountain in this Iſland call'd *Pico d' Adam*, and ſay it was there that the firſt Man was fram'd; that the Spring on the top of this Mountain roſe from the tears *Eve* ſhed for *Abel*; and that the Iſle of *Ceilon* was part of the terreſtrial *Paradiſe*. To conclude, they are very docile, and willing to acknowledge the errours of their Idolatry; in ſo much that there were great likelihood of their converſion, if *Chriſtians* would undertake theſe long Voyages, as much out of a religious zeal, as worldly concernments.

Kings tributary to the Portuguez. All the other Kings of *Ceilon*, except the King of *Candy*, pay tribute to the *Portuguez*: but 'tis ſo inconſiderable, that the Princes think it not worth while to take Arms to free themſelves from a ſubjection, which conſiſts but in a bare acknowledgment. For the King of *Matecalo*, who is not the leaſt conſiderable amongſt them, payes annually but fifty Duckates.

Mines of Gold and Silver. The Iſland produces Pepper, but their chiefeſt Commodity is Cinnamon. They find here Mines of Braſs and Iron; and certainly there is both Gold and Silver, eſpecially in the Kingdom of *Candy*, but the King will not permit a ſearch to be made for the diſcovery thereof. Their rich Stones they permit not likewiſe to be ſold to Strangers, which are there found in great abundance; but there is ſo great plenty thereof, that it is impoſſible but ſome may be had under hand; for they are found in the heaps of Gravel, and in the Town of *Candy*; nay, after the Rain hath waſhed down the Earth of ſome neighbouring Mountains, the Inhabitants find them in the currents of Water, and though they are oblig'd to bring them all to the King, 'tis impoſſible that Order ſhould be exactly obſerved.

The Iſland likewiſe yields Timber and Stone for building; the Soyl produces Corn, Oyl and Wine, if any Man will take the pains to plant the Vine, Cotton, ſeveral Roots for Dyers, Ginger, *Cardamoms*, *Mirobalans*, *Corcoma*, and divers other Medicinable Drugs, Nutmegs, *&c.* but particularly ſo great a quantity of Rice, that the whole Coaſt of *Caromandel* is furniſhed from hence. Likewiſe here is ſo great a quantity of Cinnamon, that the *Hollanders* buy it for a hundred and twenty eight Livres, forty eight Souls the Quintal or Hundred weight.

The chief Maritime Towns of the Iſle of *Ceylon* are ſcituated at this diſtance following: that is, from *Punto de Gallo* Weſtward, *Alican.* 9. *l. Verberin*, 1 *l. Calutre* 3. *l.* and *Colombo* 6. *l. Nogombo* 5. *l. le Gilan* 5. *l. Putalon* 10. *l. Mannar* 18. *l.* Eaſtward to the Coaſt of *Matecala*, *Bellingan* 4. *l. Mature* 2. *l. Dundule* 1. *l. Tamnadar* 1. *l. Halpilana*, two Leagues and a half. *Attalle* 3. *l. Veleche* 9. *l. Tanſilir* 7. *l.* *Trincoli*, 12. *l. Matecalo* 5. *l.* and thence to the River of *Trinquamale* 10. *l.* To go from *Colombo* to *Candy*; the

the way lies through *Tranquero grande*, that is, the great Fort, or the great Rampier, 3. *l.* 1639.
Maluana 2. *l. Gronabley* 3. *l. Settavecca* 3. *l. Grouenelle* 2. *l. Mumera tuate* 4. *l. Dutely* 3. *l. Matappety* 2. *l. Altonnar* 1 *l. Ganiattany* 1. *l. Ballene* 1. *l. Cady* 1. *l.* From *Matecalo* to *Candy*, the Road is as follows, *Aldea de Nore* 1. *l. Occatoty* 2. *l. Viador* 2. *l. Neguritti* 5 *l. Niluale* 2. *l. Vegamme* 4. *l. Vintane* 6. *l. Vendro* 5. *l. Candy* 4. *l.*

The Calm ſtaid our Ship hard by this Iſle, for near upon three weeks, which I imploy'd in inquiring of our Preſident and certain *Jeſuits*, who were aboard our Veſſels, into this pleaſant part of the *Indies*, which I had never ſeen, and merits to be known by the Deſcription I ſhall make from the report of theſe perſons, amongſt whom there were ſome who had ſpent there the beſt part of their lives. I will then begin with the place where we were, and faithfully deliver you all I could learn of thoſe Kingdoms and Provinces, which without queſtion are the wealthieſt of any in the World.

The Maldives.

Towards the Cape of *Comory*, or *Comorin*, where we then were, are likewiſe thoſe Iſlands the *Portuguez* call *Maldivas*, or *Maldivar*. They extend along the Coaſt of *Malabar*, having the Cape upon the North, and taking up about ſevenſcore Leagues by Sea, which divides them into ſuch ſmall parcels, that they are eſteem'd near upon a thouſand. Some are inhabited, others not, by reaſon they lye ſo low the Sea often drowns them, as it doth likewiſe the Skirts of the Continent, near *Cochim*, and *Crangonar*. The *Malabares* ſay, that heretofore they were joyn'd to the Continent, and were ſeparated by the Sea, which in ſome places hath left ſuch narrow diviſions, that an active man might leap from one ſide to the other. The Capital City, which conſiſts of four Iſlands, and gives them the appellation of *Maldives*, or *Naldive*, is a place famous for trading, and the Reſidence for the King of all the Iſlands. Except Cocoes, which are there in great abundance, they produce little, notwithſtanding the Inhabitants by induſtry make very neat Garments both of Silk and Thread brought from other places; in ſo much that ſet aſide the *Moguls*, there are not amongſt the *Indians* any that go more neatly apparrell'd then they.

The Coaſt of Coromandel.

As concerning *Coromandel*, the Eaſtern part of the *Indies* on this ſide *Ganges* is ſo called, a Coaſt divided from the *Malabares* by the Mountain *Balagatta*, extending from South to North, from the Cape of *Comorin*, or rather the point of *Negapatam*, to the River *Nagund*, and the Town of *Maſulepatam*, containing all along the Coaſt, about a hundred Leagues. 'Tis the more commodious, for that it ſerves for a retreat to all Veſſels which are conſtrain'd to quit the Coaſt of *Guſuratta* during the Winter ſeaſon, and it hath many good Havens, and the beſt Roads of any in all the *Indies*.

The Inhabitants on the Coaſt of Coromandel are Chriſtians.

The *Portuguez* there poſſeſs the Town of Saint *Thomas*, at thirteen degrees, thirty two minutes on this ſide the Line; and they ſay, that at the time when *Vaſco de Gama* diſcovered the *Indies*, and ſeiz'd on *Cochim* and *Cranganor*, the Inhabitants on this Coaſt, who called themſelves *Chriſtians*, crav'd protection of the King of *Portugal*; and that arriving at Saint *Thomas* they found *Chriſtians* who made profeſſion of the *Greek* Religion. For this purpoſe they tell a Story grounded on a Tradition, which nevertheleſs is not to be proved out of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. Thus then they ſay, that Saint *Thomas*, one of our Saviours twelve Apoſtles, having long preach'd the Goſpel in the Kingdom of *Narſingia*, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the *Bramans*, reſolv'd to petition the King that he might build a Chappel for the doing of his Devotions, and that the *Bramans* engag'd the King to deny him the favour. But it happened that a huge piece of Timber was ſo lodg'd in the mouth of the Haven, belonging to the Town of *Meliapour*, then the Metropolis of the Kingdom, that not only great Veſſels, but the ſmaller Barks, being not able to get in, the Trade of the Town was in a ſhort time quite loſt. There was a trial made with a company of Elephants to remove the Tree, but in vain; then the Magicians of thoſe parts were imploy'd to try if their Art could do what ſtrength could not effect, but to as little purpoſe; wherefore the King proclaim'd a conſiderable reward to him that could clear the Haven, which invited the Saint to offer his ſervice, and this for no other reward, then the mere Timber it ſelf. His proffer to draw it out himſelf made him at firſt appear ridiculous, and ſpecially when they ſaw him tye his Girdle to it, to draw out a weight that many Elephants had not the ſtrength to ſtir; but he pulling, the Beam followed, as eaſily as if it had been a little Boat, which when he had laid upon the Land, the King was amaz'd with admiration, and in honour of the Miracle, permitted him to build the Chappel, as he had requeſted. The *Bramans* ſeeing their Doctrine diſparag'd by this Miracle, and that if Chriſtian Religion began to ſpread in thoſe parts, there was little hope to ſupport the Pagan; they reſolve to free themſelves of the Apoſtle, and cauſe certain *Panyms* to murther him while he was at his Devotions in his Chappel. Some there are who will have

A Hiſtory of Saint Thomas.

the

1639. the Church dedicated to this Saint in that place, to be built by a King of *Narsinga*, and that the door was made of that miraculous beam; but the *Portuguez* say they built it, of which indeed there is most probability.

Lentschoten saith, that in these parts there are certain people with one leg bigger then the other, and that they are held to be the Progeny of those that martyred the Apostle.

Saint Thomas the Apostle martyr'd at Edessa.

Maffeus, in the eighth Book of his *Indian History*, relates how *John* the second King of *Portugal* made search for the bones of this Saint upon the Coasts of *Coromandel*, which he transported to *Goa*, where he built a fair Church in honour of him: but if credit may be given to *Ruffinus* and *Socrates*, in their Ecclesiastical History, the Apostle Saint *Thomas* suffered his Martyrdom at *Edessa* in *Mesopotamia*, whither heretofore they made Pilgrimages to his Sepulchre; yet *Marco Paulo Veneto* sayes otherwise, though with some contradiction to himself. *Gasper Balbi* a *Venetian* Jeweller, who hath made a very handsome relation of his Travels in the *Indies*, sayes, That, being at the Town of Saint *Thomas*, in the year 1582. there was a Church then building in the honour of Saint *John Baptist*; and that the building almost finished, they found they wanted Timber to perfect it, when at the same time the Sea cast a Tree ashore of such a bulk, that looking on it as a thing extraordinary, they would needs measure it; and finding it to be a just proportion for the Edifice, the people cryed out a Miracle, wherein they were confirm'd, when sawing it, it yielded just so many Beams as serv'd to finish the Church. He adds further, that the Tree came from some far distant place, because in cutting, it sent forth such a stinking smell, that it infected the whole Country. The Town of Saint *Thomas* is not very great, but the greatest part of the Houses are of Stone, and well built. The Church there hath no Steeple, yet may be seen at a good distance. There live here about six hundred *Portuguez*, or *Mestizes*, besides some *Armenian* Merchants.

The Town of Meliapour.

The *Indians*, *Pagans*, and *Mahumetans*, live in the Town of *Meliapour*, which is seated on a small River two Leagues from Saint *Thomas* Northward; but it is fain from the pristine glory it had, when it was the Capital Town of the Kingdom of *Narsinga*. The King of *Portugal* hath no Governour at Saint *Thomas*, nor so much as a Magistrate, nor any political Order; by reason whereof divers disorders are daily committed without punishment.

The South and South-west Winds reign here from *April* to *September*, during which time the Road is very good; but all the rest of the year, small Barks are constrain'd to get into the River *Palacatte*, and greater Vessels into the Haven of *Negupatam*. You have five fathom water even within Cannon-shot of the Town; but the Sea is so rough at all times, there is no Landing without danger!

Upon this Coast the *Hollanders* have divers Plantations where they drive a great Trade; but principally at *Potlapouli*, otherwise call'd *Nisapatam*, where they have had their Ware-houses ever since the year 1606. and at *Paleacatte*, where they have built the Fort of *Geldria*.

This Country was heretofore divided into three Kingdoms, that is, *Coromandel*, *Narsinga* and *Bisnagar*; but at present 'tis all subject to one Prince, who resides sometimes at *Bisnagar*, sometimes at *Narsinga*.

Orixa:

Above the Town of *Masulipatam*, lyes the Country, or Kingdom rather, of *Orixa*, reaching from the River of *Masulipatam* to the River of *Guenga*; but the *Hollanders* would have it comprehended under the name of the Coast of *Coromandel*. The chief Towns of the Kingdom are *Masulipatam* and *Golcanda*, the one considerable for Commerce, the other for being the Kings Ordinary Residence. The Country yields plenty of Salt, and Diamonds are likewise there found; but all above five Caratts in weight appertain to the King.

Masulipatam *and* Golcanda.

Bengala.

Next to *Orixa*, winding towards the North, lyes the Kingdom of *Bengala*, which gives name to the Gulph, by the Ancients called *Sinus Gangeticus*. They drive here a great trade in Rice, Sugar, and Cotton, but chiefly in Silks, which are esteem'd the best in all the *Indies*. The finest Canes we have are brought from *Bengala*, where there likewise grows a sort of Canes which are finer then the Osier, in so much as Vessels are made of them, which being glazed with *Lacque* on the inside, contain liquid matters, as long and as well as a Glass or Silver Bowl. There also grows a certain Herb, having on the top of its stalk, (which is about the compass of a mans thumb) a great button like a tassel: this tassel is spun out, and there are excellent Stuffs made of it. The *Portuguez* call it *Herba de Bengala*, and make of it Hangings, and Coverlets, in which they represent all sorts of Figures.

The

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The people of the Country are all *Pagans*, and, in the manner of their living, exceeding brutish. Theft is here very common, and Adultery, though it be punished with severity by cutting off their Noses who are taken in it; they forbear not nevertheless to pollute themselves with all sort of uncleanness can be committed in that Vice. They bear religious worship to the River of *Ganges*, and hold the water hereof to be so holy, that who wash themselves therein are cleansed from all their sins; and this superstition reaches so far, that the King of *Narsinga* sends to the *Ganges*, for the water he uses for his purifications.

The Inhabitants.

Their superstition.

The Kingdom of *Pegu* joyns upon *Bengala*, upon the East-side, and takes its name from the capital City, where the King hath placed the Seat of his Monarchy. This is a very potent State, and as *Gaspar Balbi* sayes, (whom I follow in this Relation, because I saw not the Country) the Metropolis is divided into two parts; the one called the old, the other the new Town. The King, with all that relate to the Court, live in the latter, and Merchants and Tradesmen inhabit the other. For the greatest part, the dwelling-houses are built of Canes, but they are joyn'd to Ware-houses that are vaulted to prevent fire. The new Town is four-square, and the Flankers of it so streight, that from any Gate thereof one may discover both corners of the Wall. There are Bastions of Timber, and a large Moat, full of water, where they keep Crocodiles to secure the Town from surprizal. The *Peguans* hold this Creature to have something Divine about it, whence it comes they are so desirous to drink the water, though they fetch it not without danger of being devour'd by the Crocodiles, as it often happens. Notwithstanding, they water their Elephants there; but this is a Beast that strikes terrour in the Crocodiles, and would be too hard for them.

Pegu.

Crocodiles in the Moat.

The Palace Royal stands in the middle of the City, and hath its peculiar Fortifications, Walls and Moats, whereby it is divided from the Town. The Castle is said to be much more spacious then the City of *Venice*; and that there is no entrance but on the Town-side, by two Ports, and as many Draw-bridges. Within the first Port are the Houses of the Grandees, who enter not into the body of the Castle, without express Order from the King. His Guard consisting of a great number of Souldiers, with them called *Bramas*, is kept at the second Port, where they sit, having their Arms hanging before them on the Wall. In this place are the Stables for Elephants, as well such as are kept for the Princes service, as those design'd for War, being about eight hundred in number. The Kings Appartment is exceeding rich, painted Azure, with Flowers of Gold; and when the King gives Audience, he appears in great magnificence. In his hand he holds a Fan, to Fan himself, and on his head he hath a quadruple Crown of Gold, enamell'd white. Near his person stand four Youths, whom he makes use of in his brutalities; and before him all the Grandees of the Court, who whensoever they speak to him lift their hands above their head, and bow down to the ground. Being sate, they bring before him his faireſt Elephants, and amongst the rest his white one, which is said to be the only one in all the *Indies*, nor ever is there more then one to be seen at Court, which was brought thither after the Victory he gain'd against the King of *Siam*, with whom he had not made War but to gain that Beast, as we shall tell you anon. These Beasts make their reverence to him, and testifie a Worship to his Person. If we may give credit to the fore-mentioned *Balbi*, this, next the King of *China*, is the most Potent Prince on Earth. He sayes, this Prince can bring into the Field fifteen hundred thousand Men, and above eight hundred Elephants, and that his Treasure is sufficient for so mighty an Army, by reason every Person of Quality is oblig'd to raise and maintain so many Men of War at his own proper charges.

The Palace Royal.

The Guard.

The Kings Forces.

He relates to this purpose, that, in his time, the King of *Ava*, his Fathers Brother, but Vassal to the King of *Pegu*, denying homage to his Nephew, and to pay such Diamonds and precious Stones as he stood oblig'd to in that consideration; the King of *Pegu*, who was well assured his Uncle held a very private intelligence with some Noble men of his Kingdom, against the security of his State and Person, to shew how mindful he was of his Fathers request on his death bed, and the recommendation he then made in favour of the King of *Ava*; sent him an Embassadour extraordinary to reduce him to his Duty, and perswade him to come in again to him: but his Uncle, instead of taking the advantage of his Nephews Nobleness, puts the Embassadour to death, and declares War against the King of *Pegu*. But he having raised an Army of three hundred thousand men, before he would march into the Field, purg'd his Court, and put to death those Traytors who had ingaged to deliver him into the hands of his Uncle. Assembling then all the Confederates of this Treason, under pretence of calling them to a Councel about this War; he caused them to be secured, and they, their Wives and Children, to be burnt alive. Then to free himself from the *Odium* of so hortid an Execution, he sends to the Judge, that he should defer the Execu-

He makes war upon his Uncle King of Ava.

A just execution, but too severe.

1639. tion, till he receiv'd expreſs Order under his Signet; but the *Dogadgini*, or Judge, who had other private inſtructions, proceeded according to them.

That done, the *King* of *Pegu* appeared in the head of his Army, mounted on an Elephant, covered with trappings of Tiſſue, having by his ſide a Sword, that was preſented him by *D. Lewis of Atayda*, Viceroy of *Goa*, reſolving to march in few dayes againſt his Uncle, but he was hindred by the ſmall Pox, which he had in extremity. As ſoon as he was recovered, he cauſes the Army to advance to the very Frontiers of *Ava*, where he accepts a Challenge ſent him by his Uncle, that they two might decide the difference by a ſingle Combat; and was ſo fortunate, as to kill his Adverſary, in view of both Armies. This ſingle Victory was of greater advantage, then a defeat of the Enemies whole Army could have brought him: for the whole *Kingdom* of *Ava* delivered it ſelf up, at mercy: The Queen, who was his Siſter, fell likewiſe into his hands, and was priſoner during life, though kept in a Princely Palace, and honoured and attended as a Queen.

A ſingle Combat betwixt two Kings.

The *King* of *Pegu*, in acknowledgment of the ſervice his Elephant had done him in the Combate, where he fell dead under his Maſter, cauſed certain *Pagodes* to be made of his Tooth, and had them placed amongſt the other Idols kept in a *Varella*, or Moſquee, which is within the Caſtle. Amongſt theſe Idols there is the Figure of a Man, done to the life, in maſſy Gold, having on the Head a Crown enchas'd with precious Stones of divers kinds, on the Forehead a Ruby as big as a Plum, and on each ſide the Head Pendants as rich as can be imagined, about the Waſte a Scarf, and over the right Shoulder, and under the left Arm, a Chain of Diamonds and other Stones ineſtimable. In the ſame Chappel are likewiſe three Statues of Silver, higher by two foot then the firſt; with Crowns ſet with Gems, and a fourth more maſſive and rich then all the reſt, and beſides theſe a Figure made of *Ganza*, which is a mixt metal of Copper and Braſs, valued at as high a rate as the other four. The *King*s Father, who lived in the year 1578. cauſed theſe Statues to be made in memory of that famous Victory he obtain'd over the *King* of *Siam*, in the War he made againſt him, for the white Elephant we ſpoke of.

The Idols.

The Peguans *Arms.*

The Forreſts of *Pegu* have greater ſtore of Elephants then all the *Indies* beſides, and they are tam'd with very little trouble, in ten or twelve dayes after they are taken by the means of Females, who intice them out of the Woods, and make them follow into the very Stables, where there are Dens that hold but one of theſe Beaſts only, where they ſhut them cloſe in as ſoon as they are entred.

The *Peguans* have Fire-arms, but ordinarily they uſe half Pikes made of Canes, ſhort and broad Swords, and long and narrow Bucklers made of boyl'd Leather doubled, and laid over with a certain black Gum call'd *Achiran*; their *Salades* or Helmets are made of the ſame ſtuff, and like ours in faſhion.

They are Pagans.

They are generally *Pagans*, except ſome who contracting alliance with the *Portuguez*, have embrac'd their Religion. Theſe *Pagans* believe that God, who hath under him many other Gods, is the Author of all good which arrives to Mankind; but the diſpoſing of all evil he leaves to the Devil, to whom theſe wretches bear more veneration then they do to God; becauſe the one will do them no hurt; and they muſt pleaſe the other, that he may not.

Adore the Devil.

Their Feaſts.

They do their Devotions ordinarily on the Munday, and have beſides, five principal Feaſts which they call *Sapan*. The firſt, which they call *Sapan Giacchi*, is chiefly celebrated by a Pilgrimage, made by the *King* and Queen, twelve Leagues out of Town, where they appear in triumphal Chariots, ſo ſet with precious Stones, that, without Hyperbole, it may be ſaid they carry the worth of a *Kingdom* about them. They call the ſecond, *Sapan Carena*, obſerv'd in honour of the Statue kept in the grand *Varelle* of the Caſtle, in honour of which the Noblemen of the Court erect Pyramides of Canes, which they cover with ſeveral Stuffs artificially wrought of divers faſhions, then have them put into Chariots drawn by above three hundred perſons to the *King*s view, that he may judge of their inventions. All the people come likewiſe, and bring their Offerings to him. The *Sapan Giamo Segienon*, they celebrate alſo in honour of ſome of theſe Statues, where the *King* and Queen are both preſent in perſon; and the fourth Feaſt, which they call *Sapan Daſche*, is particularly celebrated in the old Town; at which the *King* and Queen caſt Roſe-water at one another. All the Grandees have likewiſe a pot of Roſe-water in their hands, wherewith they ſo water themſelves, that their bodies are as 'twere bath'd all over, nor can any one paſs the Streets that day, without hazard of being waſh'd with water thrown from the windows. At the fifth Feaſt, called *Sapan Donon*, the *King* and Queen go by water to the Town of *Meccao*, attended by above a hundred Boats, all which row for the faſteſt, to gain a *Prize* allow'd by the *King*.

The

The King dying, they prepare two Boats, which they cover with one gilt Covering, and in the middle of these Boats they place a Table, whereon they lay the dead Corps, and underneath the Table they make a fire of the Wood of *Sandale*, *Benjuin*, *Storax*, and other sweet-scented Woods and Drugs, then turn the Barks down the Stream, certain *Talapoi* or Priests mean while singing and rejoycing till the flesh be intirely consum'd. These Ashes they temper with Milk, so making a Paste, which they carry to the mouth of the River, where they cast it into the Sea. But the Bones they bear to another place, and bury them near a Chappel, where they build another in honour of the deceased. 1639. *How the Kings Corps are burnt.*

Their *Talapoi* carry a Bottle made of an empty Gourd at their girdle, and live by Alms, as our Mendicant Friars. They are in great esteem amongst them, and they very well preserve their credit by their exemplary life. On Munday morning they go about with their Tin-basins, to awake the people and invite them to a Sermon. They treat not at all of points of Doctrine, but chiefly insist upon Morality, exhorting the Congregation to abstain from Murther, Theft, Fornication and Adultery, and to do to others as they would be done by. For this reason they are of opinion, that Men are sooner saved by good Works and innocency of Life, then by Faith. They have no Aversion for those that forsake their Religion to become *Christians*, so their Life be correspondent to the Profession they make. *The Churchmen.*

They exclaim lowdly against the Offerings the *Peguans* make to the Devil, particularly when they perform any Vow they made in their sickness, or in any other unfortunate Accident, and endeavour to abolish this wicked custom, which is grown so inveterate, that hitherto they have lost their labour. These people ordinarily live in Woods, and to prevent the danger of wild Beasts, whereof these parts are full, they have their Couches hanging in the Air betwixt boughs of Trees. They eat but once a day, and are habited in red Vestures that reach to their heels, bare-footed, and over their Shoulders a short Coat or Mantle that comes to their hams. They shave their heads, nay cannot endure hair upon any part of their body; and to guard them from the Sun-beams they wear a Hat. Great honours are done to them after their death, and after their Corps hath been attended certain dayes, they are burnt with Sandale-wood, they cast the Ashes into the River, and interr the Bones near the place they liv'd in.

Pegu yields no Corn at all, but in recompence, they have more Rice then they can spend; in so much that they can afford some to their Neighbours. They have a custom to make a Drug of certain little Fishes, which they pound in a Mortar, and being so brought to a Paste, they lay it in the Sun to putrifie, till it be quite corrupted, and grows moist, and then they use it in their Sauces, instead of Oyl or Butter, making a dainty of that, which it were not possible for us to endure the smell of. *A strange Sauce.*

Sodomy was heretofore so common in those parts, that to extirpate this Vice, which had near destroy'd the whole Species, one of the Queens of *Pegu* ordain'd by Edict; that every Man should carry in his Yard a little Bell, which would make it swell in such sort, that he should not be able to do Nature any violence. And to the end the Women should not be frustrated of their due, their Virginity was to be taken away, while they were yet very young, by means of a Composition, of contrary operation to that used by common Women to heighten the pleasures of their Gallants. These little Bells are put in betwixt the skin and the flesh: and to effect the operation, they cast them into a sleep, with a certain Drink, to make them insensible of the pain they are put to by the Incision, whereof notwithstanding they are cur'd in few dayes. For their greater aversion from *Sodomy*, they paint the Boyes at seven or eight years of age with a certain blew, which extending with the skin as it grows, changes into another colour, and makes them look most horribly. The Women, on the contrary, do all they can to appear lovely, and attract the Men, covering their privy parts only with a thin piece of Linnen, which sits not so close, but the least wind shews all they have. *Other peculiar Customs.*

All of them in general make their Teeth black, and Men, when they ride on horseback, fill their Mouths with something that puffs out their Cheeks. They who marry buy their Wives of their Parents; and when they are cloy'd send them home again, but the money belongs to the Wife, who on her side is obliged to restitution, if she part with her Husband without cause.

The King is Heir to all that dye without Children, and they who have Children can leave them but two thirds of their Estate, the rest belongs to the King. *The third part of all real Estates falls to the King.*

The best Commodities to be brought to *Pegu*, and which may be sold to greatest profit, are Stuffes and Linnen-clothes, from Saint *Thomas*, *Musulipatam* and *Bengala*; Pepper, Cinnamon, Nutmegs, Opium and Sandale-wood, *&c.* by reason they have no other Spices then *Merchandizes of Pegu.*

1639. then Ginger. At *Pegu* they take in no other Merchandizes then Silver and Rice, which they transport to *Malacca*. In bargaining they make no words at all, they do no more but give their Hand cover'd with a Handkerchief, and in grasping or moving their Fingers they make their meaning known. For borrowing of money they stick not to pawn their Wives and Children; but if the Creditour enjoyes them carnally during that time, he is then paid, and the Debtour acquitted.

Siam. *Siam*, one of the most considerable Kingdoms of the *Indies*, lying at eighteen degrees on this side the Line, hath on the North, the Kingdoms of *Pegu* and *Auva*; on the West, the Gulf of *Bengala*, from the Haven of *Martauan* to the Town of *Tavaga*; towards the East, *Patana*, whence the Coast runs first Northwards to thirteen degrees and a half, comprehending in this space, the Gulf of *Siam*: And lastly, Southward, to twelve degrees, lying more at a distance from the Sea; it joyns Eastward on the Desarts of *Cambodia*, and the Kingdoms of *Jangoma*, *Tangou* and *Lansiangh*, to eighteen degrees towards the forementioned Kingdoms of *Pegu* and *Auva*, making as it were a semi-circle, containing near upon four hundred and fifty Leagues. The Country in some parts is rough and mountainous, in other parts covered with Woods, and to the Seawards 'tis low and marshy, and generally flat, good and fertile, yielding in abundance all necessaries for livelihood; and having on the Gulfes divers Isles, Rivers, Bayes, Harbours and Roads, commodious for the transportation of such things as they themselves can spare.

Menam a River. The River called *Menam*, that is, Mother of the waters, is one of the greatest *India* hath. The breadth of it is not great, but its length such, that hitherto no man hath discovered the head of it. It sends its Current from North to South, passing through the Kingdoms of *Pegu* and *Auva*; and at last, running through *Siam*, by three Streams it falls into the Gulf of *Siam*. One quality it hath common with the *Nile* and *Ganges*, that it yearly overflows the adjacent Country, for the space of five moneths together, destroying in that time all Worms and Insects, and leaving, when it retires, a slime or moist soil proper for the increase of Rice. That Channel of this River which is most commodious for Barks or Vessels, is that, which lies most Eastwards, at thirteen degrees and a half elevation, but what makes it almost useless, is, that there lies a Shelf a League in length, or better, at the mouth of the River, which at low-water holds not above five or six foot water.

Overflows as Nile *doth.*

At high-water it holds fifteen or sixteen foot, and in *September*, *October* and *November*, seventeen or eighteen foot. Vessels of greater burthen ordinarily stay in the Road two Leagues from the Shelf, where having at no time less then five or six fathom water they ride secure. They who venture to come over the Shelf with the Tide, may go up along the River to the City of *Banckock*, six Leagues from the Sea, and thence may pass by boat in five or six dayes, as high as the City of *India*, twenty four Leagues within the Land, except in the moneths before mentioned, during which season the River is innavigable.

Siam *very populous.* The Provinces of this vast Kingdom are all very populous, though not equally; for such as have the Commodity of Rivers and Havens, far exceed those that lye more remote. It would be very difficult to reckon all the Towns of this great Dominion: wherefore we will here give only an account of the principal and most considerable, either for greatness, or as the most considerable of the several Provinces. The chief of the Kingdom is *India*, by some called *Odya*; then *Camboya*, *Campaa*, *Sincapura*, *Picelouck*, *Surkelouck*, *Capheng*, *Soucethay*, *Kephinpet*, *Conseywan*, *Pytsyay*, *Pitsedi*, *Lidure*, *Tenou*, *Mormelon*, *Martenoy*, *Lygor*, *Bordelong*, *Tanasserim*, where the *Portuguez* drive a good Trade, *Banckock*, *Pipry*, *Mergy*, &c. Besides which, there are many more, which rather deserve a place in a Map, then in the Relation of a particular Mans Travels.

India. The City of *India*, the ordinary Residence of the Court, is seated on the River *Menam*, which makes an Island entirely taken up by that City, having on the River-side a strong sufficient wall, for about two Leagues in compass, and the Suburbs on both sides the River, as well built and adorn'd with Temples and Palaces as the Town it self. Here are divers very fair Streets, with Channels regularly cut; but withall there are some which are neither large nor fair, though the River crosses the Town in so many places, that there is scarce a house but may be gone to by boat.

Its houses. The Houses here, as generally all over the *Indies*, are but of ordinary building, and for the most part covered with Tiles. There are within the Town above three hundred fair *Mosqueys*, or Chappels, with gilt Steeples, or Pyramides, which at a distance yield a glorious prospect, with abundance of *Pagodes* of all sorts of Metals. The Palace, which is as it were a City of it self within the other, hath its Towers and Pyramides gilt, so as the City

of

of *India* may be said to be as beautiful, as large, and as populous as any City in *India*; nevertheless, I will not affirm what *Fernando Mendez Pinto* writes, that it contains within its Circuit four hundred thousand Families, whereof three quarters are *Siamezes*: but thus much I can add, that the City hath this advantage, that it is impregnable; for being of it self strong enough to indure any Siege for many moneths; it hath an infallible relief, which never fails at six moneths end, by reason that the River overflowing, no Line can withstand it, nor no Camp can be so strong but must dislodge. 1639.

The King of Siam of a very ancient Family.

The King of *Siam* that now reigns, and who amongst his other Titles, takes that of *Precau Salcu*, that is, *Sacred Member of God*, holds the Crown from his Ancestors, who have possessed it for many Ages; and next to the *Mogul*, this Prince can reckon more Kings of his Family, then any Prince of the *Indies*.

It absolute.

He is absolute Monarch in his Dominions, solely disposing, with an Independant Authority, of all Affairs of his Kingdom. He makes War and Peace, impose Taxes on his Subjects, creates Magistrates, sets value on Money, and makes Laws and Statutes, without the consent or advice either of States or Lords: He allows them to consider of such Affairs as come to their knowledge, and to offer him their Advice by way of Remonstrance; but he reserves to himself the Power to approve, or reject, what he pleases.

These Noble men are called *Mandorins*; and are there as the Privy Council, a quality the King bestows on whom he pleases, as he doth of all other Honours in the Kingdom, without regard either to birth or merit; because his Subjects are his Slaves, and the King is Master of all they possess, even their very lives, whereof he hath power to dispose to his service and advantage. 'Tis true that in this, as in deposing the *Mandorins* from their Dignities, and reducing them to the rank of their fellow Subjects, he observes some appearance of Equity, by following in some measure the Laws of the Kingdom, but being above the Law, he explicates and executes it as he pleases.

His manner of life.

The Prince is exceeding magnificent in his Apparel and Train, but his State appears in nothing more then his manner of living. For the people, who seldom see him, have a peculiar Veneration for his Person, nor do the Grandees and Officers scarce ever come into his presence. When he gives Audience, he sits most gloriously habited on a Throne of Gold, with a Crown on his head, and at his feet the Officers and Gentlemen of the Houshold on their knees; and not far from him a Guard of three hundred Souldiers. No one speaks to him but on the knee, and they who come for audience present themselves in this sort, their hands being lifted above their head, and making to him ever and anon most low reverences: The continual inclinations that are made him, and the Titles given him, must likewise be accompanied with obliging speeches, and attributions beyond what either greatness or goodness can deserve.

His Answers are receiv'd as Oracles, and his Orders executed without delay or dispute. He hath in every Province of his Kingdom his Palaces and Gardens: when he removes his Houshold, he hath with him a number of Elephants loaden with Tents, to be pitched when he comes to places fit to rest in.

Hath but one Wife.

He hath but one Wife, to whom they give the Title of Queen; but he hath an infinite number of Concubines, which are chosen for him out of the fairest Virgins of the Kingdom. He feeds very high, but drinks only Water, because the Laws both Civil and Ecclesiastical prohibit the use of Wine to Persons of Quality; when he pleases to recreate himself upon the River, he goes in a splendid gilt Barge under a Canopy of Brocadoe, attended by some of his Domesticks, and a Guard of three or four hundred, in seven or eight other Barges, which have each of them fourscore or a hundred Slaves to row. The Noblemen who follow, and are sometimes to the number of a thousand or twelve hundred, have each their several Barge.

The like is done when the King goes from his Palace into the City; Then he sits in a Chair of Gold, born on the shoulders of ten or twelve Waiters, having marching before him many Elephants and Horses richly harnessed, in this sort marching with a stately and grave pace, while the people prostrate themselves to him, and render him the same honours they might do to God himself,

A magnificent Procession.

He appears particularly in his greatest Magnificence on a certain day in *October*, designed for this Ceremony. On this day, he appears both in the City, and upon the River, to make a procession to one of his chiefest *Mosquees*, whither he goes to sacrifice, and to do his Devotions for the prosperity of the State. In the head of this procession march about two hundred Elephants, each of them carrying three arm'd Men: then comes the Musick, consisting of Hoboyes, Tabours, and Cimbals: next come about a thousand Men compleatly arm'd, divided into several Companies that have their Colours and Banners. Next to

these

1639. theſe follow many Noble men on horſeback, and amongſt them ſome with Crowns of Gold upon their Heads, with a Train of fourſcore or a hundred perſons on foot. Betwixt theſe Noble men and the Life-guard, march two hundred Souldiers, *Japoneſes*, all very well cloath'd, and go immediately before the Horſes and Elephants, which are for the Kings particular uſe, their harneſs made with Buckles and Studs of Gold, ſet with Diamonds and other precious Stones. The Servants, who bear the Fruits and other things for the Sacrifice, march before certain Grandees of the Kingdom, whereof one bears the Kings Standard, the other the Scepter of Juſtice. Theſe walk on foot immediately before the King, who ſits, mounted on an Elephant, in a Chair of Gold. The Prince his Son, or ſome other Prince of the Bloud, follows next after him, and then comes the Queen and the Kings other Women on Elephants, but not to be ſeen, as being in certain wooden Cloſets gilt. The reſt of the Houſhold, and ſix hundred of the Guard, come in the Rear, which by this means conſiſts of fifteen or ſixteen thouſand perſons.

Proceſſion upon the River. As to their Proceſſion upon the River, they obſerve the order following. Firſt, in the head of this Fleet march about two hundred Noble men, each in his ſeveral *Barge*, where they ſit in a gilt Cabin, and each *Barge* row'd by three or fourſcore Slaves. Then follow four *Barges* aſſign'd for the Muſick, and next follow about fifty *Barks* of State, each having fourſcore, or fourſcore and ten Rowers; and after theſe come ten other gilt *Barges*, in one of which the King is ſeated in a Throne of Gold, attended by divers Noble men, all upon their knees before him, and amongſt them, one of the chiefeſt *Mandorins*, who bears his Standard. The Prince follows after him in another *Barge*, and after him comes the Queen, and the Concubines; And laſtly, in a great number of other *Barges*, the houſhold Servants and the Guards, ſo as that this Proceſſion conſiſts of twenty five or thirty thouſand perſons, who come either to ſee the magnificence of the Ceremony, or to adore their Prince.

The Revenue. Since the thirds of all real Eſtates fall to the King, we may well ſuppoſe his Revenue to be very great; but this advantage comes not near the profits accrewing to him by the Commerce, which by Factours he holds with Strangers for his Rice, Copper, Lead, and Salt-peter. He hath in his Country good ſtore of Gold; and the Cuſtoms he hath of all Merchandizes, both coming in and going out, bring conſiderable ſums, beſides the Preſents which Governours of Provinces are obliged to make him every year. A great profit likewiſe he raiſes by Commerce with ready Money into *China*, and along the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, which yields him yearly two thouſand *Cattys* of Silver advantage. He hath throughout his Kingdom abundance of Officers for managing of his Revenue, and receiving his Moneys, which as *Mendez Pinto* ſayes, amounts annually to twelve Millions of Duccats; but principally in the City of *India*, whither they repair from all other parts, once a year, to make their accounts. The greateſt charge the King is at, next his Houſhold, is in building places and *Moſquees*, rewarding Services, and maintaining his Guards, the reſt comes into the Treaſury, which by this means ſwells almoſt to infinity.

His Expences.

Moſt Cities have their particular Juriſdictions, and Judges for Adminiſtration of Juſtice, to take an account whereof there is a Council appointed in the City of *India*, conſiſting of a Preſident, and twelve Councellors, who give a definitive Sentence, and decide all differences brought before them by way of appeal: 'tis nevertheleſs allowed them ſometimes to prevent theſe Sentences by a Review before the Privy Councel; but this happens not frequently, by reaſon, the Charges are ſo great, very few will undertake it. They plead by Councellors and Atturneys, both by word and writing, but in preſence of both parties who are to enter a Summary of the Plea in the Recorders Regiſter. *But* beſides Counſellors and Atturneys, you have here the Pettifogger, who is inſeparable; ſo as Suits ſometimes laſt whole Ages here as well as in other places.

In Criminal matters, they have an extraordinary and ſummary way, but much after the ſame form and manner uſed in *France*.

Firſt, They inform, then impriſon, then examine; the Parties are brought face to face; and where evidence falls ſhort, they are put to the Rack, upon pregnant preſumptions, The Steward records the whole, and makes report to the Judges, who upon the criminal Confeſſion, or Depoſition of Witneſſes, give Judgment, and cauſe the Sentence to be executed immediately, without appeal, ſave that they never put any to death without the Kings expreſs Order, in whoſe power it lyes to confirm the Sentence, or pardon the Party, as he pleaſeth.

Their puniſhments. Their puniſhments are ſevere, rather cruel: The ſlighteſt Crime is puniſhed with pecuniary Fines, Baniſhment, or Tranſportation: For Theft they ſuffer amputation of Hands or Feet, or are condemned to perpetual ſlavery. The ordinary puniſhments of theſe Countries

Countries are unknown there; but condemned persons are cast alive into boyling Oyle, according to the atrocity of the Crime, but always with Confiscation of Goods, for the benefit of the King, and the Judges. 1639.

Manners of Justification.

In want of sufficient Testimony, they make use of certain extraordinary wayes for Conviction, or Justification of the Criminal, which they do by consent of all parties, with the Judges permission, who allows them to maintain what they say, by Water, by Fire, or by boyling Oyl. When they submit to the Tryal of Water, the Accuser, and the accused party are both let down along a great Pole, which is planted in the River, and he that stayes longest under water gains the day; as he that patiently holds his Hand longest in boyling Oyl. Others, who chuse the tryal of Fire, are to go five or six steps, very slowly, in a great Fire, and that betwixt two Men, who lean as hard as they can upon their shoulders. But the way they hold most infallible for their justification, is, to swallow a Pill of Rice, over which their Priests have pronounced some words of malediction, which he that swallows without spitting is so clearly justified, that his friends attend him in triumph to his habitation.

The Militia of Siam.

The Kings Armies consist chiefly of his Subjects; for though besides five or six hundred *Japoneses*, who bear the reputation of Valour throughout the *Indies*; he hires sometimes both *Rasboutes* and *Malayes*; the number is notwithstanding so small, that 'tis inconsiderable. The King now reigning had taken so great an aversion for the *Japoneses*, on suspition they had a design upon his person, that he put some to death, and expell'd the rest. Yet since that he hath given way for their return to their ancient trust; but, as I said, they exceed not the number of five or six hundred. His Subjects are obliged to go to the Wars at their own charges; so that according as occasion requires, he calls out the hundredth, the fiftieth, the twentieth, the tenth, and sometimes the fifth man; besides those, the Noble men, at their own charges, bring along with them a sufficient Guard of their persons: By this means he raises at a small charge a most puissant Army, wherein there shall be sometimes three or four thousand Elephants, though he seldom raise an Army of above fifty or threescore thousand men.

Their Armes.

His Infantry are well enough disciplined, but very ill armed; only Bows and Arrows, Swords, Pikes and Bucklers, without Fire-armes. Nor are their Horse better appointed, as being but poorly mounted; so as his chiefest strength consists in his Elephants, which are train'd to the work, and carry each three arm'd men; but many which are brought out with the Army are employed about the Baggage. Great Artillery they have, but manage them ignorantly. Their Naval Forces are in as ill condition as their Land; consisting in a multitude of Frigots and Gallies, well furnished with Artillery, but their Souldiers and Sea-men are inexpert. There is an infinite number of Barks for service against the Enemy upon the River, as advantagious to them as at Sea, by reason his Neighbours are rather worse provided then he; but all his Forces joyned together were not sufficient to oppose a *Spanish*, *English*, or *Holland* Fleet; yet this Princes Predecessors have often had great Victories over their Enemies, while Martial Princes have had the Conduct of their Armies.

Both the Kings of Siam and Pegu pretend to Soveraignty.

The Kings of *Pegu* and *Siam* have at all times pretended to a sole Monarchy over all the Kingdoms in these parts, and without dispute *Pegu* had something the better, but the continual War they have held, as well for this as other differences, hath so wasted the Frontiers of both these Kingdoms, that the Armies are not able to subsist there any longer, and so necessity forced them to conclude a Peace; which since they break not, but by incursions of some flying Army of twenty or thirty thousand, during the Summer Season. The last War the King of *Siam* made upon the Kings of *Jangoma* and *Langsgaugh* were purely out of ambition for the Soveraignty they pretended to over those Kingdoms. 'Tis not long likewise since the King of *Cambrodia*, a Tributary to the King of *Siam*, revolted; whereupon *Siam* enters his Territories with a potent Army, but was opposed so vigorously, that he was forced to retire. The Kingdom after this enjoyed a long peace, till the deceased King having caused his Brother to be murthered to establish his Son upon the Throne, one of the Princes of the Bloud took occasion to usurp the Crown, as I shall immediately tell you.

This Usurper made shew as if he would espouse the interests of the State against the Kings of *Pegu* and *Ava*, and especially against the King of *Cambodia*, though he would not enter into open Hostility with them, because he might have enough to do to stand arm'd against the designs the right Heirs might have upon his person.

The King of Siam friend to the Hollanders.

He continued likewise the same friendship for the *Hollanders* his Predecessour had testified to them, since he took their part against *Fernando de Silva*, Governour of the *Manilles*. This *Portuguez* taking the confidence to set upon a *Holland* Frigot upon the River of *Me-*

nam,

1639. *nam*, in the year 1624. the King ſeiz'd upon his Veſſel, and forced *Fernando* to reſtore the Frigot. Since which time the *Siameſes* have been continually vext by the *Portugues* in their Traffick with *China*, though the *Hollanders* aſſiſt them effectually againſt their Enemies, and declare highly for them; as they lately likewiſe aſſiſted the King of *Siam* with ſix Ships, to chaſtiſe the Rebels of *Patany*.

For certain, the King of *Siam* keeps more Elephants then any other Prince of *India*, and herein conſiſts his chiefeſt Forces. For though the *Indians* affect this Beaſt, of what part ſo ever he is, yet have they a particular eſteem for thoſe of *Siam*, for their make, their ſtrength, and, as they call it, for their apprehenſion. They take them here as they do in *Pegu*, bringing into the Forreſt fifteen or twenty tame Females, which being, as it were, Decoyes, ſuffer themſelves to be led up and down, till ſome of the wild Elephants herd with them, and ſo are by little and little betrai'd into a large Court well wall'd about, to which you enter by a double walk of Trees, which as well as the Court is ſhut up with ſtrong Rails: As ſoon as the Elephants are in, then are the Females let out one by one at another Gate, leaving the wild by themſelves. Within this Court are two four-ſquare Partitions, divided with Pallizadoes like Cages, the one in the middle, the other at the ſide of the wall. The poſts whereof they are made, are ſet at ſuch diſtance, that men may with eaſe paſs in and out to vex and provoke the Beaſts; but they muſt make a ſwift retreat within their Appartment, when this formidable Foe purſues them. This is the moſt acceptable divertiſement can be preſented to the King, who with the Nobility of his Court is ever preſent at this hunting. After the Elephants are by this kind of hunting ſufficiently tired, they drive them into another cloſe Pen no bigger then their bodies, made of ſtrong beams, where they tye them by the legs to three or four tame Elephants; whereupon hunger and acquaintance with the others, in three or four dayes bring them to live as they do. Sometimes they hunt them in the Forreſt, and open Champion, with tame Elephants, till at laſt they faſten them by the legs together, and ſo by force drive them away, but this not without conflict and danger.

Elephant hunting.

A white Elephant.

Sometimes in the Kingdom of *Siam* they meet with white Elephants. All over *India* they have a veneration for this Creature: but the *Siameſes*, and the people of thoſe parts, ſay, they are the Kings of the Elephants; in ſo much as the King of *Siam*, when he meets with one, cauſes him to be ſerved in Veſſels of Gold, to walk under a Canopy, and allows him a Princely train.

The occaſion of the war between the Kings of Pegu *and* Siam.

In the year 1568. the King of *Pegu*, underſtanding that the King of *Siam* had two white Elephants, ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to requeſt he might buy one of them, and that he would ſet a price upon him; which the King of *Siam* refuſing, the King of *Pegu* reſolves to fetch him with a powerful Army. He found ſuch ſlender reſiſtance in *Siam*, that the King ſeeing his Kingdom and chief City in the hands of his Enemies, took poyſon, whereof he dyed, though that Conqueſt coſt the King of *Pegu* the lives of five hundred thouſand men.

Raja Hapi *King of* Siam.

Raja Hapi, King of *Siam*, who lived about the year 1616. acknowledged at that time the Soveraignty of the King of *Pegu*, but this was only till he could find opportunity to free himſelf from this ſubjection, as he did ſome few years after. For entering the Kingdom of *Pegu* with a powerful Army, he laid ſiege to the City of *Aracam*; reſolved not to move thence till he had taken it. In effect he rais'd not the Siege, but not being able to force the City, and unwilling to break his Oath, he built a Houſe near it, where he dyed. This Prince was ſo famous for his cruelty, that 'tis reported of him, that being ſick, and hearing two of his Concubines laugh in an anti-chamber, he commanded they ſhould be immediately cut to pieces. He had a Favourite, called *Ochi Chronwi*, whoſe ambition ſwell'd to that height, that he brought four or five hundred *Japoneſes* into the Kingdom, cloath'd like Merchants, to be imployed to murther the King, and ſettle him upon the Throne. This deſign took no effect during the Kings life, but he being dead, *Ochi Chronwi* ſeiz'd on the Crown, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King. The Son of *Raja Hapi* had friends ſufficient to caſt out this Uſurper, but he was not fortunate enough to keep the Crown in his poſſeſſion, for he was likewiſe ſlain, and left it to his younger Brother alive at this day. 'Tis not long ſince the King of *Siam* had the ſatisfaction to have two young white Elephants together, but they both dyed in a ſhort time.

The Indians do believe that a white Elephant hath ſomething in it of divine, and ſay, they reſpect it not only for the colour, but they obſerve in him that he looks to be treated as a Prince, and that he is troubled, when other Elephants render not him the honour due to him.

The King a Pagan.

The King of *Siam* is a *Pagan*, nor do his Subjects know any other Religion. They have divers *Moſquees*, Monaſteries and Chappels, where their Eccleſiaſticks retire and aſ-

ſemble

semble to do their Devotions. They are discerned from other buildings by the gilt Towers and Pyramides. There are infinite *Pagodes* of Gold, Silver, Stone, Timber, and other materials, of all sizes; some of twenty, some thirty, fourty, fifty foot, and amongst the rest one which sits, which if it stood, would be sixscore foot in height. 1639.

Their ecclesiasticks are very exemplary in their life, having amongst them a kind of *Hierarchy*, under the direction of the High-Priest of the Grand *Mosquey* of the City of *India*, to whom all the rest yield obedience. In matters of Religion his Authority is great, but in Temporals he acknowledges the King, and yields him the same respect as his other Subjects do. In the City of *India*, there are above thirty thousand of these Ecclesiasticks, who are easily known by their habit, for they all wear Garments of a yellow Linnen-cloath, and have their Crowns shav'd. Amongst them they chuse the most learn'd and accomplish'd for Priests, and to take charge of the *Mosqueys*. These are as Parsons amongst them, who on Festival dayes preach to the people, and sacrifice to their Idols. They are prohibited the company of Women on pain of being burnt alive: but their Vows are not so indispensible, but such as have not the gift of Continency are allowed to change their profession; every *Mosquey* hath a Convent belonging to it, for entertainment of Priests design'd for the service, which is regularly said, morning and evening. They live partly on the Revenue of the *Mosqueys*, and partly on Gratuities given them by the King and Nobility, in the way of Almes, but they have their chiefest livelihood at the peoples Charge, by begging every day through the City, like our Friars Mendicants. They have likewise Religious Women and *Beguins*, who are aged, devout Women, who inhabit near the *Mosqueys*, that they may be present at all the Church-Services; but these make no Vow, nor are obliged to any particular rule of Discipline.

A Hierarchy.

Vow Chastity, but may quit the Priesthood.

Beguins.

They believe there is one God, who created the Universe, and hath under him divers other Gods, by whom he governs the World. They believe the Soul is immortal, and that at its departure out of the Body, it goes either to injoy beatitude, or into eternal torments, having first passed through other Bodies. This is the ground of their Religion, which, they say, they have received from time immemorable by Tradition of Saints, whom they have exalted to Deities, and now do part of their Devotions to them. They hold likewise, that good works will save them, and in particular their Charity, which they direct not to men alone, but to Beasts likewise. And hence it is, that on Festival dayes, the people bring Birds and Fish hard by the *Mosqueys*, which they buy on purpose to set them at liberty, because with the *Benjans* they believe a *Metempsychosis*, or transmigration of Souls.

Their belief

In their Ceremonies they use abundance of lights, which they set up before their *Pagodes*, in time of Service. They likewise Incense them, and adorn them with Flowers and precious Stones. They have no certain day in the week design'd for their Devotions, but they have some in particular every quarter of the Moon, and observe moreover a sort of Lent for three moneths, during which they abstain from several sorts of Meat.

Lights in the Mosqueys.

They pray for the dead, and bury them with many Ceremonies. They wash, shave, and perfume the Corps in the presence of the Ecclesiasticks; then they are brought near the *Mosqueys*, where the Corps is burnt, and the Ashes buried in the same place, under a rich Tomb or stately Pyramide, according to the degree and abilities of the deceased. The neerest Relations shave themselves, give Alms, procure the Priests to say Prayers, and attend the body with Musick, Theatrical Representations, and Fire-works, so as these Obsequies put them to great charges.

Prayers for the dead.

They never dispute with any of a contrary Religion, but believe, that by living well they may be saved in any Religion: though they are so fixt to their own, that there is no hope of ever introducing another. The *Portuguez* endeavoured to catechise some, but with as little effect as the *Mahumetans*, who would have brought in the *Alcoran*.

The inferiour people here invoke the Devil, contrary to the doctrine of their Ecclesiasticks, who incessantly preach against this abomination; but hitherto they cannot pluck up this rooted wickedness, which they sucked in with their first Milk.

The Siamedes invoke the Devil.

The *Siameses* are comely, and well proportioned, but ill Souldiers, though cruel and insolent enough after Victory. They are rather black then brown, ingenious in Commerce, but they are cautious, diffident, dissemblers, unconstant, false, and lyars.

Are well shap'd.

The Men are lazy, and care for no employment which requires labour, such they leave to their Women and Slaves, leaving affairs and husbandring of land to their charges, while they walk the Streets, or make their addresses at Court. They cover themselves with a painted Cloath from the Navel to the Knees. Men wear short Shirts with sleeves hanging to their Elbows, and Women hide their Breasts with a linnen Cloath, which is fastned about their Neck. All observe one fashion in Clothes, so as Persons of Quality are not

Their qualities.

Their habits.

1639. to be distinguished from others, but by their Train, which consists of about five and twenty or thirty Slaves.

Their Houses. Their Houses are made of Timber or Canes, of a fashion peculiar to the Country, and covered with *Coco* leaves, they are raised three or four foot from the ground, and in every partition have several windows, which is very commodious. They have no other moveables then what are necessary for the Chamber and Kitchin, and their diet is Rice, Fish and Pulse, and they drink nothing but Water, but at Feasts they make better cheer, and are willing to be invited to be drunk with *Arac* or Strong-water.

Their marriages. Ecclesiasticks meddle not in the marriages of Persons of Quality, by reason the parties are content to confide in each other for the conditions agreed upon, and obtaining the consent of their Parents they consummate the marriage. But they ever reserve liberty of separation, with an equal division of Goods and Children, without License of any Magistrate, and to marry again, with whom, and as oft as they will. Their contract with their Concubines is of a different kind, for they are considered but as Slaves, and under the authority of the Wife, who on her part is satisfied with this precedency, knowing her Children, who are only esteemed legitimate, shall divide all, leaving to the natural but a very small share.

The Estates of Persons of Quality are ordinarily divided into three parts; one falls to the King; one to the Ecclesiasticks, they defraying the Funeral Charges, which there are great; and the third to the Children. People of middle condition buy their Wives, and consummate the Marriage, after payment of the sum accorded on; but have the same priviledge of Divorce as the others.

Their Children divide the inheritance equally, except the eldest, who hath some advantage.

Education of Children. Till they are five or six years of age, they bring up their children with little care; then they put them to the Ecclesiasticks to be taught to write and read, and to be instructed in Religion; during which time they see their children but very seldom; but having learnt these first Rudiments, they put them to a Trade; or if they find them to be ingenious, they continue them in their Studies, to make them capable of the Priestly Function, or fit for some imployments, which among them are bestow'd according to merit, and not sold for money. Those who live in Cities subsist by Merchandize, turn Courtiers, or betake themselves to some Handy-craft, or else become Fisher-men, whereof there are very many along the Coast, as there are also in those Cities, which have the convenience of any River. The Peasantry is very wretched, living only on their labour, employing themselves in dressing the *Cocoes*, and in breeding Cattle and Poultry; but Provisions are so exceeding cheap that they make very little advantage thereby.

The Traffick of the City of India. In the City of *India*, the principal Commerce consists in Stuffs brought from *Suratta*, and the Coast of *Coromandel*, all sorts of *Chinese* commodities, precious Stones, Gold, *Benjamin*, Wax, Copper, Lead, Indico, *Calamba*-wood, Brasil-wood, Cotton, Saphires, Rubies, *&c.* but above all, Deer-skins, whereof they furnish the *Japoneses* with above fifty thousand every year. It likewise yields a great trade of Rice, which they transport to all the neighbouring Islands. By reason of the abundance of these Commodities, there is scarce a Nation throughout *Asia* that have not their Merchants in *India*, besides the *Portuguez* and *Hollanders*, who have some years since settled themselves in those parts.

The King a Merchant. The King himself likewise trades amongst them, and for that purpose hath his Factors at *Pegu*, at *Auva*, at *Jangoma*, at *Lansiangh*, upon the Coast of *Coromandel*, and principally at *China*, where he hath those priviledges which are not allowed to any other Prince.

The money of Siam. The Money of this Country is very good, by reason the King only hath power to stamp, and so prevents variation of the value; there are of it three sorts; *Ticals*, *Mases*, and *Foangs*. Two *Foangs* make a *Mase*, and four *Mases* make a *Tical*, worth about thirty Sols *French* money. Four *Ticals* make a *Tayl*, and twenty *Tayls* a *Catty* in Silver. In Silver their least money is a *Foang*, but they make use of a certain sort of Shells brought them from *Manilles*, from *Borneo*, and *Lequeo*, whereof eight or nine hundred amount to a *Foang*, without which they could not chaffer, by reason Victuals are so cheap, that a Man may buy more there for five of these Shells, then in any part of *Europe* for a Farthing.

Money of Shels.

The *Portuguez* finding of what consequence the King of *Siam*'s friendship is to them, for supporting of their Trade with the *Moluccas*, the *Philipine* Islands, or *Manilles*, have still a particular care to preserve a good correspondence, by civilities from the Viceroys of *Goa* to the King at their arrival in the *Indies*, and by Persons of Quality daily

daily commiſſion'd thither, confirming themſelves by this means ſo well in the Princes favour, that he not only allows them to trade throughout his Dominions, but imploys them in his moſt important Affairs, permitted them to build a Church in his chief City, and maintains one of their Prieſts at his own charge. They enjoy'd all theſe priviledges, till ſuch time as the King of *Siam* began to favour the *Hollanders*, whom he found leſs inſolent and more ſincere then the *Portuguez*, who jealous of the affection of the King ſhewed to the *Hollanders*, preſently obſtructed the Commerce the *Siameſes* held at Saint *Thomas* and *Negapatam*, and proceeded ſo far, as at laſt, in the year 1624. they ſet upon a *Dutch* Frigot upon the River *Menam*, as we told you before: whereat the King was ſo offended, that the Biſhop of *Malacca*, having a Vicar Reſident at *India*, he forbad him to come to Court. The *Portuguez* inſtead of making amends for this firſt fault, in a conjuncture when the *Hollanders*, their profeſs'd enemies, might have joyn'd with the King of *Siam*, continued ſtill to obſtruct the Commerce of the *Siameſes*; in ſo much that the King perceiving their deſign was abſolutely to deſtroy it, was out of all patience; and in the year 1631. ſtayed one of their Ships with all the Men; but they finding means to make an eſcape, contrary to their parole, he put an Imbargo upon all the *Portuguez* Ships, which were found in the Ports of *Lygoar* and *Tanaſſary*, and put all the Men in priſon, out of which they were not ſet at liberty till two years after. 1639.

The *Hollanders* made their firſt eſtabliſhment there, at the beginning of his age, though it is only ſince the year 1634. that they trade there with any profit: they have made great advantages of the friendſhip of that King, in order to the Commerce they have at *Java* and *Sumatra*. *The ſettlement of the Hollanders at Siam.*

On the North-weſt ſide of the Kingdom of *Siam*, lies that of *Cambodia*, which on the other ſide hath nothing but the Sea. The Metropolis, from which it derives its name, lies ſixty Leagues from the Sea, upon a pleaſant River, which riſes out of a great Lake, as do alſo all the other Rivers of the Kingdom. But in that of *Cambodia*, it is particularly obſervable, that it overflows every year as the *Nile* doth; and as doth alſo the River *Menam*, in the Kingdom of *Siam*. It begins to riſe at the beginning of *June*, and ſo riſes by degrees to ten or twelve foot; but in *July* and *Auguſt* 'tis not navigable, for that it drowns the whole Country. The City of *Cambodia*, to prevent theſe Deluges, is built upon an advantagious riſing, having but onely one ſtreet, and is inhabited by *Japoneſes*, *Portuguez*, by *Cochinchinez* and *Malayes*. The *Portuguez* carry *Malacca*-Stuffs thither, and there load with *Benjamin*, *Lacque*, Wax, Rice, Braſs, Veſſels and Bars of *China*-Iron.

The King, who is but a Vaſſal of the King of *Siam*'s, reſides in the City of *Cambodia*, in a Palace fortified with a good Palliſado inſtead of a Wall, where are ſome Pieces of *China* Artillery, and about twenty four or twenty five pieces of Cannon, which he recovered out of two *Holland* Ships wrack'd on that Coaſt, all mounted on four-wheel'd-Carriages, only painted blew, except four which are mounted on ordinary Carriages, varniſh'd black, with Ladles and other Utenſils of Silver, or Iron, ſo poliſhed they might be taken for Silver. The King of *Cambodia* is nothing ſo powerful as the two Kings whom we laſt mentioned; for an Army of twenty five or thirty thouſand is the moſt he can draw into the Field, ſo as were the *Siameſes* more Martial, they might with ſmall trouble make *Cambodia* ſubject to their King. *The Palace Royal.*

The Nobility of the Court are divided into *Ockinas*, *Tomimas*, *Tonimnes*, *Nampras* and *Sabandars*, each in his degree, but for the beſt part without any particular charge, except the firſt, who are moſt conſiderable in publick Aſſemblies, diſtinguiſhed by little Cabinets of Gold carried after them, wherein are *Cardamum* and other Drugs to rub their Lips, Ciſſars to cut their *Bettele*, by them called *Pynang*, and for the Lime, *Areca* and *Bettele*, which they chew continually. In the preſence of the King, whether it be for Councel or Compliment, they ſtand in a ſemi-circle, and behind them the *Tommaes*, known from the others by their Bottles of Silver. *The Lords of Cambodia.*

No addreſs is made to the King, but by mediation of theſe *Ockinas*; for though the Prieſts are next his Perſon, between him and the *Ockinas*, and converſe familiarly with him, they eſteem it notwithſtanding a kind of Sacriledge for an Eccleſiaſtick to meddle in ſecular Affairs, ſo as none but the *Ockinas* communicate general or particular Affairs to him; of which 'tis their Office to take cognizance, as alſo of the Kings Orders upon their report. In the whole Town there is but one *Pagode* or *Moſquee*, wherein there are three bigger, and three leſſer Statues. It is ſupported with wooden Pillars, varniſhed black, with a folliage of Gold, and the floor covered with Mats. Their Prieſts have no houſes near the *Pagode*, and when the chief of their Eccleſiaſticks dyes, they build him a Monument of Stone, which at the bottom is four-ſquare, and upwards to the top grows round like a Pear.

1639. *The Portuguez excluded the Hollanders*

The *Portuguez* are so well settled here, that the *Hollanders* cannot hope to carry on any Trade, till they have first destroyed that of the *Portuguez*. At their first Arrival, in the year 1637. they committed the management of their Affairs to an adoptive Son of the Queen, to whom the King had given the name of *Tisnecha*, and the honour of *Nampra*, and they used the credit of the *Chabandar* of the *Japoneses*, in hope by this means they might gain a small establishment. But the friendship they had contracted with the King of *Siam*, and the Artifices of the *Portuguez*, bred them difficulties they could not master, otherwise they might have laded there yearly eighty or a hundred thousand Deer-skins, besides Neat and Buffles hides, above a hundred *Picols* of black *Lacque*, at ten *Thails* the *Picol*, above three or four hundred *Picols* of *Benjamin*, at seventeen or eighteen *Thales* the *Picol*, and might have vented their Cotton-yarn, and Cloath, for above sixty or seventy in the hundred profit.

Provisions in these parts are so plentiful, that the Inhabitants having so much more then they have use for, sell them in a manner for nothing, specially Venison, Beef, Pork, Goats, Hares, Kids, Cranes, Herns, and all sorts of Poultry; as likewise Oranges, Citrons, *Mangas*, *Cocoes*, &c. but to judge the better of the fertility of this Soyl, take notice, that the people of *Quinam* alone fetch yearly thence two thousand *Coyangs* of Rice, five *Coyangs* making four *Lestes*, or eight Tuns, at seventeen or eighteen *Thails* the *Coyang*. And so much by way of Account of the small Kingdom of *Cambodia*.

Malacca.

That Tongue of Land is called *Malacca*, which in form of a *Peninsula* extends it self from the Kingdom of *Siam*, from the South-east towards the North-west, even to the Equinoctial Line, betwixt the Gulfs of *Bengala* and *Siam*, or *Cambodia*; and contains, besides the City of *Malacca*, (whence it derives its name) the Kingdom of *Jahor* and *Patana*. The Country was discovered by *Alphonso d' Albuquerque*, in the year 1511. since when the *Portuguez* have kept their ground there so firmly, that none yet can supplant them. *Malacca* is scituate upon the Strait that divides the Isle of *Sumatra* from the Continent, on this side the Line two Degrees and a half, in a large Plain, where there is but only one Mountain, the foot whereof is almost wholly taken up with the Town, leaving only a small space open towards the North-east. About eighteen hundred paces may be the compass of it; for six hundred whereof it lies on the Sea-coast, enclosed with a good Wall, as likewise on the River-side, which bounds another third of the Town; and on the Land-side, 'tis fortified with four regular Bastions. The first, which is on the River-side, is called the Bastion of Saint *Domingo*; another on the Sea-shore, Saint *Jago*; and two more betwixt these two, called *Madre de Dios* and *Unze mil Vergenes*: from that of Saint *Jago*, to that of *Madre de Dios*, there is a good Pallisado of eighteen foot high, and between those of *Madre de Dios* to Saint *Domingo*, a sufficient Ditch. The Colledge of the *Jesuits*, also called Saint *Pauls*, which serves likewise for a Parish Church, stands on the top of the Hill, whence it commands the Town, and the Country near about it. There is likewise another rising ground about a Cannon shot from the City, where there is a Convent of *Jacobins*. The River there, which runs North-west, is not very broad, and at high-water it mixes with the Sea, but is fresh at low-water. There is a Bridge over it, though one side is without comparison much higher then the other, by reason the Land, South-east, is so low and marshy, that it cannot be broken, but water comes in immediately, and in some places 'tis absolutely drown'd. No week passes but it rains two or three times, unless it be in *January*, *February*, and *March*. The Ebb there leaves open above two thousand paces of shore, which being nothing but a deep mud, affords no landing at low-water.

When discovered.

Before the City lye two Islands; one the *Portuguez* call *Ilha da Naos*, about a Canon-shot distant from the City, the other, *Ilha de Pedra*, for the Quarries where they get Free-stone for their building, and lyes something more remote. The Caracks and Gallions cast Anchor betwixt these Islands at four or five fathom water, but Frigots and Barks enter the River, and Vessels of a middle rate shelter under the *Ilha da Naos*, between the River and the City.

In the City of *Malacca*, its Suburbs, and the neighbouring Towns, possessed by the *Portuguez*, there may be about twelve thousand Inhabitants, thus accounted; in the Parish of Saint *Thomas*, in the place they call *Camp clein*, a thousand; in the Suburbs towards the River eighteen hundred: in the Parish of Saint *Lawrence* two thousand; and in *Senhora Nossa de Pidade* as many; in *Nossa Senhora da Guadalupe*, five Leagues thence, about seven or eight hundred; and within the walls of the City, three thousand, making at most not above three thousand fighting men. Amongst them there are not above three hundred natural *Portuguez*, the greatest part are *Mestizes* or *Malayans*.

The

The City is ſo commodiouſly ſcituate for Commerce with *China* and the *Molucques*, whereof the *Portuguez* having experience, to hinder other Nations from footing there, gave out, that the Air was unwholſome, that it was not inhabitable, eſpecially for Forraigners, while they notwithſtanding continued there, and followed their buſineſs. 163

They are poſſeſſed of no more then the City and Suburbs, and five Leagues off, upon the ſame River, the Town of *Noſtra Senhora de Guadalupe*; for about half a League thence live the *Manancambos*, Subjects to the King of *Jahor*: but that would not have hindred the *Portuguez* from making it one of the moſt conſiderable places of the *Indies*, if the *Hollanders* did not diſturb their Commerce, and find work for the King of *Spain*'s Armies in that part of the Univerſe. At the requeſt of the King of *Jahor*, in the year 1606. they came down into *Malacca*, and beſieg'd the chief City, upon promiſe they ſhould be poſſeſt of it; but the aid that King brought them was ſo inconſiderable, that they were conſtrain'd to raiſe the Siege; yet not till they had ſo ruin'd the place, that it could never ſince be repaired, ſix thouſand lives being loſt in that Siege. On the other ſide, ſince the *Hollanders* got ſuch ſtrong hold in *Ceylon* and *Java*, the *Portuguez* trade with *China* and the *Molucques* is quite loſt, by reaſon they are no more Maſters of that Sea. But what more and more ruines the City, is the avarice of the Governours, who will not accept of that Government, but on condition to inrich themſelves two hundred thouſand Crowns in three years: to raiſe which ſum they are forc'd to oppreſs the Inhabitants as well as Strangers; which oppreſſions will in time ſo ruine the Commerce of this place, that for the future the *Portuguez* muſt make no great account of it.

Patana.

The Kingdom of *Patana* is not ſo great as that of *Jahor*, but without compariſon more populous: for ſome that have dealt there for the *Hollanders*, and have ſtaid there a ſufficient time, affirm, they have ſeen Records, that aſſert the King of *Patana* can raiſe an Army of an hundred and fourſcore thouſand men. True it is, the *Patanans* are bad Souldiers, and very improper for war; but we ſpeak of the number, not the quality, and ſay, that the City of *Patanan*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom, can alone ſet forth at leaſt ten thouſand; that is, the *Malayans* four thouſand, the *Chineſes* three, and the *Siameſes* as many.

Deſcription of Patana.

The City of *Patana* ſtands upon the Sea-ſide, but the Haven is two thouſand paces thence. The Houſes are of Timber or Canes, and well and handſomly built. The Kings Palace is ſurrounded with a Palliſado, and the *Moſquey* is made of Brick.

Its Inhabitants.

As to the Inhabitants, they may be ſaid rather brown then Olive-coloured; of body well proportioned, but they are haughty and proud; yet this rather in their Comportment then Converſation, wherein they are very affable: for the Queen her ſelf admitted the *Hollanders* to come into her Bark with her Noble men, and excuſed it, that the ſeverity their Sex obſerve, neither permitted her to ſee them more often, nor to admit them to her Retirement, to which ſhe was oblieged ſince her Widowhood.

The *Chineſes* and *Siameſes*, who have lived any time there, are ingenious, and underſtand Navigation; but the *Malayans* meddle only with Husbandry and Fiſhing, living miſerably, and drinking nothing but Water. They have no liking to Wine, and for *Arac* and *Aqua vitæ* they have an averſion: but Women they love, and prefer that pleaſure before all others, wherefore there is not a Man, who, beſides four or five lawful Wives, hath not as many Concubines.

Simple Fornication they allow of, and hold it no ſin; but Adultery they puniſh ſeverely. This is a Crime unpardonable, and for which the Father, or Son, or one of the neareſt Relations, is obliged to be Executioner, the manner of death being left to the perſon guilty; yet is this Crime ſo common, that they would diſpeople the Country, ſhould they puniſh all that are guilty of it.

Their wealth conſiſts in Land and Slaves, whom they feed with nothing but Rice, and a little Fiſh, yet make great profit out of their labour. Only the *Chineſes* and the *Meſtizes* betake themſelves to any Trade, or apply themſelves to Traffick, which they chiefly have in *Siam*, *Burdelon*, *Lugor*, *Cambodia*, *Cochinchina*, *Macaſſer*, *Grece*, *Pahan*, *Jambi*, *Johor*, *Bantam*, *Bandar*, *Malſin*, *Suchidanar*, and other places upon the ſame Coaſt or Countrey, where they carry all ſorts of *China* Commodities, Purcelane, Skins, Pots, Kettles, and other Iron Utenſils; as likewiſe Fleſh powder'd and ſmoak'd, Fiſh dry and ſalted, Cloath which they have from the *Hollanders* and *Chineſes*. From their Neighbours they fetch Timber to build withall, *Rottang*, that is, Cordage of *Cocoe*, Oyle of the ſame, Fruits dry'd and preſerv'd, Skins of Neat, Buffles, Goats, Pepper, and particularly a Drug they call *Saroyboura*. Theſe are only Swallow-neſts, which they find on Rocks by the Sea-ſide, and are of ſuch eſteem in *China*, that they ſell them for three or four Crowns the pound. There are two ſorts of them, the white, which are much in requeſt, and are ſold for ſix, ſeven,

Swallows neſts.

of

1639. or eight *Campans* the *China Catti*; but the grey are not so dear, and not worth three or four *Campans* the *Catti*, which amounts not to above eleven *Sols*, or a *Mamide* of *Cambaya*.

The Air of Patana. Though the Country lye not far from the Equinoctial, yet is the Air good and wholsom, though the heats are exceeding great. Summer begins there in *February*, and lasts to the end of *October*; there falls continual Rains during *November*, *December* and *January*, with a North-west wind. They Till the Earth with Oxen and Buffles, and sow nothing but Rice, of which they get great abundance. They have for every moneth several Fruits, and Hens that lay twice a day, by reason whereof the Country abounds in all sorts of provisions for the belly, as Rice, Oxen, Goats, Geese, Ducks, Hens, Capons, Peacocks, Deer, Hares, Coneys, Fowl and Venison, and specially in Fruits, whereof they have above a hundred several sorts; as *Durians*, *Mangostbans*, *Annas*, *Lanciats*, *Ramboutammas*, *Pissans*, *Oranges* and *Lemmons*, and above all *Lemmons gibol*, called in *France China Oranges*, bought there five or six hundred for a *Campan*; *Mamplans*, *Batians*, and *Centals*, &c. whereof more hereafter.

Mahumetans. The Inhabitants breed no Swine, but the Forrests are so full of wild ones, that they are forc'd to hunt them to prevent the destruction of their Rice; which being taken, they bury them in the ground, as being *Mahumetans*, and eat none themselves, nor suffer others.

In the Forrest likewise there are abundance of Tygers and Apes, which are no less pernicious to the Fields then the wild Swine are; but the wild Elephants, of which there are likewise great numbers, are very harmless. They are taken by hunting, turning a tame Elephant amongst them, with whom they presently fight, and while they are in the fury they tye their hinder feet together; so as being not able to withstand any longer, they yield to be driven away, and are tam'd by hunger in a short time.

The *Portuguez* heretofore bought there fifteen or sixteen horned Beasts in a year, and carried them to *Malacca*, paying a *Campan* a head for the export. But the *Hollanders* pay nothing, neither for those they slaughter in the Country, nor for those they ship for *Sumatra* or *Java*: for doubtless they win more on their affections then the *Portuguez*, or any other Strangers.

The King of *Patana* is Subject, or rather Vassal to the King of *Siam*, but payes him annually a very inconsiderable Tribute. Not many years since there reign'd a Queen, that sent him no more then once a year a Flower of Gold, and some Silk-Stuffes and Scarlet; she was about that time fifty years of age, whereof she had been a Widow fifteen; when she appear'd abroad, which was seldom, to take the Air, she was attended by four thousand Persons of Quality, with the Armes and Equipage of her deceased Husband born before her.

Johor. The King of *Johor* possesses all the utmost parts of the *Penninsula*, the Ancients called *Aurea Chersonesus*, to the Streight of *Sincopura*, the chief Towns are *Linga*, *Bintam*, *Carymon*, &c. but the chief City of all the Country is *Batusabar*, scituate six Leagues from the Sea, upon the River *Johor*, divided into two Towns, one keeping the name of *Batusabar*, the other called *Cottasabrang*, one being thirteen hundred paces about, the other about five hundred. They are both built with Free-stone, and all the Houses stand along the River-side, raised on piles eight or ten foot from the ground, which lies so low, that at high-water 'tis covered twice a day. In it are near four thousand Inhabitants able to bear Armes; and could they bring themselves to take pains in Fortification, with little labour might this River be brought about the Town, which might thus be made one of the strongest places in the *Indies*. The *Hollanders* have used all their Endeavour to bring them to it, and to secure themselves from the *Portuguez*, their irreconcileable Enemy: but their Houses in *Cotta Zabrang*, and thereabouts, being nothing but Straw, they care not much for burning, so they have but time to save themselves in *Batusabar*, where the building is of Timber, and they can defend themselves against flying parties.

The Soyl fertile. The Country belongs intirely to the King, who gives Land to manure to any that desire it; but the *Malayans* are so slothful, that the Ground is all, as it were, overgrown with Moss, though by the Herbage and Trees it produces, it is easie to perceive, great profit might be raised, if the Soyl were cultivated. For further testimony of this, the *Hollanders*, in their Relations, amongst other things observe, that at a time the King of *Johor* presented their Admiral with Sugar Canes eighteen foot long, and seven inches about.

The *Malacca* or *Malayan* Language is held the most elegant of all the *Indies*, where it is at least as general as *French* in *Europe*, and is the easier to learn, because there are no inflections,

ctions, neither in Nounes nor Verbs. For the Readers curiosity I shall here insert some of their words, that he may spend his judgment, and begin with the numbers, which they thus count. 1639.

Satu one, *dwa* two, *tyga* three, *eupat* four, *lyma* five, *nam* six, *touſion* seven, *de lapan* eight, *ſambalan* nine, *ſapalo* ten, *ſabalas* eleven, *duabulas* twelve, *tyga balas* thirteen, *capat balas* fourteen, *lyma balas* fifteen, *nam balas* sixteen, *touſion balas* seventeen, *delaban balas* eighteen, *ſambalan balas* nineteen, *duo pola* twenty, *ſaratus* a hundred, *&c. Arys* the day, *Malam* night, *Zouſon* the stomack, *leheer* the neck, *dangudo* the mustachoes, *Bat* the tongue, *Iargary* the fingers, *Toulang* the leg, *Goumo* the foot, *Tangam* the arm, *Capalla* the head, *Rambot* the hair, *Pourot* the belly, *Janget* the beard, *Tangan* the hand, *Molot* the mouth, *Martye* the eyes, *Trotdon* the nose, *Conet* the skin; *Babpa* Father, *Maa* Mother, *Ibou* Grandfather and Grandmother, *bewangdarnet* to bleed, *mackol* to beat, *mollay* to begin, *billy* to buy, *chiny* to pay, *diem* to be silent, *ambel* to take, *toulong* to assist, *Manyte* I, *Pakanera* you, *audrior* to melt, *boday* to deceive, *dengaer* to hear, *battou* to content, *manſuiry* to prick, *Mus* Gold, *Salacha* Silver, *ada* I have, *Palla* a Nutmeg, *toy quitabo* we, *Lacky* a Man, *bilby* to traffick, *tidor* to sleep, *tavar* to promise, *britacot* to menace, *terran* to clear, *pang* to cut, *Negle* Steel, *Lada* Pepper, *minnon* to drink, *tackana* to enchaunt, *chium* to kiss, *bretoun* to make, *douſta* to lye, *banga* to rise, *ſuitſidana* to wipe the Nose, *tieda tau* I understand it not, *Sicke* Cloves.

Leaving the firm Land and the *Peninſula*, by the Ancients called *Aurea Cherſoneſus*, on the Coast of *Malacca*; we find the Isle of *Sumatra*, not above ten Leagues distant. Some have said 'twas rent from the Continent by the Sea Currents, as *Ceylon* from that part of the *Indies* heretofore called *India intra Gangem*, but for this conjecture there is little ground in History, it being not to be affirmed more of this place, then it can of *Sicily*, or *England*, or any other Island in the World; except we shall presuppose, that at the Creation the Sea compassed the whole Earth, and that then there was no Islands, but that they were made by the Sea, which afterwards by degrees form'd them out of the firm Land. To enter into this dispute is not our design, no more then to decide whether *Sumatra* were the ancient *Taprobane*, as *Joſ. de l' Eſcale*, *Mercator*, and divers others think; or *Ophir*, where King *Solomon*'s Ships fetch'd the Gold and other precious things, as the Scripture sayes; but we shall recite only what we could gather out of these last Relations. *Sumatra.*

All conclude that *Sumatra* extends from the fifth degree on this side, to the sixth degree beyond the Line; by which Rule it should contain a hundred and sixty, or a hundred sixty five Leagues in length, with a breadth of sixty; and so they who inhabit the middle of the Island, to have the Equinoctial Line perpendicularly over them. By the scituation we may judge the heats to be there extream; and herewithall there is so much Wood, and such a multitude of Lakes, that the Air, especially for Strangers, is exceeding unhealthful. Nevertheless it is abundantly fertile; and besides Gold, Silver, and divers other Metals, as Copper, Iron, Brass, whereof they have the Art to make as good Artillery as they do in *Europe*; it produces Rice and Millet, particularly Fruit, in such quantity, as the Forrests are loaden with it, and sufficiently furnish all the Inhabitants. In the middle of the Isle there is a burning Mountain, flaming by intermissions, as *Vesuvius* in the Kingdom of *Naples*; and, they report, there is a Balsom Fountain running incessantly. 'Tis wealthy in Diamonds and other precious Stones, Silks, Spices, Wax, Honey, Camphire, Cassia, and divers other Drugs used in Medicine. There are whole Woods of white *Sandale*, and Cotton sufficient to cloath the Inhabitants. *The Riches.*

This Island was heretofore divided into ten Kingdoms, but Men making this Voyage only for Traffick, they are contented to visit those only next the Sea, and omit to travel further into the Country, where doubtless Riches are to be found unknown to the maritime Inhabitants. The *Portuguez* give us account only of two Mediterranean Kingdoms, which they call *Andragidan* and *Arunau*; as also those of *Achim*, *Pedir*, *Pacem*, *Camparam*, *Zande* and *Mancabo*, all on the Sea-side, and on this side the Line. The *Hollanders*, for advance of their Commerce in the Isle of *Java*, have discovered the Kingdom of *Polymbam* beyond the Line, and have made there a most firm establishment, as may be seen in their Relations. The *Portuguez* have there nothing at all, but have freedom of Trade, except hindred by the *Hollanders*. *Contains many Kingdoms.*

The King of *Achim* hath united to his Crown the Kingdoms of *Pedir* and *Pacem*, with almost all the Northern Coast of the Isle; but he that reigned there in 1596. when the *Hollanders* first sailed into those parts, was a Fisher-man that usurp'd the Crown, and, in the Siege of *Polymbam*, was slain, leaving only one Son of five moneths of age, under the *King of Achim.*

govern-

1639. government of his Father in Law. Which young Prince dying, his Grandfather ſucceeded to the Crown; and that was he the *Hollanders* treated with in the year 1668.

The Town of Achim. The City of *Achim* ſtands in a wide Plain upon the ſide of a very broad River, but ſo ſhallow, that the leaſt Boats get in with difficulty. It hath neither Gates nor Walls, the Houſes all built on piles, and covered with *Coco*-leaves. The Caſtle, or Palace Royal, ſtands in the middle of the Town, which on two ſides hath moſt excellent pleaſant Forreſts, well ſtored with Apes, Herns, and all manner of Birds.

The Inhabitants. The Natives are flat-fac'd, and of an Olive colour, they cover their body with a Cotton or Silk Shirt, and their head with a light Turbant of the ſame ſtuffe; Children go ſtark naked, only Girls have their ſecret parts hidden with a Silver-plate. The Inhabitants of *Guzuratta*, *Malabar*, *Negupatam*, *Bengalan*, and *Pegu*, and all Strangers that live among them, cloath themſelves after the ſame manner.

The Caſtle is fortified with a good Wall and Palliſado, and well flanked, ſo as the Artillery commands all the Avenues and ſtreets of the Town. The Houſes in the Caſtle are built of the ſame matter and ſame form of thoſe of the Town, by reaſon the River, which often overflows, drowns them ſometimes to the firſt ſtory. The piles that ſupport them are gayly wrought, and the Houſes covered with Canes. They enter into the Caſtle by ſeven Gates, one within another, which are neither curious nor ſtrong. Without the Kings ſpecial Licence, none but the Life-guard and Women enter the Palliſado, all others muſt ſue for Audience, or expect till the King ſends for them. Such as preſent themſelves to him, do him reverence, with their hands joyn'd and lifted above their head, crying, *Daula tuancon*, that is, *Long live the King.* He never recreates himſelf but with Women, or appears in publick, but either to ſee Cock-fighting, to bathe in the River, or hunt the Elephant. He is ſerv'd only by Women or Eunuchs. He uſes his Subjects as ſlaves, and governs by four *Sabanders*, who are next in authority to him. His Laws are ſevere, and puniſhments extreamly cruel; ſo as one ſhall there meet a multitude of people without either hands or feet, and have been ſo mutilated, for miſcarriages not worth the name of Crimes.

Religion. The King of *Achim*, as almoſt all that inhabit the Coaſt of *Sumatra*, is a *Mahumetan*; for which reaſon I ſhall not need to ſay any more of their Religion; only, that they begin their Lent with the new Moon in the twelfth moneth, and end it, at the new of the next moneth, obſerving abſtinence all day, during that time, till night. Whence it comes, that their impatience to ſee the end of their Lent, makes them ſtill gaze in the Weſt, fixing their eyes up to the Heavens, to find the new Moon; which is no ſooner ſeen, but they fall to feaſting and jollity for the remainder of that night.

Their Victuals. In *Sumatra* they get no Corn, but Rice ſufficient, of which the Inhabitants make good varieties, particularly Cakes with Oyl; they have plenty likewiſe of Beef and Buffles, Goat and Mutton, though none but the King hath priviledge to breed Sheep. Oranges, Lemmons, *Bonana*, *Tamarindes*, *Batalas*, Reddiſh, Spinage, and Lettice in great abundance; they drink Water, or *Arac* made of Rice or *Cocoes*.

The mournful day-tree. There is in *Sumatra* a Tree, in the *Malayan* Language called *Singadi*; in *Arabia*, *Gurae*; the *Canarians* call it *Parizaticco*; the *Perſians* and *Turks*, *Gul*; the *Decanins*, *Pul*; and the *Portuguez*, *Arbor triſte de dia.* It puts forth an infinite number of branches very ſmall and full of knots, from every knot comes two leaves like a Plumb-leaf, ſave that they are as ſweet as Sage, and are covered with a beautiful white. Every leaf hath its bud, which opening thruſts forth ſmall heads, whereof each hath four round leaves, and from each head comes five flowers, compoſing as it were a Noſegay, in ſuch manner as the fifth is ſeen in the middle of the reſt. The flowers are white as Snow, and a little bigger then the Orange-flower; blows immediately as the Sun is ſet, ſo ſuddenly, that they are produced as 't were in the caſt of an eye. This fecundity laſts all night, till the return of the Sun makes both the flowers and leaves drop off, and ſo ſtrips the tree that the leaſt greenneſs is not to be found upon it, nor any thing of that admirable odour which perfum'd the Air; and comprehended all that *Aſia* affords of ſweetneſs. The tree keeps in this condition, till the Sun hath left the Horizon; and then it begins to open its womb again, and deck it ſelf with freſh flowers, as if in the ſhades of night it would recover it ſelf out of the affliction which it is put into by that Planet, whoſe return enlivens the reſt of the Univerſe.

Cocoes. There is not in the Iſland a Tree more common then the *Cocoes*, and in regard 'tis general through the *Indies*, I will give here a brief deſcription of it; and firſt tell you there are four ſorts thereof. That which bears the fruit called *Cocoes*, which are the Nuts of the Country, is the moſt conſiderable, not only of any Tree in this Country, but indeed of any other

other part of the world. This Tree, not above a foot diameter, grows in body exceeding high, having not a branch but at the top, where it ſpreads as the Date-tree. The fruit comes not out of the branches, but beneath out of the body, in bunches or cluſters of ten or twelve Nuts: The flower is like that of a Cheſnut, and it grows only near the Sea, or upon the River ſide in ſandy ground, and nevertheleſs grows ſo lofty, that except the *Indians*, who by practice climb it with as much agility and quickneſs as an Ape, there is no Stranger will venture to do it. 'Tis as common in the *Indies*, as the Olive in *Spain*, or Willows in *Holland*; and though the wood be ſappy, yet it ſerves for ſuch variety of things, that there is no Tree of ſo general an uſe. In the *Maldives* Iſles, they make Ships that croſs the Sea, without any thing but what the *Cocoe* affords. Of the outer rind they make a kind of Hemp, which they call *Cayro*, whereof they make Cordage and Cables for their Ships. Of the leaves they make Sails, and cover Houſes with them; they make of them likewiſe Umbrelloes, Fans, Tents, Mats and Hats, which for their lightneſs are very commodious in Summer. 1639. *Ships made of it, as alſo Sails, Cables, &c.*

Theſe Trees are planted either for the Fruit, or the *Terry* which is got out of them. The Fruit is of the bigneſs of an Eſtridge egg; and the Husk, that is green, as of our ordinary Nuts, being dried, is converted into the Thread called *Cayro*, which I ſpoke of before. Sometimes they gather the Fruit before it comes to perfect maturity, and then it is called *Lanbo*, whence may be drawn two pints of refreſhing Liquor pleaſant to drink. This Juyce by degrees turns to a little Nut, in taſte not much unlike our Haſelnut, but ſomething ſweeter. The ſhell of this Nut, while 'tis green, is good to eat, but being dry, they make Cups, Spoons, and other Utenſils of it, or make Coal for Goldſmiths. The *Indians* peel this Nut, and extract a Milk out of it, as uſeful to all purpoſes, as our Cows milk. None but the poor eat the Fruit, becauſe ordinarily they dry it, to extract the Oyl, which is good to eat, uſeful in medicine, and to burn in Lamps. The fruit being kept in the ſhell, by degrees turns to a kind of Apple, which in time grows yellow, and is excellent to eat.

They extract Wine out of it, thus; pulling off the Flower, they faſten to it a pot of Earth they call *Collao*, well ſtop'd and luted with Potters earth, that it may not dye nor ſharpen. They know in what time the pot will be filled with a certain Liquor, which they call *Sura*, that hath the taſte and quality of Whey. This Liquor boyl'd makes *Terry*, which ſerves them for Wine, and being ſet in the Sun, makes excellent Vinegar, and ſtilling it in a Limbeck makes good Strong-water. They make likewiſe Sugar of it, which they call *Jagra*, but eſteem it not, for that 'tis brown, having ſuch plenty of white. The *Portuguez*, ſteeping Raiſins of the Sun and ſome other Ingredients in *Sura*, make a Drink that hath the taſte and quality of Sack. *How they make Wine.*

The *Indians* eſteem moſt the inſide of this Tree, for the Pith is white, and as fine as any Paper we have, will hold in fifty or ſixty folds, or as many leaves. They term it *Olla*, and uſe it in ſtead of Paper, ſo as Perſons of Quality ſeek much after it, only for this uſe; of the Bark they make courſer paper, to make up Merchandizes in. *Paper of this Tree.*

The ſecond Species of *Cocoes*, is the Tree that the *Portuguez* call *Arrequeiro*, for the *Areca* that comes of it, whereof we ſpoke in the precedent Book, and of which we ſhall have further occaſion to ſpeak more hereafter, as well as of the other two kinds, called *Tamor* and *Lantor*, in the deſcription of the Iſle of *Java*, to which we ſhall come immediately.

Bananas is not any where ſo common as in *Sumatra*: 'tis a kind of *Indian* Fig-tree, which grows to a mans height, and produces Leaves ſix foot long, and a foot and half broad. We call it, with the *Portuguez*, the Fig-tree, in regard that though the Fruit be not altogether like other Figs, yet hath it the ſhape and colour. It may be called rather a Buſh then a Tree, becauſe it hath no body. The Leaves begin to break forth when the Sprout is but four foot high, and as ſome come forth, others wither and fall, till the Plant be at full growth, and the Fruit come to maturity. The bole of it is not above ten or twelve inches think, and ſo ſoft that it may with eaſe be cut with a Knife. In the middle of the Leaf there comes out a Flower as big as an Eſtridge Egg, inclining to a violet colour, out of which comes a branch which is not wood, but tender as a Cabbage-ſtalk, loaden with Figs. At firſt they are no bigger then a Bean, but in time they grow ſeven or eight inches long, and as big as a Cowcumber; not a ſprig but ſhall have near a hundred Figs, which joyn together like a bunch of Grapes. They gather them before they are full ripe, which they know by their colour, which is of a yellowiſh green; then they hang them on a Nail till they ripen, which will be in four or five dayes. No ſtalk hath more then one bunch; they cut it cloſe to the ground, whence it ſprings again with ſuch vigour, that in a moneth it recovers its former condition; and at that rate fructifies the year throughout, which is a great Bananas.

1639. Manna to this Country, where a little sufficeth; and thus they live in a manner for nothing. The Cods or Husks, wherein the Figs are inclosed, are no less delicious and useful then the Fruit it self, and as nourishing as our finest Bread, and in taste much like a Cake, so as this Tree alone is sufficient to feed the whole Country.

Pepper. The Pepper of *Sumatra* is without doubt the best in the *Indies*, except that of *Cochim*. Commonly they plant it at the root of another Tree, underset it with Canes or Poles, as Hop or *French*-beans. The Leaves resemble Orange-leaves, only they are a little less and more sharp; it grows in little branches as red Goosberries, or Juniper. While it hangs on the tree it is green, and turns not black till it be gathered and dry, which they do in *December* and *January*. The places which produce most of it are, *Malabar*, *Onar*, *Barselor*, *Mangalor*, *Calicut*, *Cranganor*, *Cochim*, *Conhon*, *Quida*, *Dampin*, *Dedir*, *Campir* and *Andragir*, the Isles of *Sumatra* and *Bantam*, and certain places in the Isle of *Java*. They bring forth likewise white Pepper, but not in so great abundance. The *Malayans* call Pepper *Lauda*; the Inhabitants of *Java*, *Sabargh*; and the *Malabars*, *Molanga*. Long Pepper is not gotten but in *Bengala*, which is another sort of Fruit like the tag of a point, but something thicker and gray, containing a small white grain of the same taste and use as common Pepper. In *Malabar* and *Goa* there grows another sort of Pepper, which they call *Canarins*, but used only by poor people.

'Tis something strange, but very certain, that they spend more Pepper in the *Indies* then is brought into *Europe*; though in the Haven of *Bantam* only, 'tis known they have laded fourty eight thousand Bags in a year: for the *Indians* dress not any meat without handfuls of it, but they never beat it, nor grind it.

Java. *Java*, an Island commonly called *Java Major*, to distinguish it from another less of the same name, which lies hard by it, is South-East from the Isle of *Sumatra*, from which it is dis-joyned, only by a narrow Streight, called the Streight of *Sunda*. It lies seven Degrees beyond the Line, and is about fifty Leagues long: but hitherto no mans curiosity hath discovered the breadth of it, which makes some conceive that it is not an Island, but part of the Continent, known by the name of *Terra Australis*, near the Streight of *Magellan*. *Julius Scaliger*, in his Exercitations against *Cardan*, calls it the *Compendium of the World*; because there is not Animal, Plant, Fruit, Metal, nor Drug, which is not here in greater abundance, then in any part of the Universe.

Inhabitants. The Natives say, that originally they came from *China*, and that their Ancestors, weary of the yoak that King kept them under, removed to the Isle of *Java*; certainly they are in face like the *Chineses*, their forehead and brows large, and eyes narrow; for which reason divers *Chineses* settle in this Island.

There is scarce a Town in *Java* but hath a particular King, who not above forty or fifty years since obeyed all one Emperour, but of late they have shaken off that Soveraignty, and are all independent. The King of *Bantam* is the most puissant, and next him the King of *Palambuam*, from whom is denominated the Streight that divides the Isles *Java* and *Bali*. Ten Leagues thence, towards the North-East, lyes the Town of *Panarucan*, where they drive a great trade with the Slaves they bring from *Malacca*, as also in long Pepper and Womens Garments.

The King of Bantam.

Near *Panarucan* there is a Mountain of Sulphur, which began in the year 1586. to cast up fire in such violence, that at that first blazing above ten thousand persons perished by it. The Kings of *Panarucan* and *Palambuam* are *Pagans*; but the King of the City of *Passaruan*, six Leagues from *Panarucan*, is a *Mahumetan*. At *Passaruan* they have a great traffick in *Garnitre*, a fruit like a Raspberry, whereof the Merchants of *Quilin* make Beads and Bracelets, which they sell, and put off all over the *Indies*.

A flaming Mount.

Joartam. Ten Leagues thence Westward lies the City *Joartam*, with an excellent Haven upon a fair River, where Ships, in their Voyage from the *Moluccoes* to *Bantam*, take in Provisions and fresh Water.

Gerrici. Upon the same River lies the City *Gerrici*, to whose King the other Kings of *Java* render the same respect, they again exact from their own Slaves, and near to these two Cities it is they fetch the Salt that is brought to *Bantam*.

Surabaia. The City of *Surabaia*, that stands next in rank, hath likewise its proper King, who also reigns over the City of *Brandam*, six Leagues thence towards the West, and lives at *Cidaye*.

Cidaye. This City is fortified with a good Wall well flanked; but the Haven is not safe, by reason there wants shelter against the Winds that come from Sea-wards.

Taboan. Ten Leagues Westward lies the City of *Tabaon*, next *Bantam*, the most considerable of the Island, as we shall tell you anon.

Cajam. Five Leagues further North-west is *Cajam*, a City of no traffick, no more then *Mandalicaon*, which is inhabited by none but Fishermen.

Five

Five Leagues onwaads West ſtands *Japara*, upon a skirt of Land that thruſts it ſelf three Leagues into the Sea. The ſcituation of this Town is upon a fair River, with a good Harbour that renders it very Merchantile. This hath likewiſe a peculiar King, and none of the meaneſt in the Iſland. 1639. Japara.

Twenty five Leagues from *Japara*, and forty five from *Bantam*, lies *Matram*, or *Mataram*, a great City, with a King of its own; who heretofore was ſo powerful as that he pretended to Soveraignty over the whole Iſle; and for this was the declared enemy of the King of *Bantam*. Matram or Mataram.

Then five Leagues West from *Japara* is the City of *Pati*, and three Leagues beyond that of *Dauma*, which acknowledges the King of *Mataram*, as doth alſo that of *Taggal*, ſcituate with the two others in the ſame Bay. Pati and Dauma. Taggal.

The next is the fair and ſtrong City of *Charabaon*, upon a freſh-water River; and onwards the Cities of *Dormago* and *Monucaon*, whence they paſs through the Village *Gaccon*, to the City of *Jacatra*, and ſo to *Bantam*. Monucaon. Jacattra. Bantam.

Without queſtion this laſt is the Metropolis, and moſt conſiderable City of all *Java*, ſcituate about twenty five Leagues from the Iſle of *Sumatra*, at the foot of a Mountain, whence three Rivers riſe, two whereof run by the walls, the other through the City, but all too ſhallow for Navigation. The Town is indifferent great, but raſcally Houſes; the walls, which are of Brick, and three foot in thickneſs, are not entirely lined with Earth, yet ſo flanked, that at every hundredth pace lies a Cannon, which would ſufficiently ſecure the Curtain, were it in condition for ſervice; but their Artillery is not mounted, and they have no other Ammunition then a little Powder brought from *Malacca*, where the *Portuguez* have a Mill. The City Gates are ſo wretched, that one might beat them down with a Club; but ſo vigilantly guarded, 'twould be hard to approach without notice; there are neither Baſtions nor Towers, but in lieu thereof Scaffolds of three ſtories, which yield a ſtrong defence.

In the whole City there are but three principal Streets, which all abut upon the Caſtle called *Pacebam*. The one goes from the *Pacebam* to the Haven; another, where the Slaves and the Kings Domeſticks inhabit, leads to the Gate towards the Fields; and the third, to the Gate at the foot of the Mountain. The Streets are not pav'd, but are as commodious, by means of the Sand they are covered with. The Channels, which in divers places croſs the City, are foul and ſtinking, by reaſon the Stream of the River not being ſtrong enough to carry away the filth it brings it ſelf, and what is thrown forth, the Water choaks and makes puddles that infect the whole City. No Perſon of Quality who hath not his private Chappel, or Meſquite, in his Houſe; but one there is in common, near the Palace, on the Magazine and Stable ſide. The City is divided into ſeveral Poſts, each of which is aſſign'd to ſome Perſon of Quality, who commands in time of War, and hath the direction in civil Affairs. They have a Drum as big as thoſe *Germane* Casks, call'd Thunder-bolts, uſed inſtead of a Bell, which they beat with a wooden Bar as big as a Weavers-beam, morning and evening, as alſo on Alarms. Likewiſe they have Braſs baſins, which they beat muſically and chime upon, as they do on Bells. *The Kings Palace.* *A Drum for a Clock.*

At every corner of the Streets there ſtands a Guard, and at Sun-ſet they draw up and make faſt all Paſſage-boats, ſo as in the night there is no ſtirring in the Street. At the Priſon gate, near the Palace, ſtands a Guard of fifty Men; nor is there a Perſon of Quality, who hath not one of ten or twelve at his Houſe. The Town is full of *Cocoe*-trees, nor is there a Manſion without divers belonging to it. The houſing is poorly built, of Straw or Reeds upon piles, made like thoſe at *Achim*. They cover their Houſes with *Cocoe*-leaves, and the ſides of their lodging Rooms have only Curtains for freedom of the Air, which is exceeding neceſſary in this hot Climate. For preſervation of their Wares, they have Store-houſes of Stone, but they are covered only with Straw, ſo that to ſecure them from fire, which is but too frequent amongſt them, they lay great pieces of Timber over the Roof, and cover it with Sand, that the fire may not find paſſage. The Rooms in their Houſes are only divided by partitions, made of Canes called *Bambus*, which they ſlit ſo thin, that a Horſe-load ſerves for all the Rooms in a Houſe. At the Houſes of Perſons of Quality, at the firſt entrance, you come into a ſquare Court, where the Guard is, and where the Maſter of the Houſe ſpeaks with ſuch as have buſineſs with him, under a little Shed, covered with Canes or *Cocoe*-leaves. In one of the corners of this Court ſtands the *Meſquite*, where at noon they do their Devotions, and not far thence the Ciſtern where they waſh themſelves. Being entred the Houſe, you find on both ſides of a narrow Gallery ſeveral little Niches, for Slaves to reſt in, who watch for their Maſters ſecurity; by reaſon they are all afraid of being ſurprized and killed by their Enemies in the night. All For- *The Guard of the town.*

1639. raigners, as the Inhabitants of *Bengala*, *Guzuratta*, *Malayans*, *Abiſſins*, *Chineſes*, *Portuguez* and *Hollanders*, lye out of Town.

Market places. Here are three great Market places, where Merchants meet daily; The grand *Bazar*, or Exchange, is towards the Eaſt part of the Town, and is the meeting place of forreign Merchants; as *Portuguez*, *Arabians*, *Turks*, *Chineſes*, *Quilins*, *Peguans*, *Malayans*, *Bengalans*, *Guſurats*, *Malabars*, and other *Indians*, who are there from the break of the day till nine of the clock, and then break up. The ſecond Market place is before the great *Meſquite*, divided from it by a Palliſado. To this place Women reſort with Sacks, and a weight of three pounds, they call *Gantam*, who buy Pepper of the Country people, at eight or nine hundred *Caxas* the *Gantam*. But the *Chineſes*, who are very skilful in this Trade, foreſtall them ſometimes; for they go to the Peaſants and buy all they have by the lump before hand. Betwixt the Palliſado and the *Meſquite* ſtand Women that ſell *Bettele*, *Araca*, *Bananas*, *Melons*, &c. and ſome there are ſell fine Cakes to be eaten hot.

Armourers. A little higher on the right hand are Armourers, who ſell ſmall pieces of Cannon, Piſtols, Sword-blades, Battle-axes, Knives, *&c.* Not far thence, there are others that ſell Sandal-wood, white and yellow, and on the left hand are Confectioners, that ſell Sugar, Honey, and all ſorts of Sweet-meats liquid or dry. Near to that is the Bean-market, where are ſold all ſorts of Beans, black, white, red, yellow, green and grey, at three hundred *Caxas* the *Gantam*. Next to this is the Onyon-market, where Merchants that ſell Cloath by whole-ſale come, and ſuch as deal in return of Money, and aſſurances of the return of Veſſels. Hard by this is the Poultry, where, beſides tame Fowl, they ſell alſo Kids, Geeſe, Pigeons, Parrats, *&c.* Coming thence you meet three wayes; one going to the *Chineſes* Shops; another to the Herb and Pulſe-market; and the third to the Shambles. By the way to the *Chineſes* Shops, on the right hand, are ſome Jewellers, who for the greater part are *Choroacones*, that is, *Perſians*, or *Arabians*, who ſell *Rubies*, *Hiacinths*, *Turqueſſes*, *Granats*, &c. And on the left hand is the place for the *Bengalians*, with their Toyes and ſmall Wares.

On the backſide of this Street, the *Chineſes* ſell their Silks raw and colour'd, Damask, Velvet, Sattins, Brocadoes of Gold and Silver, Purcelane, and Cabinets, and works of Lacque, *&c.* By the way to the Hearb-market, upon the right hand upon the Strand, are the *Bengalians* with their ſmall Wares. On the left hand Merchants of Linnen-cloath, and at the lower end of this Market married Women have Seamſters ſhops; but men are forbidden to come there under pain of a forfeiture. Then you come to the Hearb-market, where are a multitude of Simples unknown to us. Turning thence you ſee the Fiſh-market, then the Shambles, with Stalls full of Beef, Buffles and Veniſon: then the Spice-market, where Women ſell Pepper, Cloves, Nutmegs, Mace, *&c.* and all ſorts of Gums and Drugs, to *Europeans* unknown: and the Rice-market, where likewiſe they ſell Earthen-Ware and Salt; whence they paſs by the ſame way they came, to the place where Merchants and Maſters of Ships meet about their Affairs.

The ſale of theſe Commodities laſts but till nine of the clock, and then opens the Market before the *Pacebam*, or Palace Royal, where are ſold all ſorts of Victuals, as likewiſe ſome Pepper, which they truck with the *Chineſes*. About noon the Market in the *Chineſes* quarters begins, where nothing is ſold but for the Table.

Tuban. We told you before, that next *Bantam*, *Tuban* or *Tubaon*, is the chiefeſt Town in *Java*, and in effect, is ſtronger then all the reſt, and although not ſo great as *Bantam*, 'tis at leaſt as handſome, and as well built. The Palace is exceeding ſpacious, and hath very fair Appartments, where Elephants and other Beaſts have their ſeveral quarters. Each Elephant hath his lodge built upon four pillars, with a poſt in the middle to tye him to. The rooms are filled with Cheſts and Hampers for the baggage, when the King goes his Progreſs. Near to his Lodgings is a place where his fighting Cocks are kept, every one his Pen apart, and every one his Keeper; as likewiſe the Parrots, which are much before thoſe they bring into theſe parts. The greateſt part of a beautiful flame colour, with a great golden ſpot on the back: the out-ſides of their wings blew and red, and the in-ſide a lovely carnation. They are too tender to indure the inconveniences of a long Voyage; beſides the *Indians* highly eſteem them, for that they love their owners, and delight to be made much of by them. The King of *Tuban*, whom the *Hollanders* ſaw, in their third Voyage to the *Indies*, delighted much in theſe Creatures, as likewiſe in Dogs, Horſes and white Ducks, by much larger then ours. He had four legitimate Wives, ſix Sons, and two Daughters, beſides natural Children a great number by Concubines, which he kept in ſeveral Appartments. His Bed was raiſed ſome diſtance from the ground, built like an Altar of great Stones, whereon lay a Quilt and certain Pillows of Sattin, filled with raw Silk.

The

The Chief Commerce they have at *Tubaon* consists in Pepper, which they carry to the Isle of *Body*, where they truck for Cloath, and Stuffs of Cotton and Silk, which afterwards they bring to *Banda*, *Ternate*, the *Philippines*, and other parts, to truck for Cloves, Mace and Nutmegs. The Inhabitants, for the greatest part live only on Fish. They wear no other Garment then a Linnen-cloath about the Loyns; only persons of Quality sometimes have loose Coats of Chamelot, which reach but to their Thighs. They are by this habit distinguished from other persons, and by their train of Slaves, without whom they never come abroad. They delight much in Horses, and to have their Saddles exceeding rich, which are made like our great Saddles, and their trappings studded with Gold and Silver, striving to appear well mounted at Assemblies, and to shew the King their horsemanship, and the nimbleness of their Horses. 1639.

The Inhabitants that live in the inner parts of the Isle of *Java* are *Pagans*, and the greatest part *Pythagoreans*, believing a transmigration of the Soul; for which reason they eat neither Fish nor Flesh. Towards the South part of the Isle, there are, though but few, some *Mahumetans*, as we said before, and they observe the *Turkish* Religion in all things, sending for Priests to *Meca*. *The* Javians, *Mahumetans.*

They observe two Fasts. The greater of the two begins the fifth of *August*, and at the beginning of this Lent it is, the Slaves renue their submission to their Master, with Ceremonies extraordinary. For they take them by the feet, and rub them upward to the knees; then closing their hands, they rub the head, face and neck; and then unclose them again. *Fasts.*

Lent being ended, they celebrate Easter, entertaining their Children and all their Domesticks with a Dinner. There is scarce a Man in *Bantam*, who hath not three or four Wives, and some have ten or twelve, besides Concubines, who wait on their Wives especially when they go abroad. They make no difference betwixt legitimate and natural Children. A Father hath not power to sell his Child, though he had it by a Slave. Children go stark naked, only the Girls cover their Privities with a thin plate of Gold or Silver. They marry at the age of eight, nine, or ten years, not only to prevent the disorders which in this hot Climate were inevitable, but because the King is Heir to all, who dying, leave their Children under age; whom he makes his Slaves, as he doth the Widow and Family of the deceased. The Dowry Persons of Quality give with their Daughters consists in Slaves of both Sexes, and in a sum of *Coxas*, which is very considerable, when it amounts to three hundred thousand, which is much about two Crowns and a half *French* money. *Divers Wives.* *Young marriages.*

The Women appear with great decency at the marriage of their Relations, though they use no great ceremonies. One may know the day by certain Poles which are stuck in the Houses of the Bride and Bridegroom, with Tassels of red and white Cotton.

Dinner ended, they bring a Horse to the Bridegroom, whereon he rides about the Town till evening, expecting the slaves he is to have in marriage, who come commonly loaden with Presents. None but the neerest Kindred sup with them, and see the new married couple abed.

Women of Quality are kept in such restraint, that they suffer not their own Sons to come within their Chambers; and when they go abroad, which is very seldom, all give place and respect to them, even the King himself would do it: nor dares any man speak to a married Woman without the leave of her Husband. Women of Quality are known from others, only by their Train; for all are dressed after the same fashion, wearing a Petticoat of Cotton or Silk, which comes from the Breast to the mid-leg. Stockings they have none, and go all bare-headed, tying up their Hair together on the Crown of their Head; but when they come to Weddings, or other publick Assemblies, they wear a Coronet of Gold, and have on their Fingers and about their Arms Rings and Bracelets. They are so much addicted to cleanliness, that there passes not a day but they bathe themselves three or four times. They do not their natural necessities, nor receive their benevolences from their Husbands, but they go up to the Neck in Water to cleanse themselves: They do no work at all, which needs be no wonder, for the Husbands themselves having imployed two or three hours about their Merchandize, all the day after do nothing but chew *Bettele* amongst their Wives, who are most sollicitous, by all the little kindnesses they can imagine, to court their love, washing and rubbing them till they are stirr'd up to voluptuousness,

The Magistrate of the Town of *Bantam* sits in Judicature in the Court of the *Pacebam*, from four or five in the Evening till it be Night. The Plaintiff and Defendant appear both in person, and plead their own Cause. One only punishment of Criminals is, they tye them to a post, and stab them to death with a Poyniard: Strangers have this priviledge, *Magistrate of Bantam.*

1639. viledge, that giving satisfaction to the party complaining, they may redeem themselves from death, except they have murthered in cold bloud, or upon advantage.

The Kings Councel. The Kings Council meets upon Affairs of State, under a broad spread Tree, by Moonlight, where sometimes there come near five hundred persons, who part not till the Moon go down. When the Council is risen they go to bed, and there lye till dinner time: afterwards the Councellours of State give audience to all who have ought to propose to the Councel. When the King comes there in person, he sits in the midst of them; or else with the four principal Ministers of State, and propounds the point wherein he requireth their advice, or causes the Governour of the Town to propound it. To a Councel of War they call the three hundred Captains, Commanders of the Troops the Armies consist of, which is raised in the Town it self. They have a particular course for quenching fire, which happens but too often among them; for the Women have this Office imposed upon them, while the Men stand in Arms to defend them in the mean time from pillage.

The train and state of the Nobility Persons of Quality, when they go to Court, or through the Town, have carried before them a Lance, and a Sword sheath'd in a black Velvet Scabbard, and by these Ensigns oblige all the Street to make way for them, who retiring back, sit on their Heels till these Grandees are past. Their ordinary wear is of Stuff wrought with Silk, and they wear Turbants of a fine *Bengalian* Cloath. Some amongst them wear Mandillions of Velvet, black or crimson, and never forget the Dagger or Poyniard under their Girdle. They ever go with a numerous train of Slaves; one amongst them carrying the *Bettele*-bottle, another the Chamber-pot, and a third the Umbrello. They all go bare-footed, it being thought a disparagement among them, to walk with Shooes through the Town. In their Houses many wear them; they are made at *Achim*, *Malacca* in *China*, and the Isle of *Sumatra*, where are also made most part of the Umbrello's used in the *Indies*.

The qualities of the Javians. The *Javians* are haughty, self-conceited, perfidious, mischievous, and cruel; who never fail to make an end of such they once get advantage of; and having once committed a murther, they kill all in their power; for knowing death to be their inevitable reward, they discharge their fury indifferently on all they encounter, without consideration of sex or age; so as sometimes they are constrained to kill them in the place, instead of taking them to be delivered up into the hands of Justice.

They generally wear long hair, are of a Chesnut Complexion, having great Jaw-bones, flat Faces, great Eyebrows, little Eyes, thin Beards; and being of a middle stature, well set, and strongly limb'd. They are addicted naturally to theft, and so vindicative, that to be revenged of an Enemy, they stick not to run upon his Weapons, and hazard an assured death, to take away anothers life.

Good Souldiers. This bloudy disposition shews they have courage, and would make good Souldiers, were they but as dextrous at Fire-arms as they are at their usual Weapons; which are the *Pike*, the Battle-axe, and the broad Sword, but above all the Dagger, or Poyniard. Their Bucklers are of Wood, or boyled Leather stretcht upon a Hoop; and for their bodies they have Cuiraſſes, the pieces being fastned together with mails of Iron. Souldiers in time of peace have no pay, but in time of war they have Arms and Clothes, and Rice and Fish for provision. They are all Slaves, and not only such as belong to the King, but likewise to other Lords, who are obliged to enroll them for their Princes service. They are seldom or never idle, but imploy themselves most commonly in making Sheaths for Ponyards of Sandal-wood made hollow, or polishing their Arms, which they generally poyson; keeping them so well, that no Raizor can be sharper then their Swords. The *Javaneſes*, as indeed all the rest of the *Indians*, hold their Daggers so dear to them, that they will not speak to any man without that by their side, not one Brother with another, and at night they lay it under their Bolster. Some use Truncks, through which they blow little poysoned Arrows, so bearded, that pulling it out the head remains in the wound, which by this means becomes incurable and mortal. Amongst such a multitude of Villains, there are notwithstanding some honest people, but the number is very small: for except some that inhabit near *Bantam*, upon the Streight of *Sunda*, at the foot of the mountain *Gonon Beſar*, who were transplanted thither from *Paſaruan*, all the rest are depraved. The people not able to live under the tyranny of the King of *Paſſaruan*, put themselves on certain conditions under the protection of the King of *Bantam*, and have built the Town of *Sura*, which hath a peculiar King, but subordinate notwithstanding to the King of *Bantam*. They live very peaceably, and persevere in the exercise of their Pagan Religion.

Javians Sophisticate their wares. The soyl is cultivated, either by free people, who take it of the King, or other Lords, at a certain rent, and are not bound to labour longer then their bargain, and may afterwards do what they please; or by Slaves, who cultivate the Pepper, Rice and *Cocoes*, breed Poultry.

Poultry and Cattle for their Masters profit, and to supply his Kitchin. Some Slaves take the *Cocoes* at one thousand *Caxaes* the Tree. Others work by the day, and get eight hundred *Caxaes* a day, which is to their Masters profit. Others are not maintain'd by their Masters, but serve them six dayes, and the six dayes following work for themselves, and so get their livelyhood. The Women sell keep market, where they sell their Masters Pepper, and other Commodities; or else imploy themselves in sewing, or making Cloath, that they may not live unprofitably. When they have a mind to be eased of them, they lead them from Port to Port, and sell them to him will give most. The ordinary price for one of an able body is five *Pardos*, that is about a Pistol a-piece. The Children of a Slave belong to the Master, who disposes of them as he thinks best; but he hath not power over the life of his Slave, without the express consent of the King or Governour. 1599. *How they imploy their Slaves.*

The Pepper which the *Javians* sell to Strangers is usually mixt with Ordure, black Sand, or Gravel, or they adulterate it some other way, either in quality or weight, as they do all their other Commodities. They keep a trade with all the neighbouring Islands, with notable advantage. At the Towns of *Macasser* and *Surubya* they fetch Rice, which there they buy for one *Sata de Caxa* the *Gantan*, and sell it for double the price. At *Balambuam* they buy *Cocoes*, a thousand *Caxes* the hundred, and venting them by retail at *Bantam*, they sell eight *Cocoes* for two hundred *Caxes*. There they likewise buy the Oyl of the same Fruit. At *Joartam*, *Gerrici Pati*, and *Juana*, they fetch Salt at a hundred and fifty thousand *Caxaes* the eight hundred *Gantans*; and at *Bantam*, three *Gantans* are worth a thousand *Caxaes*. They carry Salt to *Sumatra*, where they truck for Lacque, Pepper, Benjamin, Cotton, Tortoise-shell, and divers others Commodities. From *Jacatra*, *Jappara*, *Cranaon*, *Timor* and *Palimbaon*, they fetch Honey, Wax, Sugar, *&c.* Salt-fish from *Cranaon* and *Bendermassing*; Iron from *Crimata*, in the Isle of *Borneo*; Copper and Lead from *Pepa* and *Guselæn*, upon the Coast of *Malacca*; from *Bali* and *Cambaya*, Cotton and Cotton-cloath, *&c.*

Rich Merchants make no Voyages themselves, but venture the greatest part of their money, for more or less profit, as the Voyages are long or dangerous, and near upon the like conditions we do here in *Europe*. Obligations, as all other Instruments, are written upon the bark of a Tree, the Letters ingrav'd with a Bodkin, and they make it up in a Roll, or fold it four-square betwixt two boards, which they tye together with a Pack-thread very neatly. Sometimes they use *China* Paper, which is very fine, and of all colours. As yet they know not the Art of Printing, but they paint their own Characters exactly well, which are rather Figures then Letters. The usual Language is peculiar to the Country; but the *Malayan* is more general; the *Mahumetan* Religion hath likewise brought in the *Arabian* Language.

The *Persians*, by the *Javians* called *Coracons*, traffick here for precious Stones, and all sorts of Gums and Drugs, and are a people to be confided in, because they are open-hearted and civil. The *Arabians* and *Beguians* come thither for *China*-ware, and bring with them the Commodities of the neighbouring Islands. The *Malayans* and *Quilins* let their money out at Interest, or upon change. The *Guzurattans* are poor, and commonly Sea-men: All these Forreigners are attired all of one fashion, in a Cotton Garment, and a Turbant of the same stuffe. At their coming to *Bantam*, they buy a Woman that is for all uses; and at their departure thence, they sell her again; but if they have Children by her, they are tied to provide for them. *Strangers commerce there.*

The *Chineses* are they that bring the greatest trade hither, the most industrious to get wealth, and live the best. They are a self-ended people, that live by Usury, and have there the same repute as the *Jews* in *Europe*. They go into the Country, with a weight in hand, to buy all the Pepper they can meet with, and having weighed one parcel, so as they may have a near guess at the rest, pay them present money, or according as they have occasion for it, and by this means engross so great a quantity, that they have sufficient to lade the *China* Fleet when it arrives, selling for fifty thousand *Caxaes* the Sack, what cost them but twelve thousand. This Fleet arrives at *Bantam* in the moneth of *January*, to the number of eight or ten, and are Vessels of fourty or fifty Tun. *The trade of China.*

By them likewise comes the money hither, which in the *Malayan* Language is called *Cas*, in *Javan*, *Pity*, and is current, not only at *Bantam*, and all the Isle of *Java*, but through all the neighbouring Islands. 'Tis a little thin plate made of Lead, and the Skum of Brass, so brittle, that letting fall a string of *Caxaes*, you shall break at least ten or twelve. They are made in the Town of *Chincoa* in *China*, and they are beholding to *Wanly*, King of *China*, for them, who lived about the year 1590. and finding that the *Caxaes* made by his *Coin of Java.*

1639. his Predeceſſour *Huyien*, King of *China*, went not off, by reaſon the *Chineſes* had ſo filled the adjacent Iſlands with them, he contrived this brittle money, which his Succeſſour *Humendon* put forth, as now it is corrupted. It hath a four-ſquare hole through it, at which they ſtring them on a Straw; a ſtring of two hundred *Caxaes*, called *Sata*, is worth about three farthings ſterling, and five *Satas* tyed together make a *Sapocon*. The *Javians*, when this money came firſt amongſt them, were ſo cheated with the Novelty, that they would give ſix bags of Pepper for ten *Sapocons*, thirteen whereof amount but to a Crown. But they have had leiſure enough to ſee their error; for in a ſhort time, the Iſland was ſo filled with this ſtuffe, that they were compelled abſolutely to prohibit all trading, which ſo diſparaged this money, that at preſent two Sacks of Pepper will ſcarce come for one hundred thouſand *Caxaes*.

Likewiſe from *China* they bring Purcelane, which they ſell here at cheap rates; for at the firſt arrival of the *China* Fleet, ſix pieces of Purcelane may be bought for a thouſand *Caxaes*. They bring their Country Silks, Sattins and Damask, and take away Pepper and Lacque, brought to *Bantam* from the City of *Tabanhaon*, *Anil* or *Indico* brought thither from the Town of *Anier*, Sandal-wood, Nutmegs, Cloves, Tortoiſe-ſhell, whereof they make Cheſts and Cabinets, Ivory, whereof they make Chairs for the *Mandorins*, who prefer this ſtuffe before Silver.

The Portuguez commerce.

The *Portuguez* that deal at *Bantam* live out of Town, in the ſame Quarter with the *Chineſes*. They drive here a great trade in Pepper, Nutmegs, Cloves, Mace, Sandal-woods, *Cubebs*, long Pepper, and other Drugs; and ſell here Cotton, Cloath, and other Stuffs, ſent them from *Malacca*: for the greater part of them are Factors, and Commiſſioners of the Governour of *Malacca*, and the Arch-biſhop of *Goa*. At *Bantam* they have neither Prieſt nor Chappel; but at *Panarucan* they have both.

In the Iſle of *Java* are all ſorts of Beaſts, both wild and tame: The Forreſts are full of Elephants and Rhinocerots, Leopards and Tigers, which are more cruel and furious then thoſe of any other place, and do ſo much miſchief, that people go not without danger to gather Frankincenſe, Maſtick, Myrrhe and Benjamin, which is there in its greateſt perfection, and whereof there were great quantity to be gotten, if the Forreſts were not almoſt inacceſſible, by reaſon of the wild Beaſts, as alſo for Serpents, Lizards, and Salamanders, exceeding dangerous, and of ſo extraordinary a growth, that there are Serpents have ſwallowed Children and Sheep intire. The Tigers and Leopards often come out of the Woods, and make great ſpoil amongſt the Cattle, which for this reaſon are reared with great difficulty. Their Swine have no briſtles, and are ſo fat their bellies trail on the ground.

Oyſters of three hundred weight

The Rivers breed Fiſh in abundance; and Oyſters have there been ſeen that have weighed three hundred pound; a thing would ſeem incredible, if *Olearius* in his Notes upon *Mandelſlo*'s Relation did not obſerve, that being in *Holland* in the year 1652. he bought at *Encluyſen*, of the Wife of a certain Sea-Captain, who had made a Voyage to the *Indies*, two Oyſter-ſhells, that weighed four hundred ſixty ſeven pounds, yet to be ſeen in the Duke of *Holſtein*'s Cabinet at *Gottorp*; and he adds, That the woman affirm'd there was ſo much meat within them, that it ſufficed all that were in the Ship, being an hundred and twenty perſons.

'Tis very hard to hunt Deer, Goats, Boars, and other game, fallow or black, which abound there, by reaſon the Woods are ſo thick, that 'tis impoſſible to make any way through them; and the *Javians* are ſo unskilful at their Fire-arms, that it hath been obſerv'd, That a *Javian*, having ſhot at a wild Buffler, made a ſhift to kill the beaſt; but the Musket recoyling, he fell down, with his cheek all bruiſed, and the loſs of two of his teeth; in ſo much that theſe creatures may be ſeen in whole herds, feeding up and down the fields. There are likewiſe abundance of Apes, Foins, Squirrels, wild Peacocks and Parrots, and infinite other birds, exceeding beautiful to the eye.

Crocodiles.

In the Rivers there is abundance of Crocodiles, which ſeize not only on men bathing, but attempt the Cannows, as they paſs along, ſnatching men out of them, and dragging them to the bottom. The *Chineſes* tame this Creature, and fatten it, to be afterwards eaten as a great dainty. Their Civet yields as much perfume as that of *Guiny*; but it is neither ſo white, nor ſo good.

Civet

Hens.

They have two ſorts of Poultry, one like ours, the other betwixt ours and the *Indian* kind; and theſe laſt, which are in a manner monſters, are ſo furious, they will fight till death decides the battel. Amongſt the common ſort there are ſome whoſe fleſh is black, yet are they very good meat.

Rhinocerot.

The Rhinocerot, by the *Indians* called *Abadu*, is not ſo ordinary in the Iſle of *Java*, as in *Bengala*, *Patane*, and other places, though there are ſome; and the *Javians* make ſo great account

account of this Beast, that there is nothing about him which they use not in medicine, not only the Flesh, the Bloud, the Horn, the Teeth, but even his very Dung: They hold there is no better Antidote against Poyson, and attribute the same qualities to this, that ancient Authors do to the Unicorn. 1639.

The Ants are exceeding troublesom in most of these places, but chiefly in the Isle of *Java:* They are much bigger then in our parts, and so mischievous, that there is no Stuff they spoil not, nor Victuals they consume not, if they can get to it; wherefore they ordinarily set the feet of Tables and Cupboards in Tubs half filled with Water, to hinder the Ants from creeping up; and 'twere impossible to preserve any Birds, did they not set them on Poles planted in a Dish of Water; for should they put them in a Cage, the Ants would get up and kill them. There is besides another sort of Ants, about the length of a Mans finger, and red; but these are only in the Fields, where they live on the barks of Trees and Herbs. *Ants.*

As concerning the Trees and Fruits in the Isle of *Java*, amongst others there is the *Areca*, whereof we spoke a word by the way in the precedent Book. The *Portuguez* call the Tree that bears it *Arre quero*, the *Arabians*, *Faufel*, and *Malayans*, *Pynang*. It is a kind of *Cocoe*, but not so great, nor the leaves so big and broad. The Fruit is like a Date; Nature incloses it in a husk, which opens not till it flower, and when it ripens, the shell falls off, the fruit remaining at the branch. It hath scarce any taste, but it moistens the mouth, dyes the lips red, and the teeth black. The *Indians* lap it up in a *Bettele*-leaf, mix a little Chalk or Lime with it, and chew it rather out of custom then for any pleasure, though they hold that it strengthens the Stomach and Gums, and is a topical Medicine against the Scurvy; and in effect there is scarce an *Indian* that is subject to this Disease, or troubled with the Tooth-ach. This Drug will make some people to be drunk, that all things seem to turn round; but that dizziness is presently over. Areca.

The *Mangas* grow on Trees not much unlike our Nut-trees, but they have not so many leaves. They are of the bigness of a Peach, but longer, and something bending like a Crescent, of a light green, drawing a little towards the red. It hath a great shell, that encloses an Almond of greater length then breadth, and eaten raw very distasteful, but roasted on the Coals not unpleasant. 'Tis useful in Physick, against the Worms, and the *Diarrhæa*. It ripens in *October*, *November*, and *December*, and being perfectly ripe, 'tis full as good as a Peach. They get them while they are green, and put them up in Salt, Vinegar, and Garlick, and then they call them *Mangas d' Achar*, and they serve in stead of Olives. There are likewise wild ones, which they call *Mangas brauas*, of a pale green too, but brighter then the other, and full of juyce, which is immediate death without a present Antidote. Mangas.

The *Ananas* is one of the loveliest, pleasantest and wholsomest fruits of the *Indies*. It grows on a bush, and hath leaves like *Semper-vivum*. The fruit at first is green, but being ripe turns Orange, or Aurora coloured, drawing a little to a Red, shap'd like a Pine-apple; for which reason the *Portuguez*, who met with this fruit first in *Brasil*, called it *Pinas:* but 'tis tender and easie to cut. They are yellow within, of a delicate scent, they are eaten in Wine, but the excess is dangerous for Feavers. The juyce is so sharp, that if one wipe not the Knife they are cut with, next morning it will be found eaten. The Tree is so apt to grow, that a sprig will take root in the earth, though it have not past two or three leaves, be half withered, and have been cut fifteen dayes before. The *Canarins* call this fruit *Ananasa*; the *Brasilians*, *Nava*, and in *Hispaniola*, and the other Western Islands, they call it *Jajama*: 'tis as big as the larger sort of Lemmons, or the middle Melons, excellent both in scent and taste. At distance they look like Hartichoaks, only they are not so picked as the leaves of that Plant. The stalk is like that of a Thistle, and every stalk bears but one, and that at the top of it; for though many times it puts forth at the side other stems, yet the fruit that comes of them is very small, and seldom comes to maturity. They have of them in *March*, and then they are very pleasant, for the juyce hath the taste of sweet or new Wine; and is exceeding easie of digestion, but it heats, and often brings a Feaver. Ananas.

In *Java* there is another fruit called *Samaca*, 'tis as big as a Citron, the colour green, something drawing to a red; full of juyce, that is tart and toothsom, and within hath divers black kernels: the leaves are like those of Lemmon-trees, but not so long. They put them up in Salt or Sugar, and use them as *Tamarindes*, against burning Feavers, Inflammations of the Breast, and pains in the Stomack, and Fluxes. Samaca.

Tamarinds grow on great Trees, full of branches, whereof the leaves are not bigger then, nor unlike to the leaves of *Pimpernel*, only something longer. The flower at first is like the Peaches, but at last turns white, and puts forth its fruit at the end of certain strings: Tamarinds.

1639. as ſoon as the Sun is ſet, the leaves cloſe up the fruit, to preſerve it from the Dew, and open as ſoon as that Planet appears again. The fruit at firſt is green, but ripening it becomes of a dark grey, drawing towards a red, incloſed in husks, brown or tawny, of taſte a little bitter, like our Prunelloes. Every husk contains three or four little Beans in a certain skin, which is that the *Portuguez* call *Tamarinbo*. The fruit is viſcous, and ſticks to the fingers, but of ſo good a taſte, that the *Indians* uſe it almoſt in all Sawces, as we do Verjuyce; but 'twould turn a mans ſtomack to ſee them cook Meat with this Drug; for ſqueezing it between their hands, the juyce that runs through their fingers looks more like a Medicine then a Sawce. Theſe Trees bear twice in the year, and grow every where without being planted, or otherwiſe looked after. Phyſitians uſe this Drug againſt burning Feavers, heat of the Liver, and Diſeaſes in the Spleen, and infuſed a night in cold Water, it purges gently. The *Tamarinds* brought to our parts, are either ſalted or preſerved in Sugar. The Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Madagaſcar*, where there grows plenty of it, call it *Quille*, and the *Javians*, *Sunda aſſu*. The *Portuguez* gave it the name of *Tamarinthes*, for the reſemblance the fruit holds with the Date in *Arabia*, called *Tamar*, as if they would ſay, Dates of *India*. The *Malabars* call it *Puli*, and the reſt of the *Indians*, *Ampuli*. The Tree is as big as a Walnut-tree, full of leaves, bearing its fruit at the branches, like the Sheath of a Knife, but not ſo ſtraight, rather bent like a Bow. The *Indians*, when they would tranſport their *Tamarinds*, take them out of the husks, and make them up in Balls as big as a Mans fiſt, unhandſome to look on, and worſe to handle.

Tabaxir. We told you before, that 'tis common to plant Pepper near to a ſort of Canes, by the *Javians* called *Mambu*, in which the *Tabaxir* is found. 'Tis true, in the Iſle of *Java* there was never any of them found; but again 'tis certain, that on the Coaſt of *Malabar*, *Coromandel*, *Biſnagar*, and near to *Malacca*, this ſort of Cane produces a Drug called *Sacar Mambus*, that is, Sugar of *Mambu*. The *Arabians*, the *Perſians*, and the *Moores* call it *Tabaxir*, which in their Language ſignifies a white frozen liquor. Theſe Canes are as big as the body of a Poplar, having ſtraight branches, and leaves ſomething longer then the Olive-tree. They are divided into divers knots, wherein there is a certain white matter like Starch, for which the *Perſians* and *Arabians* give the weight in Silver, for the uſe they make of it in Phyſick, againſt burning Feavers, and bloudy Fluxes, but eſpecially upon the firſt approaches of any Diſeaſe.

Boats of Canes. Theſe Canes are ſo big, that the *Indians* cleave them to make Boats, leaving a knot at each end, whereon they ſit to guide it; one before, another behind, and uſe this ſort of Boat the rather, for that they are perſwaded, Crocodiles bear a reſpect to the *Mambu*, and never hurt the Boats made of this Cane.

Duriaons. In the Iſle of *Java* there is another fruit, called, amongſt the *Malayans*, *Duriaon*, not to be ſeen any where but in this place and the *Malaccaes*. The Tree that bears them, by the *Malayans* call'd *Batan*, is as big as our Apple-tree, the bark thick, plentiful of boughs, and wealthy in fruit: the bloſſom, which they call *Buaa*, is white, inclining to yellow, and the leaves half a foot in length, and two or three fingers broad, on the outſide, of a pale green, drawing towards a grey; but on the inſide the green is very delicate and lively; the fruit is as big as a Melon, covered with a thick rough rind, green, and hath ribs, as the Melon; within 'tis divided into four quarters, which are again divided into two or three little cells, that contain the fruit, which is as big and white as a Pullets-egg, and of taſte ſo delicious, that the *Bianco Mangiares*, which the *Portuguez* compound of Rice, Brawns of Capon, Cream, Sugar, and Roſe-water, is not more dainty; each fruit hath a Stone as big and rough as that of the Peach: It will not keep; for when the white begins to turn, it muſt be thrown away, and muſt be eaten as ſoon as the husk begins to open. Such as are not uſed to this fruit will not like it at firſt, for that it hath the ſmell of a roaſted Onyon; but the taſte is ſo pleaſing, that it may be reckoned amongſt the prime and moſt excellent fruits of the *Indies*: One thing it is very remarkable for, that there is ſo great an antipathy between it and the *Bettele*, that the leaſt number of *Bettele* leaves laid near a Room full of *Duriaons*, they corrupt and rot immediately. Accordingly, when a man hath eaten too much of this fruit, let him but lay two or three *Bettele* leaves upon his breaſt, and he ſhall be eaſed; and the eating of but one of theſe leaves after the *Duriaons* cauſes ſpeedy digeſtion; ſo as thus one may eat as much as he will, without the leaſt inconvenience.

Lantor. The *Lantor*-tree, which is another ſort of *Cocoe*-tree, as we ſaid before, is frequent in the Iſle of *Java*. The leaves are five or ſix foot long, and ſo ſmooth, that the *Javians* write upon it with a Bodkin, and uſe it inſtead of Paper.

Of

Of all the *Indies*, no part bears *Cubebs* but the Isle of *Java*: the *Javians* call it *Cucicombi*, and *Cumuc*; the other *Indians* call it *Cuba China*, because the *Chineses* first fetch'd it thence to furnish other parts, before the *Portuguez* or *Hollanders* had any Commerce there. This Fruit grows up another Tree, like Pepper, and in bunches like Grapes. The *Javians* knowing 'tis not any where but with them, esteem it so, as they will not suffer a Plant to go from amongst them, and sell it not unboy'd, for fear it should be planted elsewhere, though there is such plenty of it, that a *Baruth*, a weight of fifty six pounds, is worth but six, or, at the most, seven thousand *Caxaes*. The use of it is to fortifie the Stomach, and cleanse the Breast; but the *Mahumetans* take it with a little *Areca*, and are of opinion it restores languishing and spent Nature. 1639. Cubebs.

The *Mangosthan* is a Fruit growing by the High-wayes in *Java*, upon bushes, like our Sloes, and much of the same taste. Mangosthan.

The Hearb the *Javians* call *Talasse*, and which the *Malayans* call *Lalade*, bears neither Fruit nor Flower; but 'tis used in Sauces, and some eat it green, and assign it the same virtues as they do the *Cubebs*. Talasse.

In *Java* they have another Fruit, which grows likewise in other places, call'd *Jaca*, in form and bigness like a Citrul, with a thick and rough rind: Within 'tis full of certain Nuts, the Kernels whereof, being toasted on coals, are good to eat, and stay the Flux of the belly. The Tree is very great; but the boughs being not strong enough to bear the Fruit, it hangs all along the body of it, up from the very ground: Being full ripe, the rind grows hard and black, and emits a very sweet scent; the Fruit it self often changes taste, yielding one while that of the Melon, another that of the Peach, sometimes that of Honey, sometimes that of a sweet Lemmon; but is so hard of digestion, that 'tis never eaten, but vomited up again: The Nut of it is as big as a Date, and causes windiness in those that eat them green; but roasted after the manner we told you, they are very pleasant, and good for such as have a kindness for Women. Jaca.

In the same Island, towards the Streight of *Sunda*, there grows also abundance of wild Cinnamon, which the *Portuguez* call *Canela de Mato*, and the *Malayans*, *Cajumanis*. It is not near so good as the fine Cinnamon, whence it comes that there is but little of it bought, it being hardly worth the transportation. Wild Cinnamon.

The *Carcapuli* is a Fruit about the bigness of a Cherry, and much of the same taste, and the Trees which bear it are like our Cherry-trees. Of these there are several kinds, whereof some are white, some of a dark red, and some of a lively carnation colour. Carcapuli.

The *Costus Indicus*, by the *Malayans* called *Pucho*; by the *Arabians*, *Cost* or *Cast*, is the wood and root of a Tree that resembles the Elder-tree, as well in height as in flower and scent: The *Turks*, *Persians*, and *Arabians*, make an extraordinary Traffick of it, as they likewise do of *Calamus Aromaticus*, which also grows on the Coast of the Streight of *Sunda*. That yellow and spungy matter, which Women use against pains in the Matrix, is properly in the Stalk of it. The *Javians* give it to their Horses, compounding it with Garlick, Cummin-seed, Salt, Sugar, and Butter; making it into a Paste, which they call *Arata*; and they hold it very soveraign for these beasts, to whom notwithstanding they never give it, till the extremity of the heats be over. Costus Indicus.

The *Zerumbet*, which the *Javians* and *Malayans* call *Canior*, likewise grows in these parts, and is like to Ginger, only the Leaves something more long and broad. They use to dry it, or preserve in Sugar, as they do Ginger, but esteem it above Ginger. Zerumbet.

There are two kinds of *Galanga*, by the *Arabians* called *Caluegian*. The lesser comes from *China*, and is much better then that which is brought out of the Isle of *Java*, where they call it *Lanquas*. This Herb is neither sowed nor set, but grows naturally, and is about two foot high above the ground, the flower is white, and the leaves pointed, and as hard as the point of a Knife. The *Javians* use it for a Sallad, as also in Physick; as they do the root, which is thick and long, and full of knots like a Cane, as biting in taste as Ginger, and of a very sweet scent. Galanga.

Benjamin is a Gum distilling from Trees not unlike Lemmon-trees. While they are young the *Benjamin* is black, which is the best; but as they grow old the *Benjamin* grows white, and loses strength, so as to put it off, they mingle it with black: The *Moors* call it *Lovan Javy*, that is, Incense of *Java*. Benjamin.

In the Forrest of *Java* there grow Trees of red *Sandale*; but the white and yellow *Sandale*, which is without comparison the better, comes from the Isles of *Timor* and *Solor*. This Tree is of the bigness of a Walnut-tree, and bears a fruit not unlike our Cherries, but is black and insipid. The *Indians* beat white and yellow *Sandale*, and Sandale.

1639. make a Concoction wherewith they rub their Bodies, not only for the ſcent, but for that they believe 'tis reſtorative. They value not red *Sandale*, but ſell it at cheap rates to other parts.

Ginger. They have likewiſe abundance of Ginger, by the *Malayans* called *Aliaa*, and by the *Javians*, *Gauti*; but they either eat it green in Sauces, or preſerve it, for they never dry it.

Anacardium. *Anacardium*, by the *Portuguez* called *Fava de Malacca*, by reaſon of its likeneſs to a Bean, is very common here, and the *Javians* take it in Milk againſt the Aſthma, and againſt the Worms: ſome pickle them as they do Olives, and they are altogether as pleaſant as the Olives.

Palo de cuebro. That Wood, the *Portuguez* call *Pala de cuebra*, grows there in great abundance. It is white, inclining to yellow, hard and bitter. The *Indians* bruiſe it, and take it in Wine or Water againſt burning Feavers, and the ſtinging of Serpents. 'Tis ſaid, that for this cure they are beholding to a Creature in ſize and ſhape like our Ferrets, by them called *Quil* or *Quirpela*, which they breed for recreation, and to catch Rats and Mice: this little Beaſt being a mortal enemy to Serpents, never meets with any of them, but it ſets upon them, and being bitten runs immediately to this root, which is his preſent cure.

Calamba. *Palo d'Aguila*, by Druggiſts called *Lignum Aloes*; by the *Portuguez*, *Palo d'Aguila*; and by the *Indians*, *Calamba*, grows in *Java*, but not in ſuch quantity as in *Malacca*, *Sumatra*, *Cambaya*, and other places. The Tree is like the Olive-tree, only a little bigger. The Wood, while green, hath no ſcent, but as it dries its odour increaſes. The weightieſt and browneſt is the beſt; the perfection is known by the Oyl that iſſues out of it when 'tis held to the fire. They make Beads of it, and the *Indians* uſe it to imbelliſh their Cabinets, but the chiefeſt uſe of it is for Phyſick. For this Wood beaten to powder, and taken in broath or wine, fortifies the Stomack, ſtayes vomiting, and cures the Pleuriſie and bloudy Flux. That the *Portuguez* call *Aguila brava*, or wild *Calamba*, is not ſo good as the other, and the *Indians* chiefly uſe it at the Funerals of their *Bramans*, making the fire of it that burns the Corps.

Lacque. At *Bantam* likewiſe they ſell ſtore of *Lacque*, whereof they make *Spaniſh* wax, and the Varniſh they lay over ſo many excellent works in *China*, *Japan*, and other places. *Java* produces of it; but the beſt comes from *Pegu*, where 'tis called *Tieck*, and where great and winged Ants get upthe trees and ſuck the Gum, which afterwards they lay upon the boughs as Bees do Honey and Wax: when the boughs are full, the owners cut them, ſetting them to dry in the Sun, till the *Lacque* falls from the boughs, then they beat it to powder, and give it what colour and form they pleaſe.

Other Drugs in Java. The other Drugs gotten in *Java*, are, *Pody*, a mealy kind of ſubſtance, which they uſe againſt Rhume and Wind; *Carumba* or *Flors*, a Root whereof they make Sauces, and wherewith they dye their Cotton-clothes. *Conjuapi* is a Wood wherewith they rub their bodies. *Samparentam* is a Root found near *Sunda*, ſtronger then Ginger, and very bitter. *Pontion* they hold good againſt Feavers, but 'tis exceeding dear. *Gatogamber* is a Fruit like an Olive, good againſt the tooth-ach. *Ganti* a Root ſo like Ginger, that the *Javians* have given it the ſame name; but 'tis dearer; and with it they rub their bodies. *Saſam* is Muſtard-ſeed. *Doringi* is a Drug they give Children as ſoon as they come into the world. *Galam*, a Root growing in the water, and is very refreſhing. *Tianco*, a Fruit they beat and take in water as ſoon as they find themſelves ill. *Maidian*, *Maya* and *Coroſſani*, are intoxicating Drugs they mix in their drinks. *Spodium* is the aſhes of a Tree growing near *Sunda*, wherewith they rub their bodies, as they do with *Sary*, which is a Flower. The *Targary*, *Surahan* and *Sedowaya*, are Roots for the ſame uſe. *Sambaya* is the Fruit the *Chineſes* call *Geiduar*, as big as an Acorn; of high price, by reaſon 'tis not ordinary, and is a ſovereign Remedy againſt Poyſon, and the biting of Venomous beaſts. *Ialave* is like *Sambaya*, and of the ſame uſe in Medicine. *Paravas* is a very cooling Hearb, but very ſcarce, and very dear. *Tomonpute* is a Root like *Galigan*, uſed againſt Inflammations of the Spleen. The *Conduri*, which the *Javans* call *Saga*, are red Berries, ſpotted with black, wherewith they weigh Gold and Silver, but are not to be eaten, they are ſo bitter, and, as ſome ſay, poyſonous. There is likewiſe *Azebar*, the *Sycomore*, the *Nux Indica*, and divers other Trees, Plants and Drugs, to *Europeans* ſome known, ſome unknown, but 'twould require a peculiar Treatiſe to name them all, and would fill a large Volumn to deſcribe their good and bad qualities.

The *Javians* making their benefit of the *Portuguez* ingratitude to the *Indian* Princes, who entertain'd them, do conſtantly oppoſe the eſtabliſhment of any Strangers in the Iſle: But the profit the Kings of *Bantam* and *Jacatra* received, by venting their Spices to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* was ſo conſiderable, that at laſt they conſented, that the people of thoſe

two

two Nations ſhould build a Houſe for ſuch Factors as they ſhould have occaſion to leave there, and for ſtowing up the Commodities they traffick'd in. The *Dutch*, by treaty with thoſe Kings, regulated the Cuſtoms of Importation and Exportation; but thoſe Articles were ſo ill kept by the *Indian* Kings, who raiſed their rates according as they diſcovered the Strangers neceſſity of Commerce, that the *Dutch*, to avoid this injuſtice, and ſecure themſelves from the violences of the *Barbarians*, by degrees ſecretly fortified their Quarters at *Jacatra*, and in a ſhort time made it defenſible. The *Indians* perceiv'd it not, till 'twas paſt their hopes of forcing it; ſo as in this deſpair of driving out the *Dutch*, they made uſe of the bad correſpondence betwixt the *Engliſh* and them, which chiefly appear'd in a Sea-fight they had near *Bantam* and *Jacatra*, *January* 2. 1619. The *Holland* Fleet, which conſiſted but of ſeven Veſſels, had the worſt of the *Engliſh*, that were eleven. The *Dutch* being forced to retreat, the King of *Jacatra*, with the *Engliſh* Forces, beſieg'd the *Dutch* Fort, now called *Batavia*; which Siege laſted ſix moneths, till the *Holland* General, having reinforced his Fleet with the Ships that lay in the *Molucques*, conſtrain'd the *Engliſh* to raiſe the Siege, to embark their Guns, and quit the Streight of *Sunda*, to get into the main Sea. The King of *Jacatra* would have caſt the blame of all theſe diſturbances upon the *Engliſh*; but the *Dutch* General would not be ſatisfied with ſuch excuſes, but landing his Forces, to the number of eleven hundren men, he aſſaulted the Town of *Jacatra*, which he took by force, and, having put all to the ſword, fir'd it. That done, the *Dutch* compleated the tortification of their Quarters, and brought it to a regular form, with four Baſtions of Free-ſtone, well trench'd and palliſado'd, with Half-moons, Redoubts, and other neceſſary Works. The King of *Matram*, who is as 'twere Emperour of *Java*, in the year 1628. beſieg'd this Fort, and, lying under the Cannon, ſtorm'd it ſeveral times; but in the end was forc'd to raiſe the Siege, as hein like manner was the year following; and ſince that time the *Dutch* have eſtabliſhed their Commerce joyntly with the *Chineſes*, the *Iaponeſes*, *Siameſes*, *Succadans*, and other Neighbours, taking ten in the hundred Cuſtom upon all Commodities, whether brought thither, or carried thence. 1639. *The Dutch fortifie in Jacatra.*

The City of *Batavia* is twelve Leagues from *Bantam* Eaſtward, in a Bay, which being ſheltred with ſome ſmall Iſlands on the Sea ſide, is one of the beſt Roads in all the *Indies*. Strangers that inhabit there pay a certain tax by the moneth, according to the profit they make, which is great: for a Porter, who will with eaſe get two Ryals a day, payes but one and a half in a moneth; a Fruiterer four Ryals; a Fiſherman three Ryals; Diſtillers of *Arack* eight Ryals; Mechanicks, as Shoomakers, Taylors, *&c.* two Ryals ſo as at preſent the moſt important place and firm eſt eſtabliſhment the *Dutch* have throughout the *Indies*. *Batavia.*

Between the Iſles of *Java* and *Borneo*, North-eaſt from the former, lies the Iſle of *Madura*, governed by a particular Prince, that reſides in the City of *Aroſſabaya*. In this Iſle there is no Commerce at all, as well becauſe the ſoil is barren of all Spices, as for that 'tis inacceſſible, by reaſon of the Shelves of Sand that on all ſides environ it. The Iſlanders, for the moſt part, live by Pyracy, and run up to the very Coaſts of *Pegu*, which their Neighbours are forced to connive at, leaſt they ſhould hinder the exportation of Rice, which is there in great abundance. The *Hollanders*, who had been hardly uſed by the *Javians*, near *Tuban* and *Cidayo*, Towns three Leagues from *Joartam* in the Iſle of *Java*, coming in ſight of the Iſle of *Madura*, in the beginning of *December*, 1596. and apprehending ſome danger to be taken by certain *Praus*, or Ships equipped for War, where the Prince and *Cherif*, or High Prieſt of the Iſland, were in perſon; to prevent the *Javians*, whoſe intent was to ſurpriſe them, fir'd ſome Guns at the great *Prau*, where the King, and *Cherif*, with divers others, loſt their lives; for that Ship being three Tires high, and filled with Souldiers, there was not a Gun fired which deſtroyed not a great number; ſo as the *Hollanders*, who in the mean time got into their Shallops, with little difficulty became Maſters of them. This done, they made no ſtay there, but ſail'd from thence to the Iſle of *Baly*, where they arrived *January* 30. 1597. Madura a *place of no trading.*

The Iſle of *Baly* lyes towards the Oriental part of the Iſle of *Java*, being in circuit about twelve Leagues, towards the South, putting out a Cape or Promontory a long way into the Sea. The North point of it is eight degrees and a half beyond the Line, and the chief City, where the King hath a magnificent Palace, derives its name to the Iſland. Baly. *Its ſituation.*

The Iſlanders are *Pagans*, and adore the firſt thing they meet with at their going out in the morning; they are black, and their Hair curling: In habit they differ nothing from their neighbour-Iſlanders, with whom they likewiſe correſpond, in wearing no Beards; for when the Hair firſt begins to come, they pluck it up by the roots. Their Women, *Inhabitants.*

who

1639. who have an averſion to Beards, oblige them to do ſo, as alſo to ſquat down when they make water, becauſe Dogs, held with them unclean beaſts, piſs ſtanding. There is not a Man but hath ſeveral Wives, whence the Iſland grows ſo populous, that they reckon upon ſix hundred thouſand Souls there, though they give way for abundance of Slaves to be bought from them. The greateſt part are Husbandmen or Weavers; by reaſon the Land produces great ſtore of Cotton, and is very proper for Rice; but they permit not any to be tranſported, leſt ſome hard year ſhould bring them to a neceſſity of being beholding to their Neighbours. They have ſtore of Oxen, Buffles, Goats and Swine; likewiſe Horſes, but they are ſo ſmall, that none but the Country people uſe them; Perſons of Quality being carried in Sedans or Coaches. Their Forreſts of Oranges, Lemmons and Pomecitrons, are ſtored with Feaſants, Partridges, Peacocks and Turtles; their back-Yards ſwarm with Poultry, and their Fens and Rivers with Ducks and other wild Fowl.

Abounds in Rice.

Fowl.

Drugs. In the whole Iſland there is no other Spice then Ginger, which generally grows in all parts of the *Indies*, but here are found ſeveral other Drugs, as *Galigan*, *Doringui*, *Canior*, *Bangue*, &c. as likewiſe a certain Fruit, incloſed in a Shell, like a Cheſnut, white within, of excellent taſte, and ſovereign againſt the Scurvy; alſo another Fruit as big as a Walnut, that grows in the ground, like the Saligots.

Fiſh. The Coaſts of the Iſland, and the Rivers, ſo abound in Fiſh, that, next to Rice, 'tis the ſubſiſtence of the Inhabitants. They entertain in a manner no Commerce, only they ſet forth ſome ſmall Barks to the Iſle of *Java*, for vending their Cotton-clothes. The *Chineſes* ſometimes come hither to fetch it, and in exchange bring them Sword-blades and Purcelane. This is a common Road for all Ships bound from the Continent to the *Molucques*, which here take in water and refreſhments, proviſions being at exceeding cheap rates. Iron and Braſs Mines there are, as likewiſe Gold, but the King will not ſuffer them to be wrought, for fear of attempting his Neighbours to an Invaſion; he is well furniſhed with ſtore of Gold-plate for his own ſervice. Subjects render him the ſame reſpect, and ſpeak to him with the ſame Ceremony, as the other *Indians* do to their King. He ſeldom appears in publick, but all Addreſſes are made to a Noble man, in whom the direction of Affairs lies. He is intitled *Quillor*, which is the ſame as Conſtable, or Grand-Miniſter, in other places. He governs by divers other Perſons of Quality, who have their Diviſions and Provinces to regulate, according to Orders from him. The Kings name is in ſuch veneration amongſt them, that all the Subjects unanimouſly joyn in a moment to oppoſe any diſturbance to the peace of the State.

Gold Mines.

Pulo raza. As appear'd in the end of the laſt preceding Age, in the perſon, a Prince of the bloud, who riſing againſt the King, and having ſome deſign upon the life of his Prince, was immediately taken and condemn'd to death: but the King in compaſſion chang'd his Sentence, to perpetual exile in *Pulo raza*, that is, the deſert Iſland, where he ſtood confined with all his Complices, who ſo well did cultivate it, that divers other families have been ſince tranſplanted thither. They retain the *Pagan* Religion they profeſs in the Iſle of *Baly*, and quit not that accurſed cuſtom, for Women to burn themſelves after the death of their Husbands.

The Iſle of Borneo. The Iſle of *Borneo* lyes more North then *Java*, and is one of the greateſt in thoſe parts: 'tis ſcituate under the Equinoctial Line, but ſo, as the greater part is on this ſide of it, extending to ſix degrees towards the North. Some do aſſign it four hundred Leagues in circumference, as *Bartholomew Leonardo de Argenſola*, who wrote the Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of the *Molucques*, and others; but the *Hollanders* allow it but two hundred and fifty Leagues. The principal Towns are *Borneo*, *Succidava*, *Landa*, *Sambas*, and *Benghemaſſin*.

Borneo the Town. The City of *Borneo*, from which the Iſland derives its name, ſtands in a *Marſh*, as *Venice* doth; ſo as there is no paſſing from Street to Street but by boat. The ſame *Argenſola* ſayes, it contains 23000. Houſes, but the *Dutch* allow it but two thouſand. The beſt

Bezar. Camphire in the *Indies* is gotten in the Iſle of *Borneo*: Here is alſo Gold and *Bezoar*. This Stone breeds in the Maw of a Sheep or Goat, about a knot of Graſs that ſtayes in the Maw, and is often found within the Stone. The *Perſians* call theſe Beaſts *Bazans*, and the Stone *Bazar*, which is, a Market, as by excellence proper for a Market or Fair: and from the ſame word comes the *Bazarucques*, the leaſt Money that is ſent to the Market. The Stone is ſmooth and greeniſh, and the more ſubſtantial and weighty it is, the better it is, and of the greater vertue. In the Country of *Pan*, near *Malacca*, they find a Stone in the Gall of a certain Swine, more highly eſteem'd then the *Bazar*. It is of a reddiſh colour, as ſmooth and ſlippery in the feeling as Soap, and exceeding bitter; ſo that when it is to be uſed, they only ſteep it in cold water, and the water is a moſt ſoveraign Antidote

againſt

againſt all poyſon, and an effectual cordial againſt all infectious Diſeaſes. Here they have likewiſe Diamonds, *Sapan*-wood for dying, as alſo *Braſile*, Wax, and good ſtore of Pepper, Frankincenſe, Maſtick, and all other ſorts of Gums. 1639.

The Iſland hath divers Havens and Roads, but its Cities are not very populous. *Borneo* is better then the reſt, and the Haven upon the mouth of a fair River, is large and very commodious. The *Spaniards* were once Maſters of the Haven, but they quitted it, becauſe the Air was ſo unhealthful they could not ſubſiſt. Their Houſes are of Timber, but ſo ſleightly built, that they ordinarily pull them down to change their habitations, or paſs over to the other ſide of the River. They are an ingenious and dexterous people, but addicted to theft, and great affecters of Pyracy, ſo as ſometimes they will cruze up and down the Sea as far as the Coaſts of *Pegu*, which is four hundred Leagues from that Iſland. They uſe all ſorts of Arms, as Swords, and *Goſos*, which are Bucklers made of boyled Leather, Lances, Darts, and a ſort of Pikes they call *Selihes*, the wood whereof is extreamly hard, but withall ſo ſmall and brittle, that if it break in a Wound, it leaves Splinters, that render the part incurable. The King is a *Mahumetan*, as alſo the greateſt part of the Iſlanders on the Sea coaſt; but they that live in the heart of the Iſland are *Pagans*. Their hue is rather black then tawny; they are of compact well proportioned bodies, and go habited near like the reſt of the *Indians*, with a Linnen about their loins, and on their heads a little Turbant. *The Haven*

On the firſt of *October*, in the year 1609. the *Hollanders* treated with the King of *Sambas*, for eſtabliſhing a Commerce of Diamonds, which are to be found in the Mountains far within the Country; and ſince have made one for Pepper, with the King of *Borneo*, with excluſion of all other Forreigners; but the *Borneans* are no more faithful in the obſervance thereof then the other *Indians*. *The Hollanders treat with the King of Sambas.*

Betwixt the Iſle of *Borneo* and *Molocques*, under the Equinoctial Line, lies the Iſle of *Celebes*; and if credit may be given to *Mercator*, this is one of the three Iſlands *Ptolomy* calls *Sindas*. The chief City here is called *Macaſſar*, and lies in the moſt Southerly part of the Iſland, five degrees, ſeventeen minutes, beyond the Line. It abounds in all ſorts of Proviſions, particularly Rice, wherewith in the moneths of *March*, *April* and *May*, the Territory is ſo entirely covered, that 'tis not to be imagined there is an inch untill'd: and in effect, beſides what they convert to paſture for their Cattle, and what they aſſign for their *Cocoes*, there is not the leaſt parcel lyes unſowed. In the face they are like the people of *Pegu* and *Siam*, and 'twas but in the beginning of the preſent Age they deſerted *Paganiſme*, and imbraced the *Mahumetan* Religion. 'Tis ſaid, that in the time of *Paganiſme* they were *Anthropophagi*, and that the Kings of the *Molucques* ſent their Malefactors to them to be devoured. But it may be averr'd for truth, that at this day the *Indies* have not a people ſo tractable as they: yet they are couragious and irreconcileable where they once declare enmity. Their chief Armes is Bow and Arrow, whereof they impoyſon the head to render the Wound mortal. The Men are of a comely make, carrying in their Prepuce a Ball or two of Ivory, or a Fiſh-bone, maſſie, and not hollow, like the *Siameſes* and *Peguans*: but this cuſtom by degrees wears out, as that amongſt the Women, to cut their Hair off; for at preſent they let it grow, and coif themſelves as the *Malayans* do. Women, when they walk the Streets, and Slaves, have their Breaſts open, and wear Breeches that reach from the Navil to the Knee; but when they bathe in their Ciſterns or Wells in the Street, they are ſtark naked. The Houſes of *Macaſſar* are built upon Piles, and rais'd nine or ten foot above the ground, by reaſon of the Rains which fall with the Weſt and North-weſt Winds from *November* till *March*, during which ſeaſon the Road is exceeding dangerous, and almoſt uſeleſs, becauſe 'tis impoſſible Veſſels ſhould get near the Shore, to lade their Rice. *Celebes Iſle.*

Upon the ſame Iſland there is a King of *Tello*, and another of *Battergoa*, who are the moſt powerful next to that of *Macaſſer*. The *Dutch* Relations tell wonders of the prudence of the former, and atteſt they met there with Barks and Frigots ſo artificially built, their moſt experienced Carpenters acknowledged, that they could not poſſibly have improv'd their Art to that perfection. He had ſettled Granaries throughout his Dominions, to ſtore up Rice, which was not to be ſtirred till a new recruit had furniſht him with ſufficient to repleniſh it; and did all he could to engroſs the Commerce to himſelf; for which purpoſe he had his Factors at *Banda*, to vend his Cotton-clothes, and lade, in exchange, Mace and other Spices.

The Iſle of *Gilolo*, called by the *Portuguez*, *Bato China de Moro*; by the *Molucqueż*, *Alemaera*, is much larger then *Celebes*: it yields good ſtore of Rice, of *Sagu*, whereof we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak preſently, in the deſcription of the *Molucques*, wild Hens, and Tortoiſes of extraordinary ſize. The Natives are well proportioned, but ſavage, and not long ſince *Anthropophagi*, as the *Celebians* were.

Amboyna

1639. Amboyna. *Amboyna* is an Iſland ſo near adjoyning to the *Molucques*, that ſome have reckon'd it in the number of them, as well for the ſcituation, as for the production of Cloves, which are ſaid to be kindly no where but in the *Molucques*. 'Tis ſcituate four degrees beyond the Line, two Leagues from the Iſle of *Ceiram*, and is in circuit about twenty four. On the Weſt-ſide of the Capital Town there is a Bay of ſix Leagues, compoſing a good Road, where Ships are well ſheltered from all Winds. By reaſon of this Bay the Sea wants not much of cutting thorow the Iſland; for on the other ſide the Sea advances ſo far within the Land, that it leaves but a ſmall Iſthmus of about ſixſcore fathom over. The Iſland being thus, as 'twere, divided into two parts, the leſſer, wherein is the Caſtle of *Amboyna*, contains twenty ſmall Towns, or rather ſo many Villages, which can ſend forth about two thouſand men, able to bear Arms. The greater part hath four Towns, which have each ſeven Villages ſubſtitute, and can arm about fifteen hundred men. The Natives were heretofore bruti ſh, and, like their Neighbours, *Anthropophagi*, or Canibals, in ſo much that they would devour their Parents, when age made them decrepit, or when they were viſited with any deſperate Diſeaſe. The Land it ſelf lay wild, and overgrown with Forreſts; but at preſent 'tis exceeding fertile, and, beſides Cloves, bears all other ſorts of Fruits, as Lemmons, Oranges, *Cocoes*, *Bonanas*, Sugar-canes, *&c.* Oranges particularly are ſo plentiful, that one may buy fourſcore for a Button. The Inhabitants are a ſort of ſimple people, habited like the *Bandayans*, living meanly enough on what they get by the Clove-husbandry. They uſe no other Arms then the Dart, (which they caſt ſo dexterouſly, that they will not miſs the breadth of a Crown piece threeſcore paces diſtant) the Cimeter, and Buckler. They make a ſort of Cakes of Rice, Almonds and Sugar, which they ſell to their Neighbours of the adjacent Iſlands, where they take them againſt Fluxes. They make likewiſe Rice-bread, in the form of Sugar-loaves. Their Galleys, which they call *Caracoras*, are well built; and they know how to manage them with ſuch addreſs, that ours come not near them for ſwiftneſs.

The inhabitants.

The diſcovery. The Iſland was firſt diſcovered by the *Portuguez*, in the year 1515. under the conduct of *Antonio Abreo*, who there erected a Column, as well to record the poſſeſſion he took of it for the King of *Portugal*, as to ſerve for a Trophy of his Adventures, in advancing farther into the *Indies* then any of his Predeceſſors had done. Theſe *Portuguez*, obſerving the *Hollanders* obſtructed the advantageous Commerce they carried on here, in the year 1601. ſet forth a Fleet of thirty Ships, with a reſolution not only to deſtroy the *Hollanders* Traffick, but withall, ſo to chaſtize the Inhabitants of *Amboyna*, who bore more affection to the *Hollanders* then to them, that they ſhould change their opinion. *D. Andres Furtado de Mendoza*, Admiral of this Fleet, having intelligence of five *Holland* Veſſels that were in the Port of *Banda*, reſolv'd to fight them, but was worſted, and forced to retreat into the Port of *Iſou*, the chief City of *Amboyna*.

The Hollanders *take Amboyna Caſtle.* The *Hollanders*, though victorious, were not in condition to purſue their good fortune, and much leſs to hinder the *Portuguez* from diſcharging their revenge upon the Inhabitants, who were moſt rigorouſly uſed by theſe enraged people; nay, ſuch was their ſpight, that they pull'd up their Clove-trees, meerly that the *Hollanders* might not make their profit of them. Hereupon *Stephen Verhagen*, the *Holland* Admiral, arriving *February* 21. 1603. in the Road of *Amboyna*, landed a party of Souldiers, with deſign to ſtorm the Caſtle. The *Portuguez* Governour, perceiving his intention, ſent forth two of the Garriſon Officers, to demand of him, how he durſt approach a place committed to his charge by the High and mighty King of *Spain*; to whom the *Holland* Admiral made anſwer, He was come in the Name of the States of the United Provinces, and the Prince of *Orange*, with Order to take in the Caſtle, and expell the Enemy; ſo as he was to come to preſent Articles, or ſuſtain the Aſſault he ſhould make as ſoon as his Artillery came on ſhore. This Bravado ſo daunted the *Portuguez*, that he rendred the place without ſo much as a Cannon ſhot. There march'd out ſix hundred *Portuguez* with their Arms. Such as were married, taking the Oath of Fidelity, were permitted to ſtay in Town.

Religion. The Inhabitants of all thoſe Iſlands, *Java*, *Amboyna*, and the *Molucquez*, were all *Pagans*, till their Commerce with the *Perſians* and *Arabians* brought in *Mahumetiſm*, which, notwithſtanding, hath not ſo extirpated their former Religion, but ſuch as embrace Circumciſion continue their Pagan Superſtitions: Some make open profeſſion thereof, and adore the Devil, there being neither Town nor Village that hath not one peculiar thereto. Not that they underſtand in any ſort what the Devil is, or that they have any knowledge of what the Scripture ſayes of him; but they affirm, That what they adore comes out of the Air, whence ſome of them call one of their principal Demons *Lanithe*, that is, Air, who notwithſtanding depends on another greater then he, called *Lanthila*, nay, is not ſo con-

considerable as their *Taulay*, who in power is next to *Lanthila*. The general name for them is *Nito*, which signifies evil Spirits, or *Tuan*, that is, Lord or Master. 1639.

They say their *Nito* appears often to them in the shape of an ordinary person, which the Spirit takes on him for this purpose, and by which he pronounces his Oracles, that his intentions may be known. To have conference with him, they assemble, to the number of twenty or thirty, and call upon him with the beat of a little Drum, consecrated expressly to this use, called by them a *Tysa*, lighting mean while divers Wax-candles, and pronouncing certain words of conjuration, which they think very effectual. Before they propound their Affairs, either private, or publick, to him, they present him both meat and drink, and after he that personates the Dæmon hath done eating, the Congregation make an end of the remainder. *Consult with the Devil.*

They take in hand no business, be it never so mean, nay, not so much as piercing of a Tree to draw *Terry*, till they have done their devotions to the Devil, and engrav'd certain characters upon it, which in their opinion will preserve the Tree, and bless their labour. In their houses they have one place where they light a wax Candle, and where they wait on the Devil with meat and drink, who not coming, as it often happens, they eat that themselves which they had consecrated to him; but leaving some part of it, that, if he should come, he might find something to stay his stomack. There is not a Master of a Family that is not provided of a Vesture extraordinary, and a Ring, which he carefully preserves, and which is constantly kept in the house, for a perpetual testimony of his alliance made with the Devil. They are prepossessed with this opinion, that there comes no ill but from the Devil, for which reason they adore him, to avert mischiefs, or appease him, when they fall upon them. *Superstitions.*

They have their Circumcision, but much different from that of the *Jews* and *Mahumetans*; for they circumcise not Children till twelve or thirteen years of age, and in stead of cutting off the Prepuce, as the *Jews* do, they only slit it with a little Cane made expressly for this purpose. *Circumcision.*

At their Marriages they use no Ceremonies; for the parties being agreed, the Bride-grooms Father carries a present of some toyes to the Bride, and the Brides Father makes a Feast, at which they have their Musick of Tabours and *Logologo*, or Dances in the honour of *Nito*, and so consummate the Marriage, which they break with the same facility they contracted it. For the Wives leave their Husbands upon the least discontent happens between them, and provided they are able to restore the Present given them by their Father in Law, pouring water on their Husbands feet, to shew that they cleanse themselves from all the impurity they may have contracted together, they take their leave, and the next day may joyn again in marriage with some other, if they are so agreed. *Marriage.*

Their Oaths for decision of differences, or other matters of importance, they make in the manner following. They put Water into a Dish, into which they cast in Gold, Earth, and a Bullet of Lead, then dip in it the end of a Musket barrel, the point of a Halbert, Sword, Knife, or some other Weapon; and they give of the Water to him who is to swear; the design of all these Ceremonies being to raise in him a fear, that all that is cast or dipt into the Water will conspire his ruine, if he make a false Oath. *Oaths.*

There are amongst them certain people they call *Zwangi*, whom they take for Sorcerers; though for the most part they busie themselves in doing mischief rather by poyson then enchantments; but if they can prove the least against them, so as there be but grounds for presumption only, they are undone; and commonly the whole Family suffers with them. The horrour they have of these people, is one cause they watch dead bodies, with Sword and Buckler, for fear the *Zwangi* should come and eat them. *Sorcerers.*

The *Amboynians* are naturally timerous, gross and stupid, unfaithful, and so diffident, that they will not trust a man six pence without a good pawn. They bury their Goods and Money for fear of Rapine, for being themselves naturally inclined to theft, they think others would do to them as they would do to others. *Their qualities.*

They are not to be taught any thing, nor have they any Trades, in so much that the Stuffs made by them are like Sacks, open at both ends, wherewith the Women cloath themselves. They can neither write nor read, nor have Characters amongst them, so as they have no intelligence of former Ages, nor any light of Religion. Their business is fishing, or their Gardens, where they get some Fruits, to live on, but so slenderly, that 'tis a miracle they can subsist with so little; nevertheless, for the greatest part, they are of good proportion, and comely personage. *Indocible.*

From the account we have given you of their Marriages, the small affection betwixt Man and Wife may easily be guessed at; as indeed there is little or none at all, yet they love their Children most excessively, but so imprudently, that there is not a Father takes

1639. care to correct them; and to this reason we may attribute the disorders that often happen, the Children out-raging Nature in the persons of those that brought them into the world.

Profaneness The little knowledge they have of Religion causes a most remarkable humour of profanation amongst them, and so great a contempt of sacred things, that they would deride their *Nito*, were they not restrain'd by a sottish fear of some mischief he would do them. The *Portuguez* transported thither heretofore some families of free persons, call'd *Maldecas*, whom they had taken near *Malacca*, and who serving the *Portuguez* had gotten their language, and in some measure their Religion; but these Families are lost by degrees, and the little instruction had been given them wearing out with time by conversing with *Pagans*; one may say, that except some Proselytes made by the *Hollanders*, who for the greatest part are *Chineses*, there is not a *Christian* in the Island.

The Hollanders *possess it intirely.* The *Hollanders* have three Forts in the Isle of *Amboyna*, the Fort *Cambella*, otherwise called *Victoria*, (the Bastions whereof are built of stone) those of *Hiten* and *Louw*. The first hath in it sixty Pieces of Cannon, and a Garrison of six hundred men; so as that without question, this, next *Battavia*, is the best establishment they have in the *Indies*.

Banda. *Banda* lies twenty four Leagues from *Amboyna*, and is about three Leagues in length, and one in breadth, reaching from North to South in form of a Horse-shooe. It contains some small Towns, whereof the chief is *Nera*, but *Orsattan* and *Labbettacca* are inconsiderable. The inhabitants are all *Mahumetans*, and so zealous in their Religion, and so devout, they will not meddle in any business till they have said their Prayers. They enter not into their *Mesquites* till they have wash'd their feet; and being there, they pray with such vehemency, that they may be heard two hundred paces thence. Those Prayers ended, they rub their faces with both hands, lay a Matt on the ground and stand upon it, lift their eyes twice or thrice to Heaven, fall on their knees, and bow their head two or three times to the ground, pronouncing certain Prayers with a low voyce, only moving the lips. In their *Mesquites* they have many meetings, where they eat together of what is brought thither by every one. They have likewise some such Assemblies upon a Mountain, which is in a Wood in the middle of the Island, where the Inhabitants of *Puldrim*, *Puloway*, and *Lantor*, their Allies, meet them to consider of publick matters. After they have treated of publick Affairs, they sit down on the ground, and they serve to every one upon a *Banana* leaf, which serves them instead of a Trencher, a Morsel of *Sagu*, which is their Bread, and a little Rice steep'd in broath, which they eat by handfuls. During the Feast, the Gentlemen, to entertain the Guests, have a kind of Skirmish. They are almost in continual war with their Neighbours, and keep constant Guards upon the Coast, as well to surprize others, as to prevent their being surprized themselves.

Arms. Their Arms are the *Cimetar*, with them called a *Phabang*, and a Buckler of wood above four foot long. They handle their Weapons with much address, being train'd to it from their infancy. They have likewise Fire-arms, but in war they chiefly use a sort of Lance, of eight or ten foot long, made of an exceeding hard wood, which they cast with such force, that they will run a Man quite through with it. Having cast their Lances, for commonly they carry two, they fall to their Sword, which hangs at their left side under their Buckler, or to another sort of Weapon, which they dart and pull back with a string, where to they tye a short Truncheon, having at the end a crooked iron that is exceeding sharp and dangerous. Some use Corslets, but these are Persons of Quality; others contenting themselves with Casks of Steel, and made like Cocks-combs. Their Gallies are very light, having on both sides, in a manner even with the water, two Scaffolds like wings, where the Slaves are set to row. They are three to every seat, and every one hath an Oar, which is properly but a deep wooden Shovel, which they thrust as far as they can into the Sea, and when they draw it back, they bring it about their heads to cast out the water; which they do so fast, and with such sleight, that a Ship must be a good Sailor, that shall with a good wind take one of these Gallies.

They live long. In the Isle of *Banda* 'tis no rarity to meet with people of sixscore years of age, and above. They believe, that who fails to pray for the dead shall have no resurrection, whereas otherwise, with the *Mahumetans*, they believe the resurrection of the dead. Women that are present at the death of a friend, cry out with all violence, as if by this means they would fetch the Soul back again, but seeing it comes not, they interr the Corps, which is born by ten or twelve persons on their Shoulders, in a Biere or Coffin covered with white Linnen, the Men going before, the Women behind. The Corps being laid in the ground, they return to the house of the deceased, where they dine together; then they burn Incense over the Grave for four and twenty hours, and at night set a burning Lamp over it, in a Hut made for that purpose.

The

The Men mind nothing but their recreation, and walking up and down, and leave all the work to be done by their Wives, whose chiefest business is to break the Nutmeg shell, and dry the Nut and Mace, wherein consists their greatest revenue. This excellent fruit, for ought I could ever learn, grows only in the Isle of *Banda*, which the Inhabitants call *Bandan*, or rather in the six Isles 'tis composed of, that is *Gunaxi*, *Nera*, and *Lantor*, (betwixt which lies the Road for the Vessels that are bound thither) *Puloway*, *Pulorim*, and *Bassingin*. 1639.

It is a thing to be admired, that these six little Islands should furnish the whole World with Nutmegs, if it were not certain, that except a few *Duriaons*, *Nancan*, *Bananas*, Oranges and *Cocoes* that grow there, they produce not any thing else; and the Islands are so covered with Nutmeg-trees, that excluding only the fiery Mountain in the Isle of *Gunapi*, there is not a foot of Land but is employed, and the Trees at all times loaden with fruit and flowers green or ripe. They chiefly gather them thrice a year; that is, in *April*, *August* and *December*, but that which ripens in *April* is the best. The Tree is not unlike a Peach-tree, only the leaves are more short and round. The Fruit is covered with a husk, as thick as that of our Wallnuts, which being opened, there appears a very thin leaf upon a hard shell; yet does it not so cover it, but that the shell is to be seen in several places, and this is that they call the Nutmeg flower or Mace, and the shell must be broken to come at the fruit. The flower is of a lively carnation, while the Nut is green; but afterwards it changes, and draws towards an Orange colour, especially when it parts from the shell. The Inhabitants preserve it in the shell, with Salt or Sugar, and make a very excellent Preserve. The Natives call the Nutmeg *Palla*, and Mace *Bunapalla*. This Spice comforts the Brain, helps the Memory, expels Wind, cleanses the Reins, and stayes Looseness. Mace hath almost the same vertues, but 'tis much more proper for Sauces. Oyl of Nutmegs strengthens the Sinews, procures Sleep, stayes Defluxions, and cures the pains in the Stomack; and of powder of Nutmeg or Mace mixt with the Oyl of Roses, they make an Unguent soveraign against such Griefs as proceed from Indigestion. *Nutmegs.* *Maces.* *The Oyl of Nutmeg.*

The *Hollanders* have built here two Forts, which they call *Nassau* and *Belgica*, where the Road is so good, that Vessels come up within Musket-shot, and ride safely at nine or ten fathom water. The Island is inhabited with about ten or eleven thousand persons; yet would it be hard to draw out five hundred Men fit to bear Arms. Here they drive a good round trade in Garments brought from *Coromandel*, Rice, Purcelane, Velvet, Damask, Taffaty, Scarlet, Provisions and Ammunirion for the Forts. The Inhabitants are obstinate and mutinous, so as the *Hollanders* cannot assure the possession of this Isle, but by force alone. *The Hollanders Forts in Banda.*

In their Relations of the Isle of *Nera*, they report, there are Serpents so great, that one day, the Author of the twentieth Relation observing his Poultry dayly to decrease, and being told by the Natives there were Serpents that devoured them, he had then watch'd so carefully, that they took one, which about midnight was crept into the Hen-roost, and had made a strange havock. The Servants who kill'd it, found in the belly five Hens, one Duck, and a sucking Pig, which they made no difficulty to eat of, no more then they did of the Serpent it self. *Prodigious Serpents.*

Though some comprehend in the number of the *Molucques*, many of the Islands that fill up this *Oriental Archipelago*, yet properly there are called by the name of the *Moluccaes*, but the five following Islands, *Ternate*, *Tidar*, *Motiel*, *Machiam* and *Bachiam*, by the ancient *Pagans* called *Cupe*, *Douco*, *Moutil*, *Mara*, and *Seque*. This last is by several Arms of the Sea divided into divers Isles, which notwithstanding are not known but by the common name of *Bachaiam*, because they are subject to one Prince. They are all scituate under the same Meridian, as 'twere within view of one another, and take not up above the space of twenty five Leagues, so as the utmost North hath but one degree of Latitude towards the North, and the farthest South, but one degree toward the South. The Soyl is so dry and spungy, that it not only drinks immediately the Water that falls from Heaven, but dryes up the Torrents at their very rising out of the Mountains, and suffers them not to pay their tribute to the Ocean; and yet the Sun not being able either to penetrate the Forrests, or consume the Exhalations arising out of the Earth, there remains sufficient moisture to furnish both Trees and Herbs with constant verdure. *Moluc-ques.*

These Islands, where no Fruit is wanting, and which yield, in great abundance, *Bananas*, *Cocoes*, Lemons, Oranges, *Sandal*, and *Calamba*, and all sorts of Spices, produce neither Corn, nor Rice; but Nature makes sufficient recompence for this defect, in a sort of nourishment, which might be accounted miraculous, were it not common in *Amboyna*, and other places. They have it from a Tree the *Portuguez* call *Segueiro*, and the *Molucquez*, *Sagu a sort of bread.*

1639. *Laudan*, which grows to twenty foot high, and hath leaves like *Cocres*, only a little leſs. The Tree is a mans fathom about, nevertheleſs with a Knife it may be cut down, becauſe 'tis only Bark and Pith: The Bark is about an inch thick, and the reſt all Pith, which ſerves for Bread. It is ſomewhat like worm-eaten wood, ſave that it is white, and may be eaten as it comes from the Tree, taking away the ſtrings of the wood which are mixed with it; but to make Bread, they order it as follows. Having felled the Tree, they cut it Cylinder-wiſe, and beat the Pith to powder, which looks like Meal; then they put it in a Searce they make of the Bark of the ſame Tree, over a Tub made of the Leaves, and according as the Searce fills they pour in Water, which dividing the Meal from the Strings of wood that are mixt therewith, falls into the Tub, as white and thick as Milk, and leaving a certain ſettling or conſiſtency at the bottom, falls out at a little Spout at the top of the Tub; this ſettled conſiſtency is that which they call *Sagu*, and ſerves them inſtead of Meal, and in effect is ſuch, when it is dry. It is baked in certain Moulds of Earth, which they make red hot in the fire, ſo as putting in this ſubſtance, it becomes Paſte, and bakes in a moment, ſo ſpeedily, that one Man, in a morning, may bake Bread to ſuffice a hundred Men a whole day: From the ſame Tree they extract *Thuack*, which they drink, and is as pleaſant as Wine. While the Leaves are young they are covered with a Cotton, whereof they make Stuffs; and being at full growth, they cover Houſes with them; and the bigger Veins are ſtrong enough to make Rafters for their Houſes; and of the leſſer they make good Cordage.

How they make bread of it.

Wine from the ſame Tree.

They have ſtore of Cattle; but they rather affect Fiſh, though *Linſchotten* ſayes they have neither. Mines of Silver or Gold they have not, and hitherto there are none diſcovered of any other Metals; but the Iſle of *Lambaco* furniſhes them with Iron and Steel, whereof they make their *Campilans* and their *Cris*, that is, their Swords and Daggers.

The Inhabitants.

Their Men are rather black then tawny, but the Women not ſo much. Their Hair is black and ſmooth, either naturally, or for that they continually rub it with ſweet Oyls, their Eyes great, their Eyebrows large, their Bodies ſtrong and robuſtous, but fitter for war then work. They are dextrous and active, and live long, though they grow gray betimes. In converſation with Strangers they are civil and obliging; but a little too familiar and importunate in their demands, ſelf-ended in Commerce, diffident, deceitful, and lyars, needy, and by conſequence inſolent. Men wear Turbants, after the Turkiſh faſhion, of ſeveral colours, deckt with Plumes: The King only wears a Crown like a Miter, but in all things elſe is clad like his other Subjects, in a *Jupo*, and Drawers of *China* Sattin, blew, red, crimſon, green, and yellow. Some there are wear cloſe Coats, tied on the Shoulders, and cut below, like the ancient *Romans* military Coats. Women dreſs themſelves in their Hair, which they lay ſmooth over their Heads, and tye it behind, and deck it with Plumes and Flowers, which well becomes them. They have Bracelets, Rings, Neck-laces of Pearl, Diamonds, Rubies, and Emralds, *&c.* apparelling themſelves almoſt all in Silk, uſing the Stuffes they have from *Perſia*, *China*, and the reſt of the Eaſt, in truck for their Cloves.

Partly Mahumetans.

The *Chineſes*, by poſſeſſing a great part of the Eaſt, became likewiſe Maſters of this Iſle, and, after their example, the *Perſians* and *Arabians*, who brought in the *Mahometan* ſuperſtitions, admit the adoration of their Gods, from whom divers of their Families pretend to be deſcended. They know no written Law, and their Cuſtoms are barbarous enough; *Polygamy* is allowed amongſt them, and Adultery paſſes unpuniſhed; but Theft is ſeverely puniſhed, as a mortal and unpardonable Crime among them. They have Officers, who at break of day go about the Town, and with the beat of a Drum awake the people, and exhort the Maſters of Families to remember their Matrimonial Duties, by reaſon it concerns the publick, that the Inhabitants ſhould multiply. Both Men and Women expreſs their arrogancy in their carriage and gate. Every Iſland hath a peculiar Language, whence we may conjecture they are originally derived from ſeveral Nations, and that 'tis neceſſity forces them to uſe the *Malayan*, for general Communication.

A particular policy.

The Clove trade.

The *Javians* were they that firſt brought Cloves to theſe places, whence the *Perſians* and *Arabians* might convey them to the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The Kings of *Egypt* ſettled this Commerce, together with that of other Spices, in the Ports of the Red Sea; where the *Romans* having reduc'd that Kingdom to a Province, continued it till the diſſolution of the Empire. The *Genueſes* were long time Maſters of it, by transferring it to *Theodoſia*, now call'd *Caffa*, whither at length the *Venetians* ſent their Conſuls and Factors, taking the benefit of the *Caſpian* Sea. The *Turks* ſpoil'd this Commerce by means of their *Caravans*, that brought Spices to divers places on the *Mediterranean* Sea, where the *Europeans* might fetch them with leſs charge and danger; but the *Soldans* of *Egypt* re-eſtabliſhed it

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at *Alexandria* and *Cayro*, by the way of the *Nile*, and doubtleſs had kept it ſtill, had not the *Portuguez* found out a way to ſurround *Africa*, and fetch this precious Drug from the utmoſt parts of the Eaſt. Their Conqueſts in the *Indies*, and the Fleet they maintain upon the *Perſian* and *Arabian* Coaſts, towards *Cape Guardafun*, intirely bereaved the *Soldans* of their Commerce; and the *Portuguez* continued Maſters of it, while they kept that Sea: but after the *Hollanders* appeared there, they were conſtrained to give place, and to loſe an advantage, which no other durſt have diſputed with them. 1639. *The Portuguez. loſe it.* *Diſpoſſeſſ. by the Hollanders.*

In the year 1511. the *Portuguez* diſcovered the *Molucques*. *Franciſco Serano*, who firſt ſet foot on ſhore, found ſo much ſimplicity there, that *Boleyſe*, King of *Ternate*, and *Almanſor*, King of *Tidor*, made it their earneſt requeſt to have the advantage of the Fort the *Portuguez* were about to build, to ſecure the poſſeſſion of theſe Iſles. 'Tis true, theſe two Princes were declared enemies, and thought to make uſe of theſe Strangers Forces in their particular quarrels: but 'tis to be believed their jealouſie was grounded on other principles; for that *Cachil Laudan*, King of *Bachiam*, made the like requeſt to *Triſtan de Meneſes*, who went to relieve *Serrano*.

'Twas now ſome time ſince Pope *Alexander* the ſixth had divided the two *Indies* betwixt the Kings of *Caſtile* and *Portugal*; in ſo much that of the three hundred ſixty degrees, which compoſe the Globe, the *Spaniards* were to poſſeſs what they conquered within one hundred and eighty degrees, counting from the thirty ſixth degree of *Lisbone*, Weſtward, and the *Portuguez* the other hundred and eighty degrees Eaſtward; by vertue of which diviſion the Emperour, *Charles* the fifth, pretended the *Molucques* belonged to the Crown of *Caſtile*, by reaſon *Ferdinand Magellanus*, who had done very advantageous Service in the *Indies*, under *Alphonſo Albuquerque*, and had with little ſatisfaction deſerted the *Portuguez*, to ſerve under *Charles*, computed by *Ptolomies* authority (upon a falſe ſuppoſal, that between *Indus* and *Ganges* there were thirty degrees, whereas there are ſcarce ten) that the *Molucques* being diſtant ſix hundred Leagues, which make about thirty ſix degrees from *Malacca* Weſtward, they belonged to the Crown of *Caſtile*. He was commiſſioned by the Emperour to go take poſſeſſion of them, and upon this deſign parted from Saint *Lucars* the 21. of *September* 1519. and having wrought to 53. degrees, and paſſed the Streight, called to this day by his name, the *Streight of Magellan*, he came almoſt to the height of the *Molucques*; but by contrary Winds, and the Sea-currents, he was forc'd down to the *Manelles*, where he was ſlain, with thirty five of his company; *Gonzalo*, *Gomez d' Eſpinoſa*, and *Sebaſtian del Cano*, made afterwards ſome eſtabliſhments for the Emperour, taking an Oath of Fidelity of *Sutran Carala*, King of *Ternate*, Predeceſſour of *Sultan Bongue*, of *Sultan Almanzor*, King of *Tidor*, and *Sultan Juſuff*, King of *Gilolo*. But the poſſeſſion of theſe Iſles was of ſuch importance to the *Portuguez*, for continuation of their Spice trade, that they did what was poſſible to keep them, wherein they found the leſs trouble, becauſe the Emperour had his hands full in *Europe*, and was but imperfectly informed of the Affairs in *Aſia*, as well by reaſon the *Portuguez* hindred the *Caſtilian* Ships paſſing by the *Cape of good hope*, as that the paſſage by the Weſt was ſo dangerous, that hitherto it is not uſed. Notwithſtanding all Acts of Hoſtility paſſing between theſe two Nations in the *Indies*, 'twas thought convenient that Commiſſioners for both Kings ſhould meet at *Segovia*, in the year 1525. but not agreeing, the meeting was removed the year following to *Sevil*, where likewiſe they came to no reſult: ſo as the buſineſs continued in this ſtate, till the Treaty at *Saragoſſa*, in the year 1529. at which the Emperour engag'd theſe Iſlands to the King of *Portugal*, for three hundred and fifty thouſand Ducates. Ever ſince the *Portuguez* have injoyed them, till by the union of the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, and *Portugal*, they were confounded in *Philip* the Second. After this the *Hollanders* put in there, and the revolution that happened in *Portugal* in the year 1640. hath ſo changed the face of Affairs, that the *Spaniards* muſt firſt conquer that Kingdom, before they think of the Appendages belonging thereto.

A difference between the Caſtilians and the Portuguez for the Moluccaes. *Grounded on a falſe ſuppoſition.* *Magellan finds a new paſſage.*

Ternate is the firſt and largeſt Iſle of the *Molucques*, ſcituate twenty eight Leagues from the Iſle of *Banda*, and forty degrees on this ſide the Line. It is about eight Leagues in compaſs, and no bad Country, yet yields but little Proviſions beſides Poultry and Goats. It produces likewiſe Almonds, excellent good, and bigger then ordinary, though there be three or four in every ſhell, which is ſo hard, 'tis not eaſily to be broken with a Hammer; but they make ſo ſtrong a fire, that Smiths and Forgemen uſe it inſtead of Coal. The Inhabitants likewiſe plant Tobacco, but 'tis far ſhort of that comes from the *Weſt-Indies*. *Ternate.*

The chief Town, called *Gamma lamma*, ſtands on the Sea-ſide, and is but one Street, about 2500. paces long. Their Houſes are built of Canes or Timber, as are alſo the *Moſquites* and Palace Royal. The Road is of no uſe, for that the bottom being nothing *Gamma lamma.*

but

1639. but Stone and Rock, an Anchor cannot fix. The *Holland* Veſſels ride before a Village called *Telingamma*, between the Iſlands of *Ternate* and *Tidor*, within half a League of *Malay*.

Cloves. The moſt precious thing in theſe Iſlands is the Clove; I know not if it be the ſame *Pliny* calls *Garyophylla*, though the *Perſians* call it *Calafur*, and theſe two words ſeem to have the ſame Etymology. The *Spaniards* ſometimes called it *Girofe*, but at preſent they call it *Clavos*, by reaſon of its likeneſs to an ordinary Nail. The *Molucques* call the Tree that bears them *Siger*, the Leaf *Varaqua*, and the Fruit *Chamque*. The Tree is much like the Laurel, only the Leaves ſomething leſs and narrower, like the Almond-tree, and ſhoots forth its branches at the top as Myrtle doe. When 'tis in flower it perfumes the Air round about it; and the Fruit is at firſt white, in time grows green, and ſo brown, but not black till it be gathered.

Some beat them down with Poles, but commonly they faſten a Rope to the branch a little above the boal, and drawing it to them force away the Fruit and leaves with much violence, and ſo it is when the Inhabitants ſell it, and ſo the *Chineſes* and *Indians* tranſport it.

The tree grows without planting. The Trees grow of themſelves, as the Cheſnut-trees do, without planting, or any cultivation. In the eighth year they bear, and laſt a hundred years, bringing forth every two years: for beſides the injury done the branches, in getting off the fruit, as we ſaid before, the Inhabitants break off the young buds, which ſhoot forth the firſt year, that they may be ſure of a better crop the next. It is at its full ripeneſs from *Auguſt* till *January*; and when it is gathered, it is laid in the Sun, and in two or three dayes it is ſufficiently dried.

Avicenna's errour. *Avicenna* affirms, that the Gum of this Tree is like Turpentine; but he is miſtaken, it being certain, that it does not produce any at all. For it is ſo hot, that it does not only drink up all the Water Heaven is pleaſed to ſend it, but it alſo attracts all the moiſture of the Earth lying about it; nay, its Fruit is ſo hot, that if a Pitcher of Water be ſet in a Chamber, within ten foot of a bag of Cloves, they will ſo ſuck up the Water, that within two or three dayes there ſhall not be a drop left: which that they have done ſhall not be perceivable any way, but by the weight. The Inhabitants know this well enough, and make their advantages thereof. The *Chineſes* have the ſame experiment in their raw Silks, which do attract moyſture in the ſame manner.

What cloves the Molucaes yields yearly. It is commonly affirmed, that the Cloves grow only in the *Moluccaes*: but this is ſaid, either in regard ſome comprehend under that name many other Iſlands near them, or that the five we have named yield more then all the reſt. It is generally granted, that they yield every year near ſix thouſand barrels of Cloves, allowing five hundred weight and a half to every barrel; and it is certain withall, that the Iſlands of *Ires*, *Meytarana*, *Cavaly*, *Sabugo*, *Marigoran*, *Gamoconora*, and *Amboyna*, yield alſo very conſiderable quantities, eſpecially that of *Veranula*; though they are not ſo fair as thoſe of the neighbouring Iſlands.

The Mountain of Ternate. In the middeſt of the Iſland of *Ternate*, there is one of the higheſt Mountains in thoſe parts, covered all over with Palms and other Trees, having at the top a hole ſo deep, that it ſeems to reach the Center of the Earth. Some have had the curioſity to make trial of the depth of it, and have found that a Rope of five hundred fathom touched not the bottom, but reach'd a fair Spring, the water whereof was very clear; yet hath there not yet been any that durſt venture to taſte of it. Out of this Mountain there iſſues a ſulphureous ſmell, and by certain intervals a thick ſmoak, and ſometimes, eſpecially at the two Equinoxes, it caſts up flames, and red Stones, with ſuch violence, that ſome are carried not only as far as the City, but even into the Iſlands of *Meao*, and *Cafures*, twenty Leagues diſtant from *Ternate*. The ſmoak infects all the circum-ambient Air, and the excrements which the Mountain caſts forth, do ſo corrupt the Springs and waters of thoſe parts, that no uſe can be made thereof. The Mountain is green two third parts of its height, but from thence upward it is inſupportably cold, and there is on the top of it a Spring of fair water, but ſo cold, that a man can drink but very little of it without taking breath. From the top of it may be ſeen the Sea, and all the *Moluccas*; upon it, a man hath a clear and ſerene Air, which is never troubled with Miſts or Clouds; and there is a Lake of ſweet water, ſet about with Trees, in which there is a great number of blew and yellow Lizards, bigger then a mans arm, which ſink under the water as ſoon as any body comes near them.

But one ſeaſon in the Moluccaes. There is no difference of Seaſons in theſe Iſlands, nor any certain time for Rain, though it rains oftner with the North-weſt wind, then it does with the South. There are Serpents there thirty foot long, and of a proportionable bigneſs; but they are neither dangerous

gerous nor venemous, no more then are those of *Banda*. Some affirm, that these Creatures, not finding any thing to feed upon, eat Grass, and going to the Sea side vomit up what they had eaten, and by that means draw together a great many Fish, which being intoxicated with the chew'd Grass, flote upon the Water, and so become the prey and food of these Serpents. 1639.

There is in this Island a kind of Beasts they call *Cusos*, that keeps constantly in Trees, living on nothing but Fruit. They resemble our Rabbets, and have a thick, curling, and smooth hair, between gray and red, eyes round and fiery, little feet, and such strength in the tail, that they will hang by it, the better to reach the fruits. The Forrests are full of wild Birds, and, except the Parrot, there are few domestick, at least of those known to us. There are Crevisses that come ashore, and creep under certain Trees, the very shadow whereof is so virulent, that no Grass grows near them. I know not whether it be from that Tree they contract that venomous quality, which lies in one part of them, which is so dangerous, that it kills in four and twenty hours those that eat it. Others there are that resemble Grashoppers, and lye in Rocks, where they take them by night with fire-light: near the tail, in a bag, they have a lump that is exceeding delicate, for which they take them. *Cusos.*

In the *Moluccaes* there is a certain Wood, which, laid in the fire, burns, sparkles, and flames, yet consumes not; and yet a man may rub it to powder betwixt his fingers. *A Wood incombustible.*

Near the Fort of *Ternate* grows a Plant, by the Inhabitants call'd *Catopa*, from which there falls a small Leaf, the Stalk whereof turns to the Head of a Worm, or Butterfly, the Strings to the body and feet, and the wings are made out of the finer part of the Leaf, so as at last there is a compleat Butterfly. *Leaves turn'd to Butterflyes.*

Tidor is an Island as fruitful as that of *Ternate*, but larger. In a Signet of the Kings of this Island, in *Persian* or *Arabick* Characters, it appears, this Island was called *Tudura*, not *Tidor*; and they say the word signifies Beauty and Fertility. These people have the industry to prune and water the Clove-tree, which by this means bears a fruit much fairer and stronger then that which owes its production only to nature. The white Sandal-wood, that grows here, is doubtless the best of all the *Indies*. Here they have Birds, by the Inhabitants called *Manu codiatas*, by the *Spaniards*, *Paxaros de l' Cielo*; those we call *Birds of Paradise*. Many take them to have no feet; but they are deceived; for they that catch them cut off their feet so near the body, that the flesh beginning to dry, the skin and feathers joyn together, so that there scarce remains any scar. *Tidor.* *Birds of Paradise.*

The *Dutch* in *Ternate* possess the Town of *Malaya*, regularly fortified, and not far off the Fort of *Taluco*. In *Tidor* they have the Fort *Marieco*. In *Motir* again they have a Fort with Bastions of Stone. In *Machiam* they have made three Forts. At *Taffaso*, *Tabillola*, and *Guoffiquia*, and in *Bachiam*, the Fort *Barneveldt*.

The King of *Bachiam* owns neither the King of *Ternate* nor *Tidor* for Superiour; but is himself Soveraign, and independent as to any Forreign Power. His Territory is great, where there grows great store of *Sagou*, so as the Inhabitants subsist with little labour, which makes them so idle and lazy, that the Kingdom, which heretofore was one of the most considerable of the *Molucques*, is so sunk from that grandeur, that at present it can hardly raise five hundred fighting men. *King of Bachiam.*

The Isle of *Machiam* was brought under the jurisdiction of the *Dutch* by Admiral *Paul van Carden*, in the year 1601. The chiefest of the three Forts they are possessed of is that of *Guoffiquia*, which is built upon an Eminency, with four Bastions of stone, yet is it but a small one, and irregular, in regard that, for want of place, they could not make all the Bastions of the same bigness, nor extend the Curtain as far as it should have been. The Fort of *Taffaso* is also upon an ascent, and hath four Bastions; but it is bigger then the other, and distant from the Sea about a hundred and sixty paces. These two Forts have neither Wells nor Cisterns, save that near the top of the ascent on which *Taffaso* stands, there is a Well within a Half-moon, which serves for a fifth Bastion to the place. *Tabillola* hath but two Bastions, so far one from the other, that they cannot command all the Curtain, so that there is no great account to be made thereof. This Island is about seven Leagues in compass, and subject to the King of *Ternate*: It is very populous, able to raise two thousand and two hundred fighting Men; and it hath *Sagu* and other provisions sufficient for the Inhabitants, and yields as much Cloves as any of the other Islands. *Machiam.*

Besides the five Islands properly called the *Molucques*, there are others, to the number of seventy two, subject to the King of *Ternate*, scituate in the same *Archipelago* from *Mindanao*, on the North-side, and *Bina* and *Corca*, which are on the South, and between the Continent of New *Guiny* towards the East. The chiefest are *Motir*, *Machiam*, *Cajoa*, *Xula*

1639. *Xula, Burro, Na, Noloa, Meao, Tufure, Doe, Saquite, Totole, Baol, Guadupa, Gorontano, Ilibato, Tamſne, Manado, Doudo, Labague, Jaqua, Gabe, Tobuquo, Buto, Sanguien*, &c. amongſt which ſome lye ſeventy Leagues from *Ternate*. The Kings of all theſe Iſlands are Tributaries to the King of *Ternate*, and tyed to find him ſuch a number of Souldiers, which the Author of the Hiſtory of the *Molucques*, whom we mentioned before, raiſes to ſixſcore thouſand.

Philippins. North of the *Molucques* lye the Iſles now call'd the *Philippins*, diſcovered by *Ferdinand Magellanus*, when he compaſs'd the World in the year 1520. and had doubtleſs given them his own name, had he lived till this new diſcovery: *Sebaſtian del Cano*, his Camerade in this ſtupendious Navigation, not daring to hazard an eſtabliſhment after the death of *Magellanus*, who was ſlain in theſe Iſlands, as we ſaid before, return'd for *Spain*. After this there was no mention of theſe Iſlands, till that in the year 1565. *D. Luis de Valaſco*, Viceroy of New *Spain*, ſent the *Adelantado*, *Michel de Laguaſpe*, into this Sea, where he put into haven in theſe Iſlands, which in honour of King *Philip* the Second, who then reigned in *Spain*, he called by the name of *Philippines*. His firſt Conqueſt was the Iſle of *Zebue*, where he remain'd ſix years; after that he went to *Luſon*, now called *Manille*, from its chief City, whereof *Velaſco*, after a ſleight oppoſition, became Maſter.

Manille.

This City lies in a Canton of Land, incompaſſed all about with the Sea, fourteen Degrees on this ſide the Line, in the moſt Southerly part of the Iſle, which is in compaſs thee hundred and fifty Leagues. On the North, it hath *China*, from which it is diſtant ſeventy Leagues; on the North-Eaſt, the Iſle of *Japan*, which is two hundred and ſeventy Leagues diſtant from it; Eaſtward, the Ocean, and towards the South the great Archipelago, which is as it were divided into five Seas, filled with ſo many Iſlands, Kingdoms and Provinces, that it may be ſaid, they are in a manner innumerable. The *Chineſes*, who were heretofore poſſeſſed thereof, have now deſerted them, but ſtill trade thither.

The Inhabitants in their labour anſwer the fertility of the ſoyl, which produces Corn, Rice, all ſorts of Fruits, and Drugs; and it breeds Neat, Buffler, Deer, Goats and Swine; ſo as they want nothing neceſſary to livelihood; and the *Chineſes* take care they ſhall want nothing that is ſuperfluous, as Silk, Purcelane, and *Lacque*. They have alſo Date-wine, but they make it of a different manner to other places: for they draw it from their *Cocoes*, by cutting off one of the boughs, whence there diſtils a Liquor which they ſuffer to work till it grows as ſtrong as *Spaniſh* wine. They have the beſt Lemmons and Oranges in the World, and the moſt excellent Figs and Pears, all ſorts of Birds of prey, and domeſtick, Falcons, Tercels, Parrots, Eagles, *&c.* but principally ſuch abundance of Crocodiles, that they are conſtrain'd to kill them, to extirpate the breed: for you have here Men of ſufficient courage to encounter a Crocodile ſingle, though as big as an Oxe. For the Combat they Gantlet their left Arm to the Elbow, taking in that hand a Truncheon of a foot long pik'd at both ends, and a Dagger in the other, and in this poſture they go into the River up to the Waſte. The Crocodile no ſooner ſpies his Man, but he comes on with open mouth to ſwallow him; the *Indian* preſents him his left hand, and thruſting it down his throat, hinders his jaws from ſhutting, and in the mean time gives him ſo many wounds in his throat with his Poniard, that he kills him. This Creature is in form like a Lizard, but covered with Scales, ſo hard, that he is invulnerable all over but in the throat and belly. It layes abundance of Eggs, which are ſo hard, that they will not break with throwing againſt a Stone; and to hatch them they thruſt them into the Sand, on a River ſide, that heat and moiſture, the principles of Generation, may hatch them. Theſe Iſlands breed more Tigers, Lions, Bears, and other wild Beaſts, then *Africk* does, but eſpecially the *Algalias*, which are the Creatures from which they get the Musks, and Civet-Cats.

Hunting of Crocodiles.

The Commerce of the Chineſes and Spaniards in the Philippins.

All theſe Iſlands are very populous, and ſo rich, that not only the *Chineſes* continue their trading thither, with great advantage, but alſo the *Spaniards*, who heretofore brought thither money from New *Spain*, by which they gain'd two Marks of Gold for eight of Silver, having given over that Trade, in regard they make far greater advantages by their other Merchandizes, the returns whereof many times come to a thouſand for a hundred, by the traffick they have there with the *Chineſes*, who bring all ſorts of Cottons and Silk-Stuffes, Purcelane, Gun-powder, Sulphur, Iron, Steel, Quickſilver, Copper, Meal, Nuts of ſeveral kinds, Bisket, Dates, Linnen-cloath, Cabinets, Ink-horns, and things made of *Lacque*: which the *Spaniards* come and ſnatch up to be carried into the *Weſt-Indies*, where they have money for nothing.

The

The *Spaniards* have in the City of *Manilla* an Arch-bishop, who hath spiritual Jurisdiction over all the *Philippine* Islands, which he exercises by three Suffragan Bishops, and some Priests. These are so highly respected by the Inhabitants, who have not shaken off their Original simplicity, that they govern the Country, and keep it in subjection to the *Spaniards*. They are indeed such absolute Masters of these Islands, that though in several of them there is not so much as one *Spaniard*, yet is there not one of the Inhabitants refuses to pay the Tax imposed upon him, which is by the Poll, at ten Ryals a Head. The same Arch-bishop hath also the Quality of Viceroy, and exercises all the Functions thereof, joyntly with the Kings Councel, which is established in the same City, as well for Affairs of general concernment, as for the Appeals of such differences as may arise in the other Cities. 1639. *The Arch-bishop of Manilla is Viceroy.*

The City and Houses of *Manilla* are of Stone, and built after the modern way; and the City it self is so great, that the *Spaniards* have been forc'd to divide some part of it from the rest, to serve them for a Cittadel, in case of necessity; by which means they avoid the charge of keeping so great a number of Souldiers as might be requisite for the defence of the place. The Haven, which is called *Cavite*, lies two leagues from the City, and is defended by two wooden Forts. There live within the City of *Manilla*, and about it, above fifteen thousand *Chineses*, besides those who come thither every year, from *December* to *April*, and trade with above five hundred Ships. The *Japoneses* come thither also, but not in so great a number, and yet the *Spaniards* are much more jealous of them, then they are of the *Chineses*. *The City of Manilla.*

JAPAN.

JAPAN is a collection of several Islands made there by the Sea, from the one and thirtieth degree of elevation to the thirty ninth, being in some places but ten leagues in breadth, in others, reaching to thirty. This Country, which was anciently called *Chryses*, or, if we may credit *Mark Paulo Veneto*, *Zipangry*, hath on the East *New Spain*, on the North *Tartary*, on the West *China*, and on the South the Sea, and that part of the World, which is called *Terra Australis*. It is divided into sixty six little Kingdoms, fifty three whereof depend on that part of this great Empire, which is properly called *Japon*, or *Japan*, and consists of two very powerful Kingdoms, called *Meaco*, and *Amagunce*, under which all the rest are comprehended. The other part is called *Ximo*, and comprehends nine Kingdomes or Provinces; the chiefest whereof are *Bungo* and *Figen*; and the third part called *Xicoum*, comprehends the other four Kingdoms.

It is doubted whether it be an Island or Continent.

The *Japonneses* themselves acknowledge, that they cannot positively affirm, whether their Country be an Island, or part of the Continent; inasmuch as from the Province of *Quanto*, whereof the City and Castle of *Jedo* is the Metropolis, as it is also of the whole Territory, as far as the extremities of the Province of *Tzungaa*, it is seven and twenty dayes journey towards East and North-East. Then you cross an Arm of the Sea, about eleven leagues over, to get into the Province of *Jesso*, or *Sesso*, which is so covered with Woods, and checker'd up and down with Mountains, that the Emperour of *Japan* hath not yet been able to search what may be had out of them. All they could ever learn, is, that there were seen in those parts a sort of people, who were hairy all over their bodies, and suffered the hair of their heads and beards to grow, so as that they seem'd rather beasts then men. Whereto they add, that they make use of that passage by Sea, to go into *Sesso*, whence they bring Furs, not out of this respect, that the Sea divides that Province from *Japan*, but that it were a great way about to go over those inaccessible Mountains which joyn those two Provinces.

The Island which we call *Japan*, and the Inhabitants name *Nippon*, is divided into six great Provinces, which are called *Sayecock*, *Chickock*, *Jamaysoirt*, *Jetsengen*, *Quanto* and *Ochio*, which are subdivided into several other lesser ones, which are governed and possessed by Lords and Princes, whose names we shall here give, together with their Revenues, that the Reader may thereby judge of the greatness of this Empire, whereof we have hitherto had no great knowledge, setting down the sums according to their way of accounting, by *Cockiens*, which are worth about four Crowns *French* money a-piece.

The names and revenues of the Great Lords of Japan.

Cangano Tzium Angon, King, or Prince of the Provinces of *Kanga*, *Jetcoui* and *Natta*, who lives in the Castle of *Canga*, hath a yearly revenue, one million, one hundred and ninety thousand *Kockiens*. 1190000

Surugano Daynangon, Prince of the Province of *Suruga*, *Toto* and *Mikawa*, who lives in the Castle of *Fuyisui*, seven hundred thousand *Kockiens*. 700000

Ouwarmo Daynangan, Prince of the Provinces of *Ouani* and *Mino*, who lives in the Castle of *Nangay*, seven hundred thousand *Kockiens*. 700000

Sendaino Tsuinangon, Prince of the Provinces of *Massamme* and *Oysia*, who lives in the Castle of *Senday*, which is an impregnable place, six hundred and forty thousand *Kockiens*. 640000

Sutsumana Tsuinangon, Prince of the Provinces of *Zatsuma*, *Osuny*, *Fionga* and *Luikio*, who lives in the Castle of *Cangasinna*, six hundred thousand *Kockiens*. 600000

Kinokonny Dainangon, Prince of the Provinces of *Kino* and *Ichc*, who lives in the Castle of *Wakejamma*, five hundred and fifty thousand *Kockiens*. 550000

Cotto Fingo Camy, Prince of *Fingo*, and the Neighbouring Provinces, who lives in the Castle of *Koumanotte*, five hundred and fifty four thousand *Kockiens*. 554000

Matsendairo

Matſendairo Jmonosk, Prince of the Provinces of *Tſaikiſen*, and *Faccatto*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Fonckoſa*, five hundred and ten thouſand *Kockiens*. 510000 1629.

Matſendairo Yonocami, Prince or King in the Great Province of *Jetſegen*, which lives in the Caſtle of *Onde*, five hundred thouſand *Kockiens*. 500000

Catto Skibo, King or Prince in the great Province of *Ochio*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Ais*, four hundred and twenty thouſand *Kockiens*. 420000

Matſendairo Nangato, Prince in the Province of *Souo*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Fangi*, three hundred and ſeventy thouſand *Kockiens*. 370000

Mitono Tzuinangon, Prince of the Province *Fitayts*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Nito*, three hundred and ſixty thouſand *Kockiens*. 360000

Nabiſſima Sinano, King or Prince in the Province of *Fiſien*, who lives in the City of *Logioys*, three hundred and ſixty thouſand *Kockiens*. 360000

Matſendairo Sentaro, Prince of the Province of *Inaba*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Tackajano*, three hundred and twenty thouſand *Kockiens*. 320000

Todo Iſumi, Prince of the Province of *Fuga Iche*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Tjuu*, three hundred and twenty thouſand *Kockiens*. 320000

Matſendairo Kuncy, Prince of the Province of *Biſen*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Okajamma*, three hundred and ten thouſand *Kockiens*. 310000

Juno Cæmman, The moſt valiant of all the Gallant perſons in the Country, and Prince of the Province of *Totomy*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Sawajamma*, three hundred thouſand *Kockiens*. 300000

Foſſocawa Jetſchui, Prince or King of the Province of *Boyſen*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Cocora*, three hundred thouſand *Kockiens*. 300000

Ojeſungi Daynſio, King in the great Province of *Jetſengo*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Jany Samwa*, three hundred thouſand *Kockiens*. 300000

Matſendairo Senſio, King alſo in the ſame Province of *Jetſengo*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Formanda*, three hundred thouſand *Kockiens*. 300000

Matſendairo Anwa, Prince of the Province of *Awa*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Inois*, two hundred and fifty thouſand *Kockiens*. 250000

Matſendairo Jetchigenocemy, Prince of the Province of *Kange*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Takato*, two hundred and fifty thouſand *Kockiens*. 250000

Matſendairo Tuiſio, Prince of the Province of *Je*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Matſiamma*, two hundred and fifty thouſand *Kockiens*. 250000

Ariuma Gamba, Prince of the Province of *Tzickingo*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Courcine*, two hundred and forty thouſand *Kockiens*. 240000

Morino Imaſack, Prince of the Province of *Mymaſacka*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Tziamma*, two hundred thouſand *Kockiens*. 200000

Toringanocami, Prince in the Province of *Dewano*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Immagatta*, two hundred thouſand *Kockiens*. 200000

Matſendairo Toſa, Prince of the Province of *Toſanocory*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Tokoſianna*, two hundred thouſand *Kockiens*. 200000

Satake Okion, Prince in the Province of *Dewano*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Akia*, two hundred thouſand *Kockiens*. 200000

Matſendairo Sunoſano camy, Prince of the Province of *Sunoſa*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Tattebys*, two hundred thouſand *Kockiens*. 200000

Forvuo Jamayſſiro, Prince of the Province of *Juſimo*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Matſdayts*, a hundred and eighty thouſand *Kockiens*. 180000

Ikenocamy, Prince of the Province of *Samke*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Coquan*, a hundred and eighty thouſand *Kockiens*. 180000

Fondzcaiuocamy, Lord of the Province of *Farma*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Triatno*, a hundred and fifty thouſand *Kockiens*. 150000

Sackiy Connay, A Lord very conſiderable in the great Province of *Dewano*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Fackeſo*, a hundred and fifty thouſand *Kockiens*. 150000

Teraſawa Simadonne, a Lord in the great Province of *Fiſen*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Carats*, ſixſcore thouſand *Kockiens*. 120000

Kion Gock Wackaſa, Lord of the Province of *Wackaſa*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Oſſano*, ſixſcore thouſand *Kockiens*. 120000

Fori Tango, a Lord in the great Province of *Jetſegen*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Fonckiamma*, ſixſcore thouſand *Kockiens*. 120000

Sackaybarra Schicon, Lord of the Country of *Kooske*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Tattaiits*, ſixſcore thouſand *Kockiens*. 120000

1639. *Minſno Fiongo*, Lord of the Country of *Bingo*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Fouky imma*, ſixſcore thouſand *Kockiens*. 120000

Matſendairo Cawaits, Governour or Captain of the Caſtle which the Emperour hath in the Province of *Quanto*, hath a yearly revenue, a hundred and ten thouſand *Kockiens*. 110000

Ockendeyro Imaſacka, Lord of the Country of *Simotoke*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Oetſnomio*, a hundred and ten thouſand *Kockiens*. 110000

Sammada Ins, a Lord in the Province of *Simago*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Koſka*, a hundred and ten thouſand *Kockiens*. 110000

Taytſiſibayma Finda, a Lord in the Province of *Tzickingo*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Jannangainua*, a hundred and ten thouſand *Kockiens*. 110000

Ongaſura Onckan, a Lord in the Country of *Farima*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Akays*, a hundred thouſand *Kockiens*. 100000

Iudatii Toutomii, Lord of the Country of *Jiio*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Itaſima*, a hundred thouſand *Kockiens*. 100000

Nambou Cinano, a Lord of great quality in the Province of *Ochio*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Moriamma*, a hundred thouſand *Kockiens*. 100000

Niwa Groſeiman, another Lord of great quality in the ſaid Province of *Ochio*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Siracawa*, a hundred thouſand *Kockiens*. 100000

Abono Bitchion, Governour or Captain of the Caſtle of *Iwatſucki*, which belongs to the Emperour, in the Country of *Mouſays*, eighty thouſand *Kockiens*. 80000

Kiongock Onieme, Lord of the Country of *Tanga*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Tanabe*, ſeventy thouſand *Kockiens*. 70000

Makino Suruga, a Lord in the great Province of *Jetſengo*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Nangaoecka*, ſeventy thouſand *Kockiens*. 70000

Nackangamua Neyſien, a Lord in the Province of *Bongo*, who lives in the City of *Nangona*, ſeventy thouſand *Kockiens*. 70000

Matſendairo Tamba, a Lord in the Country of *Cinano*, who lives at a place called *Matſmoutte*, ſeventy thouſand *Kockiens*. 70000

Noeytoſamma, a Lord in the Province of *Fitaiits*, who lives in the City of *Iwayro*, ſeventy thouſand *Kockiens*. 70000

Jeckenda Bitſhiou, Captain of the Caſtle of *Matſiamma*, in the Province of *Bitſhiou*, ſixty thouſand *Kockiens*. 60000

Matſura Fetſennocamy, a Lord in the Province of *Feſen*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Firando*, ſixty thouſand *Kockiens*. 60000

Sengock Biofo, a Lord in the Province of *Cinano*, who livs in the Lordſhip of *Oienda*, ſixty thouſand *Kockiens*. 60000

Catto Dewado, a Lord in the Province of *Jyo*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Oets*, ſixty thouſand *Kockiens*. 60000

Toſawa Okiou, a Lord in the Province of *Dewano*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Cinchiro*, ſixty thouſand *Kockiens*. 60000

Matſendairo Iwamy, a Lord in the Province of *Farima*, who lives in the Seigneiory of *Chiſogory*, ſixty thouſand *Kockiens*. 60000

Matskonra Boungo, a Lord in the Province of *Fiſen*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Sunabarra*, ſixty thouſand *Kockiens*. 60000

Jetſchawa Tonnomon, a Lord in the Province of *Bongo*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Fita*, ſixty thouſand *Kockiens*. 60000

Tzangaar Jetſiu, a Lord in the great Province of *Ochio*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Tzungaa*, upon the Sea-ſide, ſixty thouſand *Kockiens*. 60000

Ougaſauwara Sinano, a Lord in the Province of *Farima*, who lives in the Province of *Sekays*, ſixty thouſand *Kockiens*. 60000

Itho Cuiri, a Lord in the Province of *Fongo*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Orafi*, fifty thouſand *Kockiens*. 50000

Furtafiobo, a Lord in the Province of *Iwamy*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Dayſiro*, fifty thouſand *Kockiens*. 50000

Wakibacca Aways, a Lord in the Province of *Sinano*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Ina*, fifty thouſand *Kockiens*. 50000

Koncky Nargato, a Lord in the Province of *Iſche*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Toba*, fifty thouſand *Kockiens*. 50000

Arima Seymonoſe, a Lord in the Province of *Nicke*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Accanda*, fifty thouſand *Kockiens*. 50000

Outafiaba,

Outafiaba, a Lord in the Province of *Jamatta*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Outa*, fifty thouſand *Kockiens*. 50000 1639.

Matſendairo Dewadonne, a Lord in the great Province of *Jetſenio*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Chibatta*, fifty thouſand *Kockiens*. 50000

Minoskyts Fokey, a Lord in the ſame great Province of *Jetſenio*, who hath alſo his Habitation in the ſaid Lordſhip of *Chibatte*, fifty thouſand *Kockeins*. 50000

Inaba Minbou, a Lord in the Province of *Bouugo*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Ouſiſiro*, fifty thouſand *Kockiens*. 50000

Croda Caynocomy, a Lord in the Province of *Sinano*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Coniro*, fifty thouſand *Kockiens*. 50000

Matſendairo Souodonne, a Lord in the Province of *Iſumy*, who hath his Reſidence in the Lordſhip of *Kiſnowodda*, fifty thouſand *Kockiens*. 50000

Touda Sammon, a Lord in the Province of *Tſounocouny*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Amangaſac*, fifty thouſand *Kockiens*. 50000

Stotſijaganni Kennots, a Lord in the Province of *Ichc*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Kangou*, fifty thouſand *Kockiens*. 50000

Fonda Ichenochamy, a Lord in the Province of *Mikawa*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Ockaſacka*, fifty thouſand *Kockiens*. 50000

Matſendayro Jammayſſiro, a Lord in the Province of *Tamba*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Saſſejamma*, fifty thouſand *Kockiens*.

Mory Cainocamy, a Lord in the Province of *Inga*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Souroſada*, fifty thouſand *Kockiens*. 50000

Fonda Notanocamy, a Lord in the Province of *Farima*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Fimoys*, fifty thouſand *Kockiens*. 50000

Akito Chionoske, a Lord in the Province of *Fitayts*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Cichindo*, the like ſum. 50000

Aſſano Oevieme, a Lord in the Province of *Chiono*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Caſſama*, the like ſum. 50000

Neyto Ceinocamy, a Lord in the ſame Province of *Chiono*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Acandate*, the like ſum. 50000

Catto Skibbodonne, a Lord in the great Province of *Ochio*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Ains*, the like ſum. 50000

Soma Dayſiennocamy, a Lord in the ſame Province of *Ochio*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Soma*, the like ſum. 50000

Toyda Jamatta, a Lord in the Province of *Tayſima*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Iſius*, the like ſum. 50000

Ouckobo Cangato, a Lord in the Province of *Mino*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Canuo*, the like ſum. 50000

Neito Boyſen, a Lord in the Province of *Dewano*, who lives in the Lord of *Jodata*, the like ſum. 50000

Inaba Aways, a Lord in the Province of *Tainbo*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Fonckuit Syamina*, fourty thouſand *Kockiens*. 40000

Cammet Deirick, a Lord in the Province of *Iwamy*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Mongamy*, the like ſum. 40000

Catnayngiri Iſmou, a Lord in the Province of *Jammatta*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Tatſta*, the like ſum. 40000

Fonda Findanocamy, a Lord in the great Province of *Jetſegen*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Maroka*, the like ſum. 40000

Itakoura Sovodome, Governour for his Majeſty, in the great City of *Miaco*, hath of yearly revenue in the Province of *Jamayſſiro*, fourty thouſand *Kockiens*. 40000

Matſendairo Bongo, a Lord in the Province of *Iwamy*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Nacksmia*, the like ſum. 40000

Fonda Naykie, a Lord in the Province of *Farima*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Fimeis*, the like ſum. 40000

Matſendairo Tango, a Lord in the great Province of *Ochio*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Sucki*, the like ſum. 40000

Canna morti Iſoumo, a Lord in the Province of *Finda*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Oumory*, the like ſum. 40000

Chiongock Chiury, a Lord in the Province of *Tango*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Tannabe*, thirty ſix thouſand *Kockiens*. 36000

Outagiobo, a Lord in the Province of *Mino*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Iſinoday*, thirty thouſand *Kockiens*. 30000

Matſendairo

1639. *Matſendairo Jetſo*, Governour of the Caſtle of *Jondo*, in the Province of *Jamaſſiro*, thirty thouſand *Kockiens*. 30000

Matſendairo Ouckon, a Lord in the Province of *Farima*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Ocko*, the like ſum. 30000

Minſonija Ichenocamy, a Lord in the Province of *Cooske*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Chinotayins*, the like ſum. 30000

Jammaſacka Kainocami, a Lord in the Province of *Bitchiou*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Narſe*, the like ſum. 30000

Matſendayro Jamatto, a Lord in the Province of *Jetſeſen*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Catſiamma*, thirty thouſand *Kockiens*. 30000

Junofiabo, a Lord in the Province of *Cooske*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Anna*, the like ſum. 30000

Matſendairo Tonnemon, a Lord in the Province of *Micamua*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Juſſimda*, the like ſum. 30000

Akyſucky Nangato, a Lord in the Province of *Nicco*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Summino*, the like ſum. 30000

Sua Inaba, a Lord in the Province of *Sinano*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Takaboys*, the like ſum. 30000

Singamoma Ouribe, a Lord in the Province of *Totomy*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Seſe*, the like ſum. 30000

Simaas Oemanoſce, a Lord of the Province of *Nicko*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Sandobarra*, the like ſum. 30000

Kinoſtay Jemon, a Lord in the Province of *Bongo*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Fius*, the like ſum. 30000

Sonotſiuſſima, Lord of the Iſland of *Tziuſſina*, the like ſum. 30000

Koynde Inuano, a Lord in the Province of *Tonga*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Okoda*, the like ſum. 30000

Fonda Simoſa, one of the moſt valiant perſons of all that Empire, and Governour of the Caſtle of *Niſſewo*, in the Province of *Micauwa*, the like ſum. 30000

Gorick Setſnocauny, a Lord in the Province of *Micauwa*, who lives at the Caſtle of *Fammamats*, the like ſum. 30000

Chinſio Surago, a Lord in the Province of *Litaeits*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Tſuitoura*, the like ſum. 30000

Sakuma Fiſen, a Lord in the Province of *Sinano*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Irajamma*, the like ſum. 30000

Todo Toyiſina, a Lord in the Province of *Mino*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Cannajamma*, the like ſum. 30000

Fonda Iſumi, a Lord in the Province of *Fitaeyts*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Minangaw*, the like ſum. 30000

Tongauwa Toſa, a Lord in the Province of *Bitchiou*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Niakys*, the like ſum. 30000

Matſendayro Toſa, a Lord in the Province of *Jetſeſen*, who lives in the Lordſhip *Conamatta*, the like ſum of thirty thouſand *Kockiens*. 30000

Sangii ſarra Tokii, a Lord in the Province of *Fitaytes*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Oungouri*, hath the yearly revenue of twenty thouſand *Kockiens*. 20000

Kinoſtay Counay, a Lord in the Province of *Bitchiou*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Couroſi*, the like ſum 20000

Matſendayro Koyſſiro, a Lord in the Province of *Farima*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Firamma*, the like ſum. 20000

Inaſacka Tzounacamy, Governour of a Caſtle belonging to the King in the Province of *Onoſacka*, the like ſum. 20000

Matſendaro Kennots, a Lord in the Province of *Jamba*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Camme-jamma*, the like ſum. 20000

Maſtay Saske, a Lord in the Province of *Ochio*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Sanbonmaets*, the like ſum. 20000

Oumoura Minbou, a Lord in the Province of *Fiſen*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Daymats*, the like ſum. 20000

Matſendayro Iſumy, a Lord in the Province of *Mino*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Iwamoura*, the like ſum. 20000

Matſendayro Conocamy, a Lord in the Province of *Sonnocomy*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Fyannori*, the like ſum. 20000

Minſnofaito

Minſnofaito, a Lord in the Province of *Micauwa*, who lives in the Caſtle of *Cariu*, the like ſum. 20000 1639.

Nito Tatewakie, a Lord in the Province of *Chiono*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Iwayſtowa*, the like ſum. 20000

Ongaſaware Wakaſa, a Lord in the Province of *Simoſa*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Sekijada*, the like ſum. 20000

Fiſchicatta Cammon, a Lord in the Province of *Chiono*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Mauwaro*, the like ſum. 20000

Iwaky Sirroſy, a Lord in the Province of *Chiono*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Jedoura*, the like ſum. 20000

Reckongo Fingo, a Lord in the Province of *Dewano*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Jury*, the like ſum. 20000

Tackenacke Oenieme, a Lord in the Province of *Bongo*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Founay*, the like ſum. 20000

Mouri Ichenocamy, a Lord in the Province of *Boungo*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Ounays*, the like ſum. 20000

Wackebe Sacjow, a Lord in the Province of *Totomy*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Onuſo*, the like ſum. 20000

Itſifoys Inſanocamy, another Lord in the ſame Province of *Totomy*, who lives in the Lordſhip of *Coſioys*, hath in like manner a yearly Revenue, of twenty thouſand *Kockiens*. 20000

There are, beſides the forementioned, many other Lords, who have very conſiderable Revenues; as namely, *Sangoro Saffioye*, and *Fory Mimaſacka*, who have each of them a Revenue of twenty thouſand *Kockiens*. 20000

There are alſo others, not much inferiour to theſe in point of Revenue, whom we ſhall not think much particularly to mention.

Qua jamma Sammon, hath a yearly Revenue of fifteen thouſand *Kockiens*. 15000
Foſſacauwa Gemba, as much. 15000
Sackina Dayſen, as much. 15000
Maiſendayro Daiſien, the like. 15000
Gotto Aways, Lord of the Iſland of *Gotto*, near *Tirando*, the like ſum. 15000
Cattaingiri Iwami, the like. 15000
Cruſſima Jetſingo, the like 15000
Coubori Totomy, the like. 15000
Takangi Mondo. 15000
Miake Jetſingo. 15000
Sackay Ouckon. 15000
Conda Iwamy. 15000
Naſua Jeuts. 15000
Ondaura Biſen, the like ſum. 15000

Beſides all theſe, there are yet ſome five or ſix and twenty, who have each of them ten thouſand *Kockiens* of yearly Revenue. But we ſhall forbear the naming of them.

It remains then only, that we give an account of the Revenues of thoſe Lords who are actually attendant on the Court, which are ſo conſiderable, that they may well deſerve a place by themſelves.

The Revenues of the Miniſters of State.

Deyno Oiedonne, hath a yearly Revenue of a hundred and fifty thouſand *Kockiens*. 150000
Sackay Outandonne 120000
Nangay Sinnanodonne. 100000
Sackay Sannikodonne. 90000
Audo Onkiondonne. 60000
Inoie Cawaytdonne. 50000
Inaba Tangodonne. 40000
Sackay Auwadonne 30000
Sackay Jamaiſſoradonne, the like. 30000
Neyta Ingadonne. 20000

Iſmitſia

1639.

Tſmitſia Nimbodonne, the like.	20000
Niſiou Oukioudonne, the like.	20000
Matſendayro Jemondonne, the like ſum.	20000
Immanguyts Taytemadonne, the like.	20000
Matſendayro Inſdonne.	15000
Abobongodonne, the like.	15000
Anwajamma Oukoradonne, the like.	15000
Ciongock Senſindonne, the like.	15000
Itacoura Neyſeindonne, the like.	15000
Narſye Inſdonne, the like.	15000
Akiamonta Tayſimadonne, the like.	15000
Forita Cangadonne, ten thouſand *Kockiens.*	10000
Miura Simadonne, the like.	10000
Maynda Gonoskadonne, the like.	10000
Miſſona Jamatta, the like.	10000
Fory Itſnocamy, the like.	10000
Miury Omonaskadonne, the like.	10000
Fonda Sanjandonne, the like ſum.	10000

Now the Revenues of the Princes and Lords of whom we have given this account, conſiſts altogether in Lordſhips and Demeſnes: for ſome are rich in Corn and Cattle, others in ſeveral Mines, as Gold, Silver, Copper, Tin, Quick-ſilver, Iron, *&c.* Others are wealthy in Woods, Flax, Cotton, or Silk; of all which the Emperour hath a certain knowledge, by the ſecret informations ſent him by thoſe Secretaries whom he places about them to manage their Affairs; for he recommends to every one of them a Secretary, with a Letter to this effect. *Well-beloved, I know you have many Vaſſals and Servants, and that the occaſions wherein you are to employ them are very great; therefore I ſend you a perſon, whoſe aſſiſtance may in ſome meaſure eaſe you of the burthen which lies upon you, and of whoſe fidelity you may be aſſur'd, in as much as I commend him to you, as one who hath been brought up at my own houſe: Make uſe of him, and take in good part the care I have of your perſon and affairs.* Theſe indeed, for the moſt part, are ſuch as have ſerv'd the Emperour in their youth, in his three Chambers, and of whoſe abilities, prudence, and judgment he is ſatisfied, aſſuring himſelf of their fidelity, beſides the expreſſions he might find thereof during the time of their ſervice, by an act ſigned with their bloud: in ſo much that there is not ought done in the Provinces, whereof he hath not, by this means, a perfect account. For theſe Secretaries keep an exact Journal of whatever they obſerve in the life and actions of the Princes whom they are ſent to, who undertake nothing without their advice, nor do any buſineſs wherein they are not conſulted, which gives them great authority in the Provinces, and makes the Princes themſelves look on them as ſuch, whoſe favour they ſtand in need of to keep a fair correſpondence with the Court. On the other ſide, theſe Princes are glad to have able and underſtanding perſons about them, ſuch as may obſerve the miſcarriages of their Government, and have the confidence to be their Remembrancers thereof; as chuſing rather that a faithful Servant ſhould acquaint them therewith, that ſo they may be ſeaſonably reform'd, then that they ſhould become the diſcourſe of the people, or any ſhould take occaſion thence to do them ill Offices about the Emperour.

The Emperour of Japan's policy.

The great Lords, who govern the chiefeſt Provinces, have three names; to wit, their own proper Name, that of the Family, and the Sirname, which they take from their Province, and which they commonly give the Caſtle where they live; and they are the more willing to be called by the name of their Family, then their own, upon this account; that, as they ſay, the Family was before them. But it is withall to be obſerved, that there is not any man but hath his name changed thrice; for the name which had been given him in his Infancy, being not fit for him when he is become a man, at the age of twenty years there is another given him; and when he comes to that of fifty five or ſixty, he receives a third name, ſuch as was not fit for youth or a leſs advanc'd age.

The Lords have three names.

Slaves dye with their Maſters.

The departure of great Lords is commonly attended by the voluntary execution of twenty or thirty Vaſſals or Slaves, who rip up their bellies and die with their Maſters. Theſe are oblig'd to this by an Oath, and it is done partly by way of acknowledgment of the particular kindneſs which their Lords had for them. Having acquainted their Lord, that they are willing to be oblig'd to ſacrifice themſelves in that manner when occaſion ſhall require, they entertain him with a ſhort diſcourſe to this purpoſe; *Moſt mighty Sir, you have many other ſlaves and ſervants, of whoſe affection and fidelity you are aſſur'd; who am I, or what have I deſerv'd, that you ſhould honour me with your favour above any of the reſt?*

reſt? I reſign up this life to you, which is already yours, and I promiſe you, I will keep it no longer then it ſhall be ſerviceable to yours. Then the Lord and the Vaſſal take off, each of them, a Bowl of Wine, which is the moſt Religious Ceremony they have among them, to confirm their Oaths, which thereby become inviolable. 1639.

To do this execution upon themſelves, after the death of their Lord, they get together all the neareſt of their Kindred, who conduct them to the *Meſquite* or *Pagode*, where they ſit down upon Mats and Garments, wherewith they cover all the floor, and having ſpent ſome time in making good chear, they rip up their bellies, cutting them croſs, ſo as that all the guts come out; and if that does not diſpatch them, they thruſt themſelves into the throat, and ſo compleat the execution. Nay, there are ſome, who coming to hear that their Maſters intend to build ſome Edifice, either for himſelf or the Emperour, will deſire him to do them the honour, that they may be laid under the Foundations, which they think are made immoveable by that voluntary Sacrifice; and if their requeſt be granted, they chearfully lay themſelves down at the Foundation, and have great Stones caſt upon them, which ſoon put them out of all pain. But it is for the moſt part Deſpair which puts them upon this reſolution; in as much as theſe are of that kind of Slaves, who are ſo cruelly treated, that death were more ſupportable to them then the wretched life they lead. *Their manner of ripping their bellies.*

All their *Pagodes* or *Meſquites* are of Wood, rais'd three or four foot from the ground, and about ſeven or eight fathom ſquare; They have on the outſide many Turrets, having lights on all ſides, and gilt all over, but very narrow, and ſet out with certain fantaſtick Figures, but wretchedly done, as to proportions. They have alſo Statues in their *Pagodes*, whereto they addreſs their Prayers, and beſtow on them, by way of Alms, a certain number of *Caxias*, which the Prieſts make their advantage of. *Their Meſquites.*

But their Caſtles are much better built. His Majeſty hath belonging to him many ſpacious and fair ones, but the moſt conſiderable are thoſe of *Oſacca* and *Jedo*. The Princes and great Lords have alſo very handſome Caſtles, but thoſe which are fortifi'd are oblig'd to receive a Garriſon from the Soveraign. The Cities have not any Fortifications at all: for, ſome few only excepted, which lie between *Firando* and *Jedo*, and have only ſimple walls; the reſt have not any at all, but the Streets are ſtreight, and of the ſame breadth and length, that is, ſixty *Jekiens*, which make about fourſcore and ten fathom. Every Street hath two Gates, which are ſhut up in the night, and a Watch kept at them: as alſo two Officers, who are accountable for the diſorders committed in their Quarter, and ſpeak to the Judge, about any thing wherein the Inhabitants of the Streets, whereof they have the overſight, are any way concern'd; there being, it ſeems, ſuch order taken, that all perſons are not permitted to preſent themſelves indifferently before the Magiſtrate, but they would have it done by ſuch as know what reſpect they owe to their Superiours. *The Cities of Japan are not wall'd.*

The Cities or Towns have no particular Revenue, nor any ſums of Money in bank, whereof they have the diſpoſal; for all the Demeſne belongs to the Soveraign, who beſtows the Revenue thereof on the Princes and great Lords before mentioned, and permits not the raiſing of any Impoſitions or Taxes, of any nature whatſoever. Nor is it to be fear'd that the mildneſs of the Air of that Countrey ſhould breed any of thoſe Graſhoppers, which conſume, where-ever they come, all the Fruit which the Hail hath left on the Trees, in ſo much that they leave not any verdure on them. They only pay a ſmall chief Rent for their Houſes, which the great Lords receive yearly, but it amounts not to above thirty ſhillings for the greateſt, thoſe of the middle ſort ten, and the ordinary ones twenty pence. The Inhabitants are, beſides theſe, oblig'd to certain dayes works, and to find a man for their Lord, to do what buſineſs he hath to put him upon; but this happens not above twice or thrice a moneth, and is but for an hour or two, or at moſt but for half a day. By this means the Lord lives upon his Demeſne, the Souldier by his Pay, the Merchant by his Traffick, the Tradeſman by his Trade, and the Husbandman by his Labour. *No Impoſitions in Japan.*

One of the moſt conſiderable parts of theſe Lords Revenues conſiſts in Fiſhing, eſpecially that of the Whale, which the Emperour gives them. There are taken every year about two or three hundred upon the Coaſts of *Japan*, but they are not ſo big as thoſe taken towards the North, and have, at moſt, not above ſeven or eight inches of fat, but much fleſh, or meat, which the *Japonneſes* feed upon.

There is no Lord, nor indeed any Citizen, or Merchant, but may put his Vaſſals and Domeſticks to death, and that by way of Juſtice, he himſelf being the Judge; but to others Juſtice is adminiſtred, all over the Country, in the Emperours name: Gentlemen and Souldiers have the priviledge to be their own Executioners, and to rip up their bellies themſelves: but others are forc'd to receive their death from the hands of the common *The power of Maſters over their Servants.*

1639. Executioner. They alledge, as a reaſon for this proceeding of theirs, that Merchants are, in ſome reſpect, infamous, in as much as they are, for the moſt part, Lyars, and deceive thoſe that truſt them. Tradeſmen they ſleight, as being only but publick ſervants; and the Peaſantry is contemptible, by reaſon of the wretched condition they live in, which is little better then that of Slaves. Only the Gentlemen and Souldiers are beſt reſpected, and live at the charge, and upon the labour of others.

Gaming a Crime.

No offence, though never ſo ſmall, but is puniſh'd with death, but eſpecially Theft, though it were but for a Penny. Gaming, whether that which depends upon chance, or requires skill, is capital among them, if it be for money; and he who kills another, though innocently, and in his own defence, is to die without mercy; with this only difference, that ſuch as kill in their own defence, as alſo they who commit ſuch Faults or Offences, as would not here be puniſhed with death, die only themſelves, but other Offenders involve all their Kindred in their misfortune; ſo that for the Crime of one ſingle perſon, the Father, Brethren and Children are put to death, the Wives and Daughters are made Slaves, and the Eſtate of the whole Family is confiſcated. And this happens ſo frequently, that there are Commiſſioners expreſly appointed for the adminiſtration of what is ſo confiſcated; yet does not the money raiſed thereby go to the King, but is imployed in the building of *Pagodes*, and the repairing of High-wayes and Bridges.

All the Relations of Offenders die with them.

A particular Puniſhment for Theft.

The torture Thieves are put to, for want of evidence, makes rather the unfortunate then the guilty to be condemned. They take a piece of Iron, about a finger thick, and a foot ſquare, and make it red hot, and as ſoon as the redneſs is gone, and the Iron return'd to its own colour, they put it to the hands of the party accuſed, upon two ſheets of Paper, which immediately flame, and if the accuſed perſon can caſt the piece of Iron upon a little Hurdle ſtanding near him, without burning himſelf, he is diſmiſſed; but if his hands are ever ſo little touched by the Fire, he is ſentenc'd to die. This Crime is puniſh'd with a particular kind of death. The Criminal is tied with a Straw-rope, by the Neck, to a great Cane, overthwart which they put two other Canes, much after the manner of a *Lorrain*-Croſs, whereto they faſten the Feet and the Hands, and then the Executioner runs him through with a Pike, from the right Side up to the left Shoulder, and from the left Side to the right Shoulder: ſo that being twice run through the heart, he is ſoon diſpatch'd. Sometimes they only faſten the Malefactor with his Back to a Poſt, and they make him ſtretch forth his Hands, which are held out by two Men, and then the Executioner, ſtanding behind him, runs him in at the Neck, and ſo into the Heart, and diſpatches him in a moment.

The Lords have ſuch an abſolute power over their menial Servants, that there needs but a pretence to put them to death. An example of this happened not long ſince; a Servant had the inſolence to addreſs himſelf to a Gentleman, to proffer his ſervice to him, but ask'd greater Wages then he knew the other was able to give, purpoſely to abuſe him. The Gentleman, perceiving the impudence of the Raskal, was a little troubled at it, but ſmother'd his indignation, and only told him, that his demands were very great, but that he had ſo good an opinion of him, that he muſt needs be a good Servant. Accordingly he kept him a while; but one day charging him with ſome neglect, and reproaching him, that when he ſhould have been about his buſineſs, he had been idling about the City, he put him to death. The Gentlemen and Souldiers are for the moſt part very poor, and live miſerably; but being highly conceited of themſelves, moſt of them keep Servants, though only to carry their Shooes after them, which are indeed but as it were a pair of Soles, made of Straw or Ruſhes, having a hole towards the toe, which keeps them on their feet.

The Crimes for which all the Kindred are put to death.

The Crimes for which all of the Family or kindred are put to death, are Extortion, Coyning, ſetting of Houſes on fire, ravithing of Women, premeditated murther, *&c.* If a Mans Wife be guilty of any Crime her Husband is convicted of, ſhe dies with him; but if ſhe be innocent, ſhe is made a Slave. Their puniſhments bear no proportion to the Crimes committed, but are ſo cruel, that it were not eaſie to expreſs the barbariſm thereof. To conſume with a gentle Fire, or only with a Candle, to crucifie with the Head downwards, to boyl Men in ſeething Oyl or Water, to quarter and draw with four Horſes, are very ordinary puniſhments among them.

One who had undertaken to find Timber and Stones for the building of a Palace for the King, and had corrupted the Officers appointed by his Majeſty to receive and regiſter what he ſhould ſend in, was crucified with his head downwards. The officers were condemn'd to rip up their bellies; but the Merchant was put to the foreſaid death. He had the repute of an honeſt man, and was one that had had occaſion to obliege ſeveral Perſons of Quality; in ſo much that ſome reſolved to petition the Emperour for his pardon, though theſe interceſſions for condemn'd perſons be in ſome ſort criminal; and indeed the Empe-

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rour took it so ill, that the Lords, who had presented their Petition for him, had no other answer thereto, but the reproaches he made to them of their imprudence. 1639.

It happened in the year 1638. That a Gentleman, on whom the King had bestowed the Government of a little Province, near *Jedo*, so oppressed the Country people, that they were forc'd to make their complaints thereof to the Court, where it was ordered, that the said Gentleman, and all his Relations, should all have their bellies ripp'd up on the same day, and as near as might be at the same hour. He had a Brother, who lived two hundred fourty and seven Leagues from *Jedo*, in the service of the King of *Fingo*; an Uncle, who lived in *Satsuma*, twenty Leagues further; a Son, who serv'd the King of *Kinocuni*; a Grand-son, who serv'd the King of *Massamme*, a hundred and ten Leagues from *Jedo*; and at three hundred and eighty Leagues from *Satsuma*, another Son, who serv'd the Governour of the Castle of *Quanto*; two Brothers, who were of the Regiment of the Emperours Guard; and another Son, who had married the only Daughter of a rich Merchant near *Jedo*; yet were all these persons to be executed precisely at the same hour. To do that, they cast up what time were requisite to send the Order to the farthest place, and having appointed the day for the execution there, Orders were sent to the Princes of all the forementioned places, that they should put to death all those persons upon the same day, just at noon, which was punctually done. The Merchant, who had bestowed his Daughter on that Gentlemans Son, died of grief, and the Widow starv'd her self. *A horrid execution.*

Lying is also punished among them with death, especially that which is said in the presence of the Judge. *Lying punished with death.*

The forementioned punishments are only for Gentlemen, Souldiers, Merchants, and some other persons of mean quality: but Kings, Princes and great Lords are ordinarily punished more cruelly then if they were put to death. For they are banished into a little Island named *Faitsensima*, which lies fourteen Leagues from the Province of *Jedo*, and is but a League about. It hath neither Road nor Haven, and it is so steepy all about, that no doubt it was with the greatest danger imaginable, that the first who got up to it made a shift to do it. Those who first attempted to climb it up, found means to fasten great Poles in certain places, whereto they have tyed ropes, with which they draw up those that are sent thither, and make fast the boats, which otherwise would split against the Rocks with the first Wind. There grows nothing in all the Island, but a few Mulberry-trees, so that they are obliged to send in provisions for the subsistance of the Prisoners. They are relieved every moneth, as is also the Garrison kept there, but they are dieted very sparingly, as being allow'd only a little Rice, some roots, and other wretched fare. They hardly afford them a lodging over their heads, and with all these miseries, they oblige them to keep a certain number of Silk-worms, and to make a certain quantity of Stuffs every year.

The expence which the Emperour of *Japan* is at every year in his Court, and what relates thereto, to wit, the sallaries and allowances of the Officers and Counsellours, amounts yearly to four millions of *Kockiens*, and the sallaries of Governours of places and Military persons, together with the Pensions he gives, amount to five millions of *Kockiens*. *The Emperours expence.*

They who speak of the Soveraign Prince of all *Japan*, give him the quality of *Emperour*, in as much as all the other Lords of the Country, on whom they bestow that of *King*, depend on him and obey him, not only as Vassals, but as Subjects, since it is in his power to condemn them to death, to deprive them of their Dignities, to dispossess them of their Territories, to banish or send them to some Island, for very petty Offences.

The Castle of *Jedo*, which is the place of his ordinary residence, is near two Leagues in compass, and is fortified with three Walls, and as many Moats, very deep, and built of Free-stone, but so irregular, that it is impossible to assign it any certain Figure. Within less then three hundred paces, a Man must pass through eight or nine Gates, not one of them standing opposite to another; for being come within the first, he must turn on the right hand to go to the second, and being come within, that on the left hand to go to the third, and so alternately till he comes to the last. Just within the last Gate there is a Magazine of Arms, for three or four thousand men, on which abut all the Streets, which are fair and broad, having on both sides many magnificent Palaces. The Gates are done over with great Iron bars, and over every Gate there is a House, wherein two or three hundred Souldiers may be lodg'd. The Emperours Palace stands in the midst of the Castle, and hath belonging to it many Appartments, Halls, Chambers, Closets, Galleries, Gardens, Orchards, Groves, Ponds, Rivers, Fountains, Courts, *&c.* and several particular Houses, for his Wives and Concubines. *Jedo Citie.*

1639. *The Palaces of the Kings.*

At your coming out of the Palace, you go into that quarter, where the Princes of the Bloud, and Counſellers of State live, and thence into another quarter, where are the Palaces of the Kings and great Lords of *Japan*, which are all gilt both within and without; and the more ſumptuouſly built out of this reſpect; that there is a certain emulation amongſt them, who ſhall be at greateſt expence to pleaſe the Emperour. In the next quarter to this, there live other Princes and Lords, who are not ſo powerful as the former, yet have their Palaces gilt, and ſo richly furniſh'd, that a Man would think, at his firſt coming in, he met with Mountains of Gold. In this quarter there live ſome of the Wives and eldeſt Sons of thoſe Princes, whom the Emperour hath brought up in the ſight of the Court, as ſo many Hoſtages of their Fathers fidelity: ſo that this Caſtle, though as big as a conſiderable City, yet is ſo full of people, that the Streets can hardly contain them.

The Emperours Retinue.

When the Emperour goes out of his Palace, he either rides on horſe-back, or is carried in a *Palanquin*, open of all ſides, and he is accompany'd by a great number of Lords, whom they call the Emperours *Camarades*. Theſe Lords are of great quality, and very rich, yet do they not think it any diſhonour, to apply themſelves to ſuch things as are either neceſſary or delightful. Some are skill'd in Muſick, ſome in Phyſick, ſome are excellent at Writing, or Painting, others ſtudy eloquence and the mannagement of Affairs. Next them there goes a part of the Guard, which conſiſts altogether of perſons cull'd out among the Children of younger Brothers, Couſins, or Kinſmen of great Lords, among whom there are alſo ſome natural Children of ſuch as either actually are in employments, or may, upon preſumption of their Birth, pretend thereto. Then follow the ordinary Guard, commanded by their Colonels and other Officers, who ſo diſpoſe thereof, that two or three thouſand march before the Emperour, and as many after him. Among ſo many Souldiers, there is not one but there hath been ſome trial made of his courage, nor any that hath not gone through all the neceſſary exerciſes, in order to ſuch a kind of life, and whoſe countenance and demeanour is not anſwerable to the employment they are put into. They leave a ſpace between them and the Emperour for a great number of other great Lords, who are about his Majeſties perſon, who muſt needs make a ſtrange ſhew, among five or ſix hundred Men, all clad in black, ſome on horſe-back, ſome afoot, all marching with ſuch gravity, and ſo orderly, that there is not only any one man to be ſeen out of his rank, but a man hears not ſo much as a word ſpoken. The Streets are ſwept, and ſtrew'd with Sand or Gravel, and the doors of all the houſes ſtanding open: yet is there not a perſon to be ſeen, either in the ſhops, or at the windows; or if it happen there be, the Guard makes them kneel till ſuch time as the Emperour is paſſed by.

The Dayro

Once every five year, the Emperour goes to *Meaco*, to do reverence to the *Dayro*, who is the true Prince of *Japan*, and ſtill hath the quality, but without any function. There is a whole year ſpent in making all things ready for that journey, whereof we ſhall hereafter give a particular deſcription, and Orders are iſſued out to the Lords who are to follow, and who accordingly come at the day appointed to the places where they are to meet the King; dividing themſelves ſo, as that ſome go before, to relieve ſuch as come from the Court, ſo to prevent the diſorder and confuſion, which were unavoidable among ſo great a number of Princes, who are all oblig'd to make their appearance upon this occaſion, with all the bravery and magnificence they can.

The Emperours magnificence.

From the City of *Jedo*, to that of *Meaco*, there are a hundred and twenty five Leagues, and within every three or four Leagues there is a conſiderable City, able to lodge the whole Court; yet hath the Emperour cauſed to be built between thoſe two places, at an equal diſtance one from the other, eight and twenty fair Houſes, of which there are twenty great Caſtles, and in every Houſe there is a Retinue, and all things elſe befitting a Kings Court, as Gentlemen, Guards, Horſes, Officers, and Servants, with Proviſions neceſſary for the ſubſiſtance of the whole Train. They who go along with the Emperour, from the City of *Jedo*, leave him to the care of thoſe whom they find in the firſt Houſe; Theſe accompany and conduct him to the ſecond; and ſo from one to another, till he comes to the City of *Meaco*; in his return from whence, he obſerves the ſame order, being attended from one Houſe to another, till he comes to *Jedo*.

The Emperours of *Japan* build many of theſe Caſtles, and have them finiſh'd in ſo ſhort a time, that they will have a Structure compleated in ſix moneths, which in *Europe* would take up as many years. We have an Inſtance of it in the Caſtle which the Emperour had built in the year 1636. in the Province of *Nicko*, four dayes journey from the City of *Jedo*. It is fortified with a double Moat, and a double Rampier, and both of Free-ſtone, and it is ſo ſpacious, and conſiſts of ſo many particular Palaces, for the Grandees of the Court, and ſo many Appartments, Gardens and Fountains for the Emperour himſelf, that the beſt Architect in *Europe* would not have finiſh'd it in ſeveral years; yet

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was this great building compleated in leſs than five months: there were ſo many Maſons, Carpenters, Joyners, Stone-cutters, Gilders, Painters, &c. employ'd about it. This Caſtle is ſo far within the Countrey, that the Emperour lodges there but once a year, when he goes to do his Devotions at his Father's Sepulchre, which is thereabouts, upon which occaſion he ſtays there two nights. 1639

His Treaſures. His Treaſures are ſo great, that it is impoſſible to give any thing near an exact account of it, inaſmuch as the Gold and Silver is lock'd up in Cheſts, and diſpos'd into the Towers of the Caſtle, beſides what is in ſeveral places, up and down the Countrey, where it increaſes almoſt to infinity, ſince the Revenue of two months, will defray the charges of a whole years expence. The late Emperour, Father to him who now reigns, lying on his death-bed, call'd for his Son, and told him, That the Kingdom, and all the Treaſures would beere long at his diſpoſal, but he recommended to his particular care certain Cheſts and Cabinets, where he ſhould find the ancient Chronicles of the Kingdom, and ſeveral excellent Books of Morality, as alſo the Crown-jewels, exhorting him highly to eſteem them, as himſelf and his Predeceſſours had done, The pieces he had ſo much recommended to his Son, were, one kind of Cymitar, called *Iejuky Maſſamme*; another Cymitar, of a kind called *Samoys*; one other leſſer Cymitar, called *Bongo Doyſſiro*; A little Pot for *Tſia*, or *The*, called *Naraiſſiba*; another greater *Tſia* Pot, called *Stengo*, and a Manuſcript, intituled *AUC KOKI KINDOI*. He left his elder Brother, the King of *Ouwary*, a Picture called *Darma*, which was to be look'd on only of the one ſide, and a Cymitar, called *Maſſamme*. To his ſecond Brother, the King of *Kinoconny*, a Cymitar, called *Jeſſa Maſſamme*, and a Picture, wherein were repreſented a great number of Frogs; and to the third Brother, King of *Mico*, a Cymitar, called *Sandame*, and a Manuſcript, named *Sinche*. And though his ſix Pieces are not to be compar'd to thoſe he bequeath'd his Son, yet not any one of them but was valued at above a thouſand *Oebans* of Gold, which amount to forty ſeven thouſand *Thayls*, or crowns. The Legacies he gave ſeveral Princes and Princeſſes of the Blood, and other Lords and Ladies, as alſo to ſome of the Soldiery, and his Servants, amounted to thirty ſix millions.

The Emperour and Vice-roy. The Emperour who now reigns, was not married when he came to the Crown upon the death of his Father, which proceeded from his deteſtable addiction to Sodomy; inſomuch that the *Dayro*, perceiving the averſion he had conceiv'd for women was ſuch, that the State would in all likelihood come to be without a Governour, made choice, among his neareſt kindred, and the beſt qualifi'd Princeſſes of the Kingdom, of two young Ladies, of extraordinary beauty, whom he ſent to the Emperour, intreating him to take one of them, and honour her with the quality of *Miday*, which is that they give the Emperours lawful wife. He was ſo compliant as to marry one of them; but his brutality had ſo debauch'd him, that he treated her with ſuch indifference, that it brought her into a melancholy which had almoſt coſt her her life. Her Nurſe troubled to ſee her in that condition, took one day the freedom to tell the King, that ſhe could not comprehend, how he could ſlight one of the greateſt beauties in the world, to purſue thoſe irregular enjoyments, which cannot be had without violence to nature. The Emperour, who before was merry and in a good humour, was ſo troubled at this diſcourſe, that going immediately into another room, he ſent for ſeveral Architects and Undertakers of Buildings, and commanded them to build a Caſtle fortifi'd with ſeveral Moats and Draw-bridges, and very high Walls, in which he confin'd his Wife, with her Nurſe, and all the Women and Maids belonging to them. The Emperour's own Nurſe, who had a greater influence upon him, then his Mother, perceiving that there would be a want of Heirs to inherit the Crown, bethought her of a courſe to remedy that inconvenience, which was, to get to Court all the handſomeſt young maids in the Kingdom, whom ſhe produced, as often as the Emperour's good humour gave her occaſion or encouragement to do it. Of all ſhe brought, only the Daughter of an Armourer inſinuated her ſelf into his affection, and was got with child by him; but the other Ladies troubled to ſee a maid of ſo mean quality preferr'd before them, found means to corrupt the midwife, and to kill the child, ſo ſecretly, that the Emperour never had the leaſt knowledge thereof.

Confines his Wife to a Caſtle.

How the Emperour of Japan came to this Crown. We have it from the Chronicles of *Iapan*, that that great State hath always been govern'd by a Monarch, whom in their Language they call *Dayro*, and that his Subjects had ſo great a veneration for their Prince, that they thought it a crime to be wanting in point of reſpect towards him, ſo far were they from taking up Arms to diſturb the Peace of the Countrey. His perſon was accounted ſo ſacred, that they would not have it touch the ground, or that he ſhould be uncover'd abroad. Whence it came, that when the other Princes were engag'd in a war one againſt another, there was a General named, who acted in the *Dayro's* name, and reduc'd the Rebells to their duty. They have ſtill the ſame reſpect for the

Dayro,

1639. *Dayro*, insomuch, that they permit not that his hair or beard should be cut, or his nails par'd, nor his meat to be dress'd in Pots that had been used before. He hath twelve Wives, which are bestowed on him with extraordinary Ceremonies and Magnificence. When ever he goes abroad, his twelve Wives follow him in so many Coaches, which are gilt and enriched with their Arms and devises. They are lodg'd in twelve great Pallaces, built in the street which goes to the King's Palace, and having adjoyning to them several other fair houses for his Concubines. Not one of these Women, but hath a great Supper made every night at her Palace, at which there is Musick, and the Women-dancers; but assoon as the King is gone into that Palace where he intends to pass away the night, they all send in their suppers, and have their divertisements at that Ladies Lodgings, whom the King is pleas'd to honour with his presence.

Ceremonies at the choic of a Nurse for the Dayro's son.

One of the greatest Ceremonies and Magnificences to be seen in *Japan*, is that performed at the birth of a Prince, who is to inherit the dignity of a *Dayro*. For, to chuse a Nurse for the Child, they get together fourscore of the handsomest young Women in the Kingdom, whom they present to the Twelve VVives of the *Dayro*, and to nine of the greatest Lords of the Countrey, and of neerest kin to the *Dayro*, who, for want of Issue male, might succeed him. These Princes and Ladies receive those designed for this employment, give them extraordinary Titles, and treat them a whole day together. The next day the foresaid number is reduc'd to the moyety, and one half is dismis's'd, with very great Presents. The next day, they add to the Titles of those who stay, with great Ceremonies, and their number is reduc'd to ten, and afterwards to three, the rest being still dismiss'd with Presents, and at the end of three days, they make choyce of one of these three, on whom they bestow, besides several other Titles, the quality of the Prince's Nurse. In order to her establishment in that Function, she is brought into the Prince's Chamber, whom she finds in the arms of one of the chiefest Ladies of the Countrey, by whom he had been kept from the time of his birth; and after the Nurse hath spurted a little of her milk into the Childes mouth, he is delivered up to her. All these Ceremonies, as also those performed at the ordinary Feasts, are very great, and they are at this day performed with the *Dayro*, who still enjoys a very considerable Revenue, sufficient to defray all the charge, and continues the same grandeur his Predecessours have been possess'd of, though the force of the Empire hath been devolv'd into other hands, as we shall now relate.

A revolution in Japan

The charge of General of the Army was heretofore the greatest of any in the Kingdom, as is that of *Constable*, in *France*; and it was invested ordinarily, though contrary to the rules of good policy, in the second Son of the *Dayro*. About a hundred and twenty years since, it happened there was a *Dayro*, who having a son he exceedingly doted on, would needs out of an imprudent compliance he had for the Mother, consent that he should participate of the Royal Dignity; and it was ordered that it should pass alternately from one to the other, every three years. But the son willing to make his advantage of the occasion, found means so to insinuate himself into the affections of the great Lords and the Soldiery, during the three years of his Reign, that he resolv'd to continue it, contrary to the exhortations of his Father, who too late repented him of his devesting himself of an authority which indeed is not communicable. This was the first disturbance that ever had been seen in *Japan*, inasmuch as both Father and Son being equally invested with the quality of *Dayro*, the people conceived they might, without any crime, take up Arms for either. However most of the Lords detesting the ingratitude of the Son, joyn'd with the General, whom the Father had appointed to reduce his Son to obedience, who was defeated and killed in that Civil warr. The General, finding himself well established in his charge, followed the example of the Prince, and abusing the lawful power, whereof he was seized, made his advantage of it to settle himself in the Throne, after the *Dayro's* death, yet leaving the lawful heir, with the quality of *Dayro*, all the outward appearance of his former greatness. This demeanour of the Generall's occasioned a second Civil warre, which was thought the more just, out of this respect, that in this the people took up Arms against an Usurper, who had not the quality of *Dayro*, nor consequently the Character, for which the *Japonnesses* have so great a veneration. Accordingly, this war had the same success with the former; for the Usurper was defeated and executed. But this second General took the same course as his Predecessour had done, so that by this second Usurpation, the Countrey was reduced to an absolute Anarchy, wherein all were Masters; there being no Prince, nor Lord, nay hardly a Village, but was engaged in war against some other. These diforders gave occasion to a Soldier of Fortune, named *Taycko*, to appear at first, in the head only of fifty men, with whom he did such exploits, that he soon improved that handful to a very considerable Army.

A Souldier of Fortune gets to be General of the Army.

His first adventures were the taking in of several Castles and small Cities; but with-

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in a while after, his thoughts flew much higher, and he proved so fortunate in his designs, that within less then three years, he became absolute Master of the whole State. He left the *Dayro* the external part of his former greatness, and thought it enough to be in effect, what the other was only in appearance. The *Dayro*, on the other side, perceiving it was impossible for him to prevent that establishment, comply'd therewith, and chang'd the quality of *General* of the Army to that of *Emperour*. *Taycko*, who could not expect much quietness in his newly acquired fortune, if he removed not those Lords of whom he conceived any jealousie, resolved to keep them at a distance from the Court; and to that end, he sent the chiefest of them with an Army of sixty thousand men, into the Countrey of *Corea*, with order not to return thence till they had conquered that Province. They there met with such resistance, that they were near seven years reducing that Nation to obedience: *Taycko* in the mean time feeding them with fair hopes, and animating them to prosecute a design of so great concernment to the State. They were forc'd to obey; but being impatient to return to their own habitations, they committed such exorbitances as made the Inhabitants of *Corea* desperate; insomuch, that not able any longer to endure the burning of their houses, the murthers, and other violences done them, they sent an Embassadour to the Court, who to deliver his Country out of the miseries it had suffered for so many years, made a shift to poyson *Taycko*, who some days after dyed. The Army in *Corea* was immediately disbanded, and the Lords who had the command of it, return'd to their several homes. 1639. *And succeeds.* *He poyson'd.*

Taycko being on his death-bed, and considering with himself that he could not hope to derive the succession to his Son, who was but six years of age, if he made not some powerful Person Protector, during his Minority, sent to *Ongosschio*, one of the greatest Lords of the Country, desiring him to undertake the tuition of that young Prince. *Ongosschio* accepted it, and to give *Taycko* the greatest assurance he could expect, that he would be faithful to him, promised him, by an act signed with his blood, that he would deliver up the Crown to *Fidery*, (so was the young Prince called) assoon as he were come to the fifteenth year of his age, and that he should be Crown'd Emperour, by the *Dayro*. The disorders of the late Civil Warrs were yet fresh in every mans memory, so that there was a general joy conceiv'd, to see the Regency in the hands of a person, excellently qualified for the execution thereof. *Ongosschio* was indeed a person of very great endowments, but he had withal too much spirit and ambition to be reduced to a private life, after he had been possessed of the Soveraign Power for so many years. He had obliged *Fidery* to marry his Daughter, yet could not so near an alliance smother so that predominant passion in him. Whence it came that he immediately gave out, that *Fidery* was grown so distrustful of him, that he was forc'd to stand upon his guard, and to raise an Army to oppose that which *Fidery* was going to get together against him. He gave out also that *Fidery* would needs be treated as Emperour, and discharge the Functions thereof, before the *Dayro* had acknowledged him to be such, or Crown'd him in that quality. Accordingly he took his march with a powerful Army, raised in the Kingdom of *Suruga*, towards the City of *Ozacka*, where *Fidery* lived, and after a siege of three months, reduced him to so great extremities, that *Fidery* sent his Wife, who as we said before, was *Ongosschio's* daughter, to intreat her Father to grant him his life, and to sign him such Lands in any Province of the Kingdom as he should think fit, where he might live privately: But *Ongosschio* would not see his daughter, and continuing his siege, he became at last Master of the Castle. *Bestows the Regency on one of the Lords.*

The unfortunate *Fidery* being got, with his wives, and several other persons of Quality, in one of the Palaces; *Ongosschio* ordered it to be compassed about with great piles of wood, which being set on fire, the Pallace and all within was reduced to ashes. He put to death all the Lords who had sided, or held any correspondency with *Fidery*, and by that means established himself the sole Monarch of that State, as *Taycko*, his Predecessour, had done before him. *Ongosschio* died the year following, and left the Empire in quiet, to his Son *Combo*, or *Combosamme*, the Father of *Chiongon*, who now Reigns. *Puts to death the Heir of the Crown.*

It is no hard matter for the Emperour of *Japan* to raise and keep an Army on foot, in regard all his Subjects are obliged to bring in and maintain a certain number of Soldiers, proportionably to their Revenue. For he who hath a thousand *Kockiens*, or four thousand Crowns *per annum* is obliged to maintain twenty foot and two horse-men; and according to this accompt, the Lord of *Firando*, (where the *Dutch* made their first establishment) who hath sixty thousand *Kockiens* of yearly Revenue, was tax'd at twelve hundred foot, and one hundred and twenty horse, besides the servants, slaves, and what else is consequent thereto. So that by this means, according to the Revenues of the Lords we mentioned before, which amount to eighteen millions, and four hundred thousand *Kockiens*, the Emperour *The Emperour of Japan raises his Armies upon the charge of his Subjects.*

1639. perour of *Japan* may raiſe an Army of three hundred ſixty eight thouſand foot, and thirty eight thouſand eight hundred horſe, not accounting the hundred thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe, which he is able to maintain out of his own Revenue, and which he keeps as a ſtanding Army, for the defence of his Caſtles and ſtrong places, and for his Guards.

Can raiſe 368000. foot, and 38800. horſe.

Moſt of theſe Lords find it no great trouble to make their Levies, for there are few of them but ordinarily maintain twice as many Soldiers, out of an humour they have to make great ſhowes, eſpecially upon thoſe occaſions wherein they expect to give ſome aſſurances of their courage or zeal they have for the ſervice of their *Prince*.

Their Arms. Their Cavalry is armed with Corſelets, but the *Foot* have only Head-pieces. The offenſive Arms of the Horſe are a ſort of Fire-locks, not much longer then our Piſtols, half-pikes, Bowes, Arrows, and Cimitars. The foot wear every man two Cimitars, and have Muskets, *Pikes*, and *Nanganets*, or half-pikes, and every man hath about him a very broad Knife. Their Companies conſiſt but of fifty *Soldiers*, who are commanded by a Captain, a Lieutenant, and ten Corporals, to wit, a Corporal for every five Soldiers. Five Companies make a Body, which is commanded by another Officer, and every fifty Companies have their Colonel. The Emperour of *Japan* hath the ſame courſe taken, to know every year how many perſons there is in his Kingdom. For every quarter of a City or Village is divided into Cantons, conſiſting of five houſes, which are commanded by a certain Officer, who keeps a Regiſter or Catalogue of all thoſe who die or are born within the five houſes under his juriſdiction, and reports the ſame to his ſuperiours, who give an account thereof to the *Prince* or Lord of the *Province*; and theſe laſt to two Counſellors of State, who are appointed for that purpoſe.

Their Companies and Regiments.

The Council of State. The Council of State conſiſts of ſeveral Lords, who have each of them his particular function, excepting only the four chiefeſt, who are every day punctually at Court to give the Emperour an account of affairs. All the reſt are ſo powerful and rich, that ſome among them have above two millions of yearly Revenue, others three or four hundred thouſand Crowns, others but forty or fifty thouſand. They are very reſerv'd in the advice they give the Emperour, to whom they ſpeak not, even of affairs, if they find him not in a good humour to hear them: but none will preſume to ſpeak to him twice of the ſame thing, or renew his intreaties, after a refuſal. This Council conſiſts of ſuch Lords as the Emperour may be the more confident of, in regard they have commonly their education at the Court. Theſe have the management of all publick affairs, but with ſuch dependance on the Soveraign's pleaſure, that they do not only never reſolve on any things of themſelves, but indeed they never ſpeak to the *Prince*, till he gives them ſome occaſion to do it, and that they have firſt conſulted his eyes, and ſtudied his countenance, to find what his ſentiments are. They ever approve what he ſays, though never ſo prejudicial to himſelf, even to the loſs of a whole *Province*; for the leaſt conteſtation would coſt them their fortunes, if not their lives.

The expences of great Lords. From what we ſaid before, it is evident, that the Revenues of theſe Lords are very great; but their Expences are as great. For, firſt, not one of them but is obliged to live one halfe of the year at Court, and, during that time, to keep houſe in the chief City of *Jedo*, where he who lives at the higheſt rate is moſt in favour with the Emperour. The firſt ſix months in the year, thoſe Lords who have their *Principalities* and Lordſhips in the Eaſterly and Northerly *Provinces* of the Kingdom, continue at the Court, and the other ſix months, thoſe that live in the Weſtern and Southern *Provinces*. At the incoming to the Court, and their departure thence, they make very conſiderable *Preſents* to the Emperour, and great Entertainments among themſelves. Their Journeys and their Expences at Court, whither ſome Lords bring a Retinue of five or ſix thouſand perſons, lie very heavy on the richeſt, and ruine the reſt. The Lord of *Firando*, who, as we ſaid, was one of the meaneſt, had in his Family, above three hundred men, and maintain'd in the two houſes he had at *Jedo*, above a thouſand perſons, comprehending in that number the VVomen and Concubines he kept, as did alſo the other Lords, in one of his two houſes.

Proviſions dear. *Proviſions* are dear enough all over *Japan*, but at an exceſſive rate about the Court, by reaſon of the abundance conſumed by ſo great a number of perſons of quality. Another way to exhauſt their Eſtates is, their magnificence in Building, there being ſtill ſomewhat wanting in their appartments, either as to Painting or Gilding, or the like. Moſt of their Domeſticks go in Silk, eſpecially their Women, and thoſe of their own ſex that wait on them: ſo that there is hardly any Lord but ſpends more then his Revenue amounts to. But what helps to ruine them, is the Order they receive from the Emperour, to ſupply him, ever and anon, with men and mony, to carry on the publick Buildings, which he does rather to drain the Purſes of theſe Lords, then out of any neceſſity obliging him thereto.

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The greateſt Lords, when they build a Pallace, do ordinarily make two Gates thereto, one for their own uſe, and the other for the Emperours paſſage into it. The latter is ſomething larger then the other, and made all of Joyner's work, excellently varniſh'd, carv'd into branch-work, and gilt. Aſſoon as it is finiſh'd it is cover'd with boards, againſt the injury of the weather, and is not uncover'd, till near the time of the Emperour intends to honour the houſe with his preſence, to dine there; and aſſoon as he is departed thence, it is ſhut up, and ſo kept ever after, out of this reſpect, that having ſerv'd for a paſſage to the Emperour's Sacred Majeſty, it were a profanation, if any private perſon ſhould paſs through it after him. It is alſo to be obſerv'd that the Emperour never dines above once in any houſe belonging to another man, and that they are three whole years in making all things ready for his Entertainment. Accordingly he hath notice of it, three years before, and in the mean time all the furniture of the houſe is made and marked, as is alſo all the Plate, with the Arms and Characters of the Emperour; and after that time they are never more uſed, but kept very ſafe, as things not to be employed in any thing, after they have once ſerved the Soveraigns perſon. So that this Expence, and that which they are at in the Entertainment, which the Maſter of that Houſe is obliged to make for the whole Court, for three months together, were enough to beggar an ordinary King. *Three years time before the Emperour.*

Another thing lies heavy on theſe Lords, is, the Preſents which the Emperour makes them. For upon his return from his ordinary Hunting, which is that of the Crane, a bird there very highly eſteemed, he is wont to ſend ſome of thoſe he hath taken, to ſuch as he hath moſt kindneſs for. But that Preſent coſts him at leaſt half a years Revenue, in Feaſts, Preſents, and other publick Entertainments, which he is obliged to make in acknowledgment of the favour done him by his Majeſty, in ſending him a Bird taken by a Hawk put off from his Sacred Hands. It is not long ſince, that the Lord of *Zatiuma* treated the Emperour at a Dinner, in a Palace which was then but newly finiſhed; but he got well by the expence he had been at. For the Emperour made him a Preſent for his Horſes, (ſo they call the Gratifications he makes his Favourites) by an addition to his former Revenue, of two hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns *per annum*.

The Grandees never take any Wife, but what they have from the Emperours hands; and it is of her alone who is given by him, that the Children are to be born, who are to inherit their Eſtates. Accordingly, they look on her and reſpect her as the perſon from whom they expect Heirs for the propagation of their Family, and upon that account, recommended to them by the Emperour. He who expects to have this honour done him builds a Palace purpoſely for her reception, furniſhes it very richly, and allows her a Retinue conſiſting of a great number of Women and Maids, to accompany her, and wait on her. *The Emperour marries all the great Lords.*

Women go not abroad but once a year, to give their Relations a Viſit, and then they are ſeen in the ſtreets, with a Retinue of thirty, forty, or fifty cloſe *Palanquins*, wherein are carried ſo many Maids of Honour, accompanied each of them by their Waiting Gentlewomen, and other Women, marching in a File on both ſides of the *Palanquins*, which are varniſhed over and gilt. All the remainder of the year, the women ſtir not out of their houſes, into which there are not any men permitted to enter, ſave only ſome of the Wives neareſt Relations, who ſometimes have the freedom to ſee them, but very ſeldom, and that in their Husbands preſence. It is his buſineſs on the other ſide to make the reſtraint as little burthenſom as may be to them, by allowing them all the divertiſements and recreations, which honeſt women can take; finding them Gardens and Parks for walking, Ponds for fiſhing, keeping all ſorts of living Creatures for their pleaſure, and entertaining them every day with Muſick and Plays. But they muſt expect to end their days in this reſtraint, and renounce the converſation of men, inaſmuch as the leaſt ſuſpition is here as unpardonably puniſhed with death, as any other manifeſt crime; not only in the perſon of the Lady, but alſo in all about her. Her Attendants are commonly ſome of the handſomeſt young Gentlewomen in the Province, who always ſtand before the Maſter and Miſtreſs with ſuch reſpect, that they ſtudy to anſwer, laugh, and hold their peace, upon the leaſt ſign made them. They are ordinarily diſtinguiſhed into Bands or Companies, conſiſting of ſixteen Gentlewomen, who have each a Governeſs over them. They are clad in Silk, flower'd, painted, or embroidered, of different colours or liveries. For one Band is in a red livery, with girdles and head-cloathes of a green colour; another, white, with girdles and head-cloathes red; another, yellow, with girdles and head-cloaths of a sky-colour, and ſo of the reſt. The Gentlewomen, who are received into the ſervice of theſe *Princeſſes*, at fifteen or twenty years of age, oblige themſelves, moſt of them, for the remainder of their lives; but ſuch as are taken into it while they are yet children, are ſometimes afterwards married to Gentlemen, Soldiers, or others of the menial Servants, who have ſome Office about the Houſe, and whoſe Allowances are upon that Account augmented: but ſuch as are not married at thirty, muſt not expect to change their condition, otherwiſe then by *The women kept in reſtraint.*

being advanced to some more honourable Employments among the women.

Women never talk of business. It is the custom of the Countrey, that Women should be instructed betimes, not to meddle with any kind of business whatsoever, insomuch that they never speak of any such thing to their Husbands. These, on the otherside, make it their brag, that they are enabled with such a strength of parts and understanding, as to leave all serious thoughts behind them, at their own Lodgings, when they leave those to go into the appartment of their Wives, where their discourse is altogether of mirth and divertisement. If a Woman should trouble her Husband with the least discourse about business, she would immediately put him out of humour, make him change his countenance, and oblige him to retire, without so much as speaking to her. But this she will be sure to avoid, though out of no other motive then this, that another might not have those enjoyments of him, which she by her imprudence would deprive her self of. For they affirm, that a woman is bestow'd on man mearly to serve, and divert him, and to mind the education of his Children, and that herein consists all her duty, and that there are but too many Examples of the mischiefs happening through the excessive freedom heretofore allowed to women.

The Wives of *Japan* have the reputation of being extreamly faithful to their Husbands, and so modest and reserv'd, that none any where else come near them. Of this many instances might be produced: but confining our selves to the relation of a particular man's Travels, wherein these digressions must needs be thought tedious, we shall here produce only two or three, of many others, that happened much about the time we speak of.

The generosity of a Japonnese Wife. The King or Prince of the Province of *Fingo*, hearing that a Gentleman of the Country had a very handsom woman to his wife, got him dispatch'd out of the way, and having sent for the Widdow, some days after her Husband's death, acquainted her with his desires. She told him, that though she had much reason to be glad, and think her self happy, in being honour'd with the friendship of so great a Prince, yet was she resolved to bite off her Tongue, and murder her self, if he proffer'd her any violence; but if he would grant her but one favour, which was to spend one month in bewailing her Husband, and then give her the liberty to make an Entertainment for the relations of the deceased, to take her leave of them, he should find how much she was his Servant, and how far she would comply with his affection. The Prince, who thought himself sure enough of her, made no difficulty to do what the Gentlewoman desired of him, and having provided a very great dinner, at the place where she desired it might be, all the kindred of the deceased came thither, but it was only to be witnesses of the fidelity which she expressed to her husband after his death: For the Gentlewoman perceiving the King began to be warm in his wine, out of the hope he was in to enjoy what had been promised him, desired the liberty to withdraw into an adjoyning Gallery to take the Air; but assoon as she was come into it, she cast her self headlong down, in the presence of the King, and all her husbands Relations.

An example of modesty in a Maid. Much about the same time, it hapned that a young gentlewoman, being on her knees at the end of a Table, waiting on her Master, in the appartment of the Women, and over-reaching her self to take a flaggon that stood a little too far from her, she chanced to let wind backwards, which she was so much asham'd of, that putting her Garment over her head, she would by no means shew her face after, but with an enrag'd violence taking one of her nibbles into her mouth, she bit it off with such fury, that she died in the place.

Another example of modestie. Another Lord, having had an exact search made for all the handsome young Damosels in his Province, to be dispos'd into his Ladies service, there was among the rest brought him one whom he was so much taken with, that he made her his Concubine. She was the Daughter of a poor Soldiers widdow, who hoping to make some advantage of her daughters good fortune, took occasion one day, to write her a large letter, wherein she expressd what a necessitous condition she was in, and how she was forc'd to sue to her for relief. While the Daughter was reading her Mother's Letter, her Lord comes into the room; but being asham'd to discover her Mothers poverty, she endeavours to hide the Letter from him, yet could she not convey it away so, as that the other did not perceive it. The disorder he observ'd in the Gentlewoman's countenance, made him suspect there might be some design in it, insomuch, that he presſed her to shew him the Letter; but the more importunate he was, the more unwilling she was to satisfie him; so perceiving there was no way to avoid it, she thrust it into her mouth, with so much precipitation that thinking to swallow it down, it choaked her. This so incensed the Lord; that he immediately commanded her throat to be cut, whereby they discovered only the Mothers Poverty, and the Daughters innocence. He was so moved thereat, that he could not forbear expressing it by tears; and it being not in his power to make any other Demonstrations of his affection to the deceased; he sent for the Mother, who was maintained among his other Ladies, at the time we speak of, with all imaginable respect.

They

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They are generally so reserv'd in their conversation, that their discourses are not only far from being guilty of any obscene or impertinent expression, but also they will not so much as talk of marriage, or ought relating thereto, even in honourable terms, in the presence of young people, who, when there is any such thing spoken of, immediately rise and go out of the Room. The Children have a great tenderness and respect for their Parents, as being perswaded there is no sin more severely punished by the Gods, then the disobedience of Children. They have also a certain veneration for their memory after their decease; for they religiously observe those fasting dayes they impose upon themselves of their own accord, abstaining from whatever hath had life, upon those dayes of the moneth, on which their Parents departed this World.

The reservedness of their conversation.

As they are very severe in restraining their Wives and Concubines of even the least liberty, so are they excessively cruel in punishing those which are not careful to preserve their honours, or give the least suspition of their inclinations to be dishonest. It is not long since that the Lord of *Firando* caused three Ladies to be put into so many Chests, through which there were Nails struck in of all sides, one, for having prostituted her self to a Gentleman, who ripp'd up his own belly as soon as their familiarity was discovered; and the other two, because they had been privy to their Loves, and had not acquainted him therewith. He who finds a Man lock'd up in the same Room with his Wife, may kill them both; and in the Husbands absence, the Father, Brother, or any other Kinsman, nay, any one of the menial Servants may do as much: and by this means, they so avoid those scandals, which are but too frequent elsewhere, that a man seldom hears of Adultery among them; in so much that I do not remember I ever heard of any more then one Example, which being a remarkable one, I shall not think it much to insert it here.

They are jealous.

A certain Merchant, who had some reason to suspect his Wife, pretended to go into the Country, but returning soon after, surpriz'd her in the very act. The Adulterer he killed, and having ty'd his Wife to a Ladder, he left her in that half-hanging posture all night. The next day he invited all their Relations on both sides, as well Men as Women, to dine with him at his own house, sending them word, that the importance of the business he had to communicate to them, excused his not-observance of the custom they have, to make Entertainments for the Women, distinct from those of the Men. They all came, and wondred not much that the Mistress of the house was not to be seen, in regard her Husband told them that she was busie in the Kitchin: but dinner being well-nigh past, and the Guests perceiving the Woman appear'd not, they intreated him to send for her, which he promised to do. Whereupon rising from the Table, and going into the Room, where she was ty'd to the Ladder, he unbound her, put a Shrowd about her, and put into her hands a Box of *Lacque*, wherein were the Privy-members of her Gallant, cover'd with Flowers, charging her not to open the Box, and saying to her, *Go and present this Box to our common Relations, and see whether I may, upon their mediation, grant you your life.* She came in that equipage into the Hall where they sate at dinner, and falling on her knees presented the Box, with the precious Reliques within it, to the Kindred: but as soon as they had opened it, she swounded. Her Husband perceiving it, went to her, and to prevent her returning again, now that she was going, cut off her Head; which raised such an horror in the Friends, that they immediately left the Room, and went to their several homes.

Adultery severely punished.

To prevent these disorders, they have in their common Inns upon the Road, as also in certain places in Cities, the convenience of furnishing Travellers with a kind of Women, who are for the most part Slaves, but very well clad in Silk, and make no difficulty to proffer themselves to keep men company all night. These have the Custom of Masters of Ships and common Sea-men that are Forreigners; but if they will bid at a little higher Game, and be more sure of their enjoyments, they may buy a Concubine, with whom they contract for the time they are to stay in the Country; allowing them five or six pence a day towards their diet, a Garment or two, certain pair of Shoes of Cordevant, and about eight or ten Crowns, for the Father, or Master, who lets her out.

Fornication permitted.

We are so far from charging this Nation with being over-superstitious, that on the other side, we affirm, that there is no mark of Devotion to be observed among them. Those who are conceived to have very much, go once a moneth to their *Pagodes*, and pronounce several times the word *Nammanda*, which is the name of one of their Gods; but they are never seen praying to God, neither morning nor evening, nor at any time of the day. There is a certain Sect among them, which hath Priests, who preach thrice a year, to which Sermons all those of the same perswasion resort. There are also some who make use of another kind of Ecclesiasticks, especially in their long diseases, wherein they have prayers

They have no Devotion.

1639. made, which last twenty four hours, with such a noise, that they stunne such as come near them, who yet cannot understand one word they say; not only in regard they pronounce ill and confusedly; but hence, that whatever they compose, as well in matter of Religion as Medicine, and the other Sciences, is couched in such high and obscure terms, that many times they understand them not themselves.

Their Pagodes and Priests. Notwithstanding this irreligion, there are in *Japan* an incredible number of *Pagodes* or *Mesquites*, some of which have fifteen or twenty Priests belonging to them. They are distinguished from the *Laicks* in that their Heads are shaved, as also by their cloathing, in as much as they go in a kind of Cassock, made like the Frocks worn by some Country people: but upon Holidayes they go in a sort of long Garments, which they fold up under the left Arm, like a Cloak. Their principal employment is to pray before their Gods, and to bury the dead, or at least the ashes of such bodies as have been burnt. They are divided into several Sects, and consequently have so many different wayes of doing their Devotions, especially on the Anniversary dayes of the deceased, which they call *Bom*, on which the Priests are employed in praying and singing Letanies, in making Processions about a Chappel set about with Wax-lights, much after the same manner as is done in some parts of *Europe*. Their Sepulchres are near their *Pagodes*, covered with great Stones, two or three foot high, on which such as go to do their Devotions there cast Flowers, or branches of Trees, and put into a little Pit, made in the ground, some fair Water and a little Rice, which is taken away thence by the poor. Persons of Quality erect a little Pillar near their Sepulchres, and grave thereon their names, with a certain Elogy, which serves for an *Epitaph*.

Distinguished into several Sects. Their Ecclesiasticks are divided into twelve principal Sects, of which eleven eat not of any thing that hath had life, and make a Vow of Chastity, with so strict an Obligation for the observance thereof, that if they break it, though in never so small a point, they are put to the most cruel death that ever was heard of. For the Priest who hath broken his Vow is put into the ground up to the Waste, near the High-way; and all that pass by, who are not nobly descended, are obliged to give a little stroke upon his Neck with a wooden Saw, which being very blunt makes the Wretch languish three or four dayes together. This course is taken with them, upon this account, that being permitted to use *Sodomy*, they may forbear Women.

A cruel kind of death.

The Priests of the twelfth Sect live after another rate. For it is lawful for them to feed on any thing that Earth or Water affords, as also to marry: and yet this Sect, which they call *Icko*, whence the Priests, whereof it consists, are named *Ickoïs*, is accounted the holiest, and most perfect of them all. He who is Head of this Sect, is also Supream Head of all the Clergy of the Country, and is in so great veneration among his followers, that they do not only carry him in a *Palanquin*, but indeed do him such honours as are almost Divine. All the Priests depend on the *Dayro*, who still hath the same power over the Ecclesiasticks, as he had heretofore, joyntly, with the secular power. Only such *Pagodes* as belong to these last have a settled Revenue, and enjoy many Priviledges and Immunities granted them by the Emperours. All the other *Pagodes* are maintain'd by what is given them, either by way of Alms, or the Gratifications that they get from those who imploy them about Prayers for the dead, wherein the main part of the exercise of their Religion consists.

Their opinion concerning the Soul. Some among them believe, that the Soul is immortal, that the Body is reduced to its first Principle, and becomes Dust and Ashes, but that the Spirit is either raised to eternal joy, or condemn'd to an endless grief, and that at its return into this World, it shall find good or evil, according to what it had done during this life. Others make no distinction between the Souls of Men and those of Beasts, and as they have no knowledge of the Worlds Creation, so are they ignorant that there is a time appointed for its dissolution. The most zealous among them make no scruple to convert their *Pagodes* into Drinking-houses; for, as they make choice of the most delightful places of the Country, for the *Pagodes*, so they walk in them, and divert themselves, in the presence of their Gods, and have the company of their Priests, drinking and debauching themselves to that height, that it proves the occasion of many consequent disorders.

No disputes about Religion. A man shall never, in this Country, meet with any Controversies about Religion, nor ever find that a *Japponese* conceives himself any way obliged to instruct his Neighbour, or shew him his Errour: but on the contrary, their indifference for these concernments is generally so great, that some among them will not stick to change their Religion for a hundred Crowns.

They hate Christians. They have so irreconcilable an aversion for the *Christians*, that, perceiving they went chearfully to their deaths, when they only cut off their Heads, and crucified them after

their

their death, they have ſince found out ſuch exquiſite torments, to procure their more painful departure, that, though they had reſolution and conſtancy enough to endure them, yet could they not expreſs that inſolence and inſenſibility, as to receive ſo grievous a death, with the ſame alacrity they had diſcover'd at the ordinary Executions. There were indeed ſome who ſung amidſt the Flames; but it would have been ſomewhat above humanity, if they ſhould not have groan'd in the torments they endured, when they were broild, with a gentle Fire, upon Gridirons, or ſuffer'd to languiſh for ſeveral dayes together. Yet did not all theſe courſes much diminiſh the number of thoſe Wretches; in ſo much that theſe Monſters of barbariſme, perceiving that Death little frighten'd thoſe who look'd on it but as a paſſage to a better life, bethought themſelves of other courſes to be taken with them. Young Maids, of any Quality, they cauſed to be ſtripp'd ſtark naked, to be publickly violated, made them go on all four through the Streets, and dragg'd them through rugged and uneven places, till their hands and knees were cut, and their bodies torn in ſeveral places, and after all put them into Vats full of Serpents, which enter'd into their bodies at all the open places, and ſo put them to a very painful death: yet was this done with leſs horrour, then when they fill'd the privy parts of a Mother or a Daughter with Match done over with Gun-powder, and bound about thoſe of a Son or a Father with the ſame, and forced the Son to ſet fire to that of the Mother, and the Father to that of his Daughter. 'Twas a kind of favour ſhewn them, when they cover'd their bodies all over with Turfs, and inceſſantly pour'd ſeething Water into their privy parts, till they expir'd amidſt thoſe torments, which commonly diſpatch'd them not in leſs then three or four dayes. They drove great companies of them up and down the Country, and into Forreſts, ſtigmatiz'd in the foreheads, with prohibitions, upon pain of death, that any ſhould give them any ſuſtenance or entertainment. Some were put into Cages upon the Sea-ſide, that the Tide might come up to their chins, and at the return of the water they might recover their ſpirits a little, to endure the greater torment at the next Floud. They bound the Fathers and Mothers to a Poſt, and hood-winked them, while they put the Children to inconceivable torments, which they being not able to endure, intreated their Parents with the moſt importunate expreſſions they could imagine at that age, to deliver them out of their pains, by renouncing. This was one of the moſt inſupportable puniſhments of any they invented, and which brought many to death and abjuration. Another torment they had for thoſe poor Children was, to pluck off their Nails, and to prick them with Bodkins in the tendereſt parts of their bodies. To make a diſcovery of *Chriſtians*, they ordered, that all the Inhabitants ſhould once a year proteſt before their *Pagodes*, and ſign a certain Inſtrument, whereby they renounced *Chriſtian* Religion; and by this means there paſſed not a year, but a great number was diſcover'd. Such as were hung up by the feet, and were continued in that poſture for ten or twelve dayes, endured the greateſt torment of any, in regard the anguiſh of this puniſhment ſtill increaſing, there is no pain, not even that of fire it ſelf, comes near it. 1639.

Diabolical inventions to put Chriſtians to death.

Theſe perſecutions muſt needs have much diminiſh'd the number of *Chriſtians* in *Japan*; but what moſt contributes to the deſtruction of *Chriſtian* Religion, is a courſe they have taken, to put the *Chriſtians* to death, even though they proffer to renounce; ſo that there is no way for any to avoid death, but by diſcovering another *Chriſtian*, who may endure it in their ſtead, and by that diſcovery they eſcape. However, there is an exact Regiſter kept of theſe *Renegadoes*, out of a deſign, as it is conceiv'd, one time or other, to rid the Country of them, when the Executions muſt ceaſe for want of *Chriſtians*.

About the ſame time there was a ſearch made for *Chriſtians* in all the Hoſpitals for Lepers, where they found three hundred and eighty *Chriſtians*, whom they ſent away in two Ships, to the *Philippine* Iſlands, as a Preſent to the *Portuguez*. The Leproſie is ſo common a Diſeaſe in *Japan*, that a man ſhall meet there with many, whoſe fingers and toes are ſo rotted, that they fall off.

The *Chriſtians*, who are conducted to puniſhment, are tied; but the Prieſts, whether *Caſtilians*, *Portuguez*, or *Japonneſes*, are otherwiſe treated. They ſhave off one half of their Heads and Beards, which they paint over with a red colour, put a Gag into their Mouths, and a Halter about their Necks, which is tied to the Horſe-tail, on which they are brought to the place appointed for their execution.

Moſt of their Houſes are built of Wood, ſleightly enough, in regard the Country is very much ſubject to Earthquakes. They are all raiſed three or four foot from the ground, boarded and matted, and very handſom within, eſpecially thoſe Rooms where they receive their Viſits. They are, for the moſt part, but one ſtory high, in which they live, and the reſt ſerve for Corn-loſts. They have places diſtinct from their Houſes, where they keep

Their Houſes.

their

1639. their Merchandiſes, and what elſe they moſt eſteem, in regard their Houſes are ſo apt to take fire, that they are forc'd to have Vats full of Water alwayes ready againſt ſuch Accidents, which are very frequent among them.

The Houſes of Gentlemen and Souldiers are divided into two partitions, whereof one is taken up by the Wife, who is never ſeen, and the other by the Husband, who hath his Chambers and Halls for the reception of his friends and his buſineſs. The Wives of Citizens and Merchants appear in the Shops, and have a care of the Houſe; but they are treated with ſo much reſpect, that none durſt let fall a free or equivocal expreſſion in their preſence, nay, a licentious one were criminal. Inſtead of Tapiſtry, they have a kind of Scenes or Shutters, which ſerve them alſo for Pictures, whereof they cover the cloſures with Paper painted and gilt, and ſo neatly paſted on, that the whole piece ſeems to conſiſt but of one ſheet. Theſe Shutters are made of very thin boards, and fall one into another, ſo as that of two or three ſmall Chambers, they can of a ſudden make a very fair Hall. All theſe little Rooms make a kind of Gallery, which ſerves equally for both the Appartments of the Husband and Wife, and leads to a common Door to go into the Garden, which Door is ordinarily oppoſite to the Hall-windows. In the midſt of the Room there commonly ſtands a Cabinet, on which they ſet a Pot of Flowers, which are there to be had all the year long. They are very curious about their Gardens, and make them as pleaſant as may be, with Groves, Fountains, Orchards, and eſpecially one kind of Tree, which is as green in Winter as in Summer.

There is not much Houſhold-Stuff to be ſeen in their Houſes, in regard they beſtow on their Wives, the Trunks and Cabinets of *Lacque*, their rich Tapiſtry, and the like, or they diſpoſe them into ſome private Rooms, into which they admit only their moſt intimate Friends. They are very expenſive in their Pots for *Cha*, or *Tſia*, as alſo in Pictures, Pieces excellent for the writing, and in Arms.

They are civil. They are civil, and entertain ſuch as viſit them with great Complements. Perſons of Quality make ſuch as come to ſee them ſit down, and preſent them with *Tobacco* and *Tſia*. If the Maſter of the houſe hath a particular eſteem for the Friend who viſits him, he will treat him with Wine, which is brought in a varniſh'd Cup; and it were an incivility in him, to whom this honour is done, to refuſe it. They are not ſo reſerv'd, but that ſometimes they will take a little more then they are well able to carry away; but ſeldom to that height, as to do ought whereof they may repent the next day, or quarrel in their Drink; for the perpetual apprehenſion they have of the unavoidable Death that would follow, keeps them in, and ſends them to bed with whole Skins.

No drinking houſes in Japan. In Cities, and upon the High-wayes, there are Inns, for the entertainment of Travellers and Paſſengers, but otherwiſe there is not a Tipling-houſe, or Cooks-ſhop, in all *Japan*. For though there are great lovers of good chear, and company keeping, yet have they not any publick places for that purpoſe, but they meet at one anothers houſes, and there ſpend the time in good fellowſhip and drinking, and have a kind of Muſick, which is not very harmonious. They have but few Muſical Inſtruments, and that moſt uſed among them, and which they are moſt taken with, is a kind of Lute, the belly whereof is above a foot-ſquare, with a long and narrow neck, as being made only for four ſtrings, which are of Silk, and they ſtrike them with a Peg of Ivory, about the bigneſs of a Mans finger. They ſing to it, but the voyce is as immelodious as the ſound of the Inſtrument.

Their Muſick.

Their Wine. Their Wine they make of Rice, putting thereto ſome Sugar or Honey, and they call it *Mourſack*, or *Saltſe*. It is a kind of *Hydromel*, rather then Wine, yet it is as ſtrong as the beſt Sack, and makes a Man drunk much ſooner.

Tſia, how prepared. As for *Tſia*, it is a kind of *Thé* or *Tea*; but the Plant is much more delicate, and more highly eſteem'd then that of *Thé*. Perſons of Quality keep it very carefully in Earthen-pots well ſtopp'd and luted, that it may not take wind: but the *Japonneſes* prepare it quite otherwiſe then is done in *Europe*. For, inſtead of infuſing it into warm water, they beat it as ſmall as powder, and take of it as much as will lye on the point of a Knife, and put it into a diſh of Porcelane or Earth, full of ſeething Water, in which they ſtir it, till the Water be all green, and then drink it as hot as they can endure it. It is excellent good after a debauch, it being certain there is not any thing that allayes the Vapours, and ſettles the Stomack better then this Herb doth. The Pots they make uſe of about this kind of Drink are the moſt precious of any of their Houſhold-Stuffe, in as much as it is known, that there have been *Tſia*-pots, which had coſt between ſix and ſeven thouſand pound *ſterling*.

Their Marriages. Their Marriages are ſollicited only the Relations, who have ſome ſuperiority over thoſe that contract them. The Father and Mother find out the party, and propoſe that alliance, and for want of them, others of the Kindred; ſo as that the young Couple know nothing

of

of what is done, in ſo much that the perſons who are to be married never ſee one another till the Marriage is to be conſummated. This is the more eaſily effected, in that it is in the Husbands power to keep what number he thinks fit of Concubines, nay, may proſecute his enjoyments among common Proſtitutes, whereas the leaſt ſuſpition of the Womans diſhoneſty would coſt her her life. They have alſo the convenience of Divorce, and may ſend their Wives back to their own Friends, yet conceive it no diſparagement to them. True it is, that only Perſons of mean condition uſe it, as Merchants, Tradeſmen, and common Souldiers; and that Perſons of Quality take another courſe, out of a reſpect to the Birth and Relations of the Woman; and in caſe of diſagreement they ſtill maintain them according to their Quality. Which hinders not but that they alſo are moſt liberal of themſelves among their Concubines, little it ſeems troubled at the diſcontent they give their Wives, whom they ſee but when they pleaſe themſelves. For, certain it is, that the Women only are married, and that the Men are as much at liberty after, as they had been before marriage. Common Brothel-houſes are allowed, and there are ſome Maſters who buy Slaves only to drive that trade; it being their perſwaſion, that to avoid a greater ſcandal, this may be permitted.

Their education of their Children.

They bring up their Children with extraordinary indulgence and mildneſs, never beating, and very ſeldom chiding them; out of this conſideration, that knowing they are not come to the uſe of their reaſon, they conceive they are not to be made capable thereof before the time, and that things are to be inſtill'd into them, according to their weak capacity, with mildneſs, and that they ought to be inſtructed rather by good Examples then many Precepts. It is to be imagined that the little correction they give them in their Childhood, ſtrengthens that obſtinate diſpoſition, which is remarkable in all the *Japponneſes:* but it is to be confeſſed withall, that this noble and mild kind of education much heightens that vivacity of Underſtanding and Judgment, which is diſcernable in them, while they are yet very young; in ſo much that Children of ſeven, eight or nine years of age, have more piercing Wits, and are more ſearching and inquiſitive, then our youth is at ſeventeen or eighteen years of age.

Go not to School till ſeven or eight years of age.

They are not ſent to School till they are ſeven or eight years of age, upon this account, that, as they affirm, Children are not capable of inſtruction before that time, and that they are apt to learn only naughtineſs and unhappy tricks one of another. The Maſters, when they meet with dull Boys, never either chide or beat them for that, but teach them to read and write by degrees, by raiſing an emulation in them to do as well as others; and by this courſe they improve them much better, then if they treated them harſhly, it being to be obſerv'd, that it is an incorrigible Nation, expecting to be mildly treated, and ſeldom to be bettered by foul means and blows.

Not ſwath'd.

They never ſwath the Children, but as ſoon as they are brought into the World, the Midwife having waſh'd them in cold Water, thruſts them into the Sleeves of their *Japonneſes*, and by that means they ſo harden them againſt heat and cold, that many times ſuch as ſcarce have the uſe of their legs, will crawl ſtark naked of all four about the Houſe, and into the Fields.

The eldeſt Son being come to Mans eſtate, the Father reſigns his charge to him; or, if he be a Merchant, makes over his Trade to him, with the better half of his Eſtate, aſſigns him the beſt Lodgings in the Houſe, and goes with the reſt of the Family to another part of it; or if he be a perſon of ability, he reſigns the whole Houſe to him, and takes another, mannaging what he hath reſerved of his Eſtate, for the advancement of his other Sons, if ſo be he hath any. The Daughters have no part of the Fathers Eſtate, no not even when they are married, in regard they would not have Wives to make any advantage of their Dower; ſo that if the Brides Father ſhould on the Wedding-day ſend a ſum of Money to the Bridegroom, he returns it back again with great Complements, and ſends word, that he would not have his Father-in-Law think, that his Addreſſes to his Daughter proceeded from any other motive then the deſire he had of his alliance, and conſequently that he expected not to make any advantage of his Eſtate.

The Japponeſes tender in point of honour.

They are ſo ambitious and highly conceited of themſelves, that it is ſeldom ſeen a *Japponeſe* does any thing wherewith he might be reproached: but on the contrary, they would rather loſe their lives then betray their honour. Of this I ſhall here inſert an illuſtrious Example.

An Example of it.

In the time of the War between *Fidery*, and his Guardian, the King or Prince of *Cocora*, who had diſcovered ſome inclination to the contrary party, was forc'd to leave his Wife and Children as Hoſtages with *Fidery*, who hearing that the Prince of *Cocora* had openly declar'd for his Adverſary, ſent word to his Wife, that his pleaſure was, ſhe ſhould come and live within the Palace. She would have excuſed her ſelf, by repreſenting to *Fidery*, that

1639. that she was a Wife, and as such, ow'd the Prince her Husband the same obedience, as her Husband ow'd to the Emperour; so that if his Majesty expected she should do what he would have her, his best course were to apply himself to her Husband, that he might command her to do it. *Fidery* seeing her constancy, sent her word, that if she came not, he would have her brought thither by force. But the Princess considering with her self, that if she left her House, it would be a dishonour both to her and her Husband, withdrew her self with her Nurse and Children, and some of the menial Servants, who proffer'd to dye with her, to a Chamber, into which she caused Gun-powder and Wood to be brought, and having made her Will, and writ a Letter to her Husband, she put both into the hands of a trusty Person, with order to depart as soon as he had seen the Powder set on fire, and by this means gave an extraordinary Demonstration of her constancy.

Are good Friends.

They are also very punctual in the performance of what they had promised those, who desire their assistance or protection. For no *Japonnese* but will promise it any one that desires it of him, and spend his life for the person who hath desired him to do it; and this, without any consideration of his Family, or the misery whereto his Wife and Children may be thereby reduced. Hence it comes, that it is never seen a Malefactor will betray or discover his Complices; but on the contrary, there are infinite Examples of such as have chosen rather to die with the greatest torment imaginable, then bring their Complices into any inconvenience by their confession.

What Forraigners trade thither.

Japan is so rich and abundant in all things, that, some few Merchants excepted, who trade into the *Indies*, there is hardly any *Japonnese*, who meddles with the venting of any forreign Commodities. The greatest Commerce which is carried on there is that of the *Chinese*, who have continued theirs in this Country ever since the Island was first peopled. The *Spaniards* and *Portuguez* have traded thither these six or seven score years; and the *English* had no sooner begun, but they gave over their trading into those parts, by reason of the small advantage made thereby. Those of *Siam* and *Cambodia* were wont to send thither yearly two or three *Jonques*; but this is also given over, especially since the *Dutch* bring them the Commodities of *Japan* at a lower rate, and with less danger then they could fetch them themselves. The chief Trade is at the City of *Meaco*, whither most of the Merchants, as well forreigners as those of the Country, bring all their Commodities, and where they have their Agents and Factors, to distribute them over all the Island.

The occasion of the rupture between the Chineses and the Japonneses.

The Commodities which Forreigners bring to *Japan* are, about four or five thousand *Picols* of Silk, and abundance of Stuffs, of Silk, Cotton, Thread, *&c.* above two hundred thousand Deer skins, about a hundred thousand other Hides, Hemp, Linnen-clothes, Wooll, Garments, Cotton, Quicksilver, all sorts of Gums and Medicinal Drugs, Spices, Cloves, Pepper, Sugar, Musk, a sort of Wood called *Sappan*, and *Calambac*, Purcelan, Camphir, *Borax*, Elephants Teeth, Coral, and all kind of *Mercury*, which the *Chinese* bring.

The *Chinese* and *Japonnese* have heretofore lived in very good correspondence, in so much that there hardly passed a year, but the Kings of those two powerful States visited one another by reciprocal Embassies. This friendship continued till the *Japonnese*, who lived in *China*, became so insolent, as to ransack a whole City, and to ravish all the Women and Maids that fell into their hands. The *Chinese* resented the affront as they ought, and killed all the *Japonnese* they met withall. The King of *China*, considering of how dangerous consequence it was to afford refuge to a sort of people, who had the insolence to commit such an action in the time of peace, banished them his Kingdom for ever, ordering the Decree to be graven in golden Letters upon a Pillar, which to that purpose he caused to be erected upon the Sea-side, and forbidding his Subjects, upon pain of death, to trade into *Japan*. These Prohibitions are still so strictly observ'd, that the *Chinese*, who go thither, give out, that they carry their Commodities to some of the neighbouring Islands of the *Indies*; in regard they are sure they would be confiscated, if it were known they carried them to *Japan*; but the *Japonnese* treat the *Chinese* otherwise, and give them the egress and regress of their Country.

Japan was not peopled by Chineses.

It is haply from these Prohibitions of the King of *China*, that some have taken occasion to affirm, that *Japan* was peopled by certain Exiles, whom the King of *China* had sent thither, upon a Conspiracy they were engaged in against his person; since the Histories of neither *Japan* nor *China* speak of any such thing, and that otherwise there is so great a difference in their Cloathing, their Ceremonies, manner of Life, Language and writing, that it is impossible that the same Nation should have contracted, even in the sequel of many Ages, such contrary Habits. Some affirm, that the *Japonnese* have made this change, in revenge for the ill treatment they received of the others; but besides the unlikelihood there

there is, that a whole Nation ſhould, of a ſudden, conceive an averſion for what they lov'd before, there is yet a greater improbability, that it ſhould ſo change its language and manner of writing, as that there ſhould be no rapport between the one and the other. The *Chineſes* never cut their Hair, but tie it up together upon the Crown of the Head; the *Japonneſes*, on the contrary, ſhave the fore-part of the Head down to the Ears, and tie up the reſt of their Hair in their Neck behind, with a String made of Paper. The latter do alſo ſhave their Beards, whereas the *Chineſes* ſuffer theirs to grow to their full length: whence it may be imagined, that they were rather *Tartars*, who firſt got into this Iſland, then *Chineſes*. 1639.

The *Japonneſes*, being thus baniſhed *China*, began to eſtabliſh their Commerce at *Tayouan*, in the Iſland *Formoſa*, whither the *Chineſes* came with their Commodities; but the King of *China* hearing of it, forbad his Subjects to trade thither, by which means the *Japonneſes* were fruſtrated of that Navigation. Which ſo troubled the Emperour, that he would not permit his Subjects to trade out of the Kingdom without his expreſs Commiſſion and Paſports; as well out of this conſideration, that he would not have any Arms tranſported out of the Country, as the experience he hath that the *Japonneſes* are a ſtout and daring People out of their own Country, and being extreamly conceited of himſelf, he would not have any affront done them, which it ſhould not be in his power to reſent, or that any other then himſelf ſhould chaſtiſe their inſolence, as it happened to them, not long ſince in the Kingdom of *Siam*, upon their Attempt againſt the Kings perſon there, and at *Nayouan*, upon their aſſaulting the Governour of the place.

No Cuſtom paid in Japan.

There is no Cuſtom or Duty paid upon any Commodities in *Japan*, either to the Emperour, or any other Prince or Lord, ſo that the whole advantage comes in to the Merchant; but in regard all drive ſome Trade or other, and that the Countrey is extreamly populous, the profits are very ſmall.

No correſpondence between the Emperour of Japan and other Princes.

Since the Rupture between the *Chineſes* and *Japonneſes*, the Emperour of *Japan* hath not held any correſpondence with any forreign Prince. The King of *Siam*, the *Pope*, and the King of *Spain*, ſent very conſiderable Embaſſies to him, which were all very kindly received by him; but the Emperour of *Japan* never ſent to viſit or complement them.

There is, all over *Japan*, but one Language, which is ſo different from that of *China*, *Corea*, and *Tunking*, that the Inhabitants of theſe four Countreys, underſtand one another no more then we do the *Arabick*. There is alſo the ſame difference between their Characters, and yet they have all four a ſort of Characters, by which they underſtand one the other, ſo that thoſe among them, who have ſtudied, underſtand and expreſs in their particular Language, what the others would have expreſſed in theirs, by means of theſe common Characters. They write with Pencils, and that ſo faſt, that they ſpend very little time in writing the Notes, by which they do moſt of their Meſſages, rather then by word of mouth. They endeavour to expreſs themſelves in few words, eſpecially when they either ſpeak or write to Perſons of great Quality; ſo that the Letters and Petitions they addreſs to their Superiours are couched in few words, that it is no great trouble to afford them the reading.

Their Arithmetick.

They have not the way of keeping Accounts as the Merchants in our parts have; but they can count with certain little Bowls, which they thread upon little Sticks on a ſquare Board, as faſt as our ableſt Accountans by all the Rules of Arithmetick, even that of Three.

They have many Books, and ſome great Libraries, but of theſe not ſo great a number as we have in *Europe*.

The Dayro writes the Hiſtory of the Country.

The *Dayro* is the perſon who keeps Memorial of whatever paſſes, and writes the Chronicle of the Country. It is alſo only he, and the Lords and Gentlemen of his Houſe, who are in number above eight hundred, as alſo the Lords and Ladies deſcended from him, who have the priviledge to write any Books. Theſe only have all the Learning among themſelves, and are ſo proud of it, that the advantages they make thereof are equal to thoſe they derive from their Birth, which is no doubt more noble then that of the Emperour. Thence it comes that they ſleight all others ſo far, that they ſhun their converſation, live in a quarter of the City diſtinct from the reſt, and will have no communication with the ignorant.

The Money of Japan.

There is but one kind of Meaſure all over the Country, and all the Money is at the ſame rate and value. The Gold is in its excellency, but the Silver not ſo good, ſo that to reduce it to the rate of that of *France*, there will be a loſs of 22 or 23. in the 100. They have three ſorts of Gold Coins, whereof one weighs ſix *Spaniſh Ryals*, and is worth forty eight *Tayls*, accounting every *Tayl* at about five Shilling *Sterling*. Ten of the ſecond

1639. kind weigh a *Ryal* and half a quarter, and are worth one *Tayl*, and a fifth part each of them: and ten of the third sort weigh a *Ryal* and a half, and half a quarter, and are worth, each of them, the sixth part of a *Tayl*. The Silver Coin, which is made in the form of a *Langot*, is of no certain weight; but it is so ordered, that as much of it as amounts to fifty *Tayls* is to be of a just weight, which they dispose into Rolls of Paper, in each as much as comes to twenty Crowns, and so they dispatch their Payments with little trouble. They have besides this a lesser Coin of Silver, made much like *French* Beans, which also is not of any certain weight, save only in gross, or when it amounts to such a sum, from the value of seven pence to six shillings, or better. There is also a great difference in the value of the *Caxius*; for of some of them, a thousand are worth but a Crown, whereas of others the same number may amount to three Crowns and a half. Much about the time of our Travels the Emperour had ordered them to be cried down, intending to have a new Money made of Brass, and that the poorer sort might not be ruined thereby, he caused the bad Money to be called in, and made good the value of it to such as brought it in.

Japan well stored with Cattel and Fowl.

This Country wants not any kind of Cattel, but is so much the more abundant therein, out of this respect, that they do not geld any Creature. Thence it comes they are well stor'd with Horses, Bulls, Kine, Swine, Deer, wild Boars, Bears, Dogs, *&c.* as also with all sorts of Fowl, as Swans, Geese, Ducks, Herns, Cranes, Eagles, Falcons, Pheasants, Pidgeons, Woodcoocks, Quails, and all the other sorts of small Birds, that we have in these parts.

There are also in this Country several sorts of Mineral Waters, very good against divers Diseases. Some have the taste and qualities of Copper, others that of Saltpeter, Iron, Tin, Salt; and there is, among others, a Source of hot water which hath the taste of Tin, and issues out of a Cave, which is about ten foot diameter at the mouth, and hath both above and below several picked Stones, like Elephants teeth, so that it somewhat resembles that figure, by which some would represent the Jaws of Hell. The Water, which comes out of it in great bubbles day and night constantly, is not so hot, but that it may be endured as soon as it is out of the Source, so that there is no need of mixing any other water therewith.

There is in this Country, in a spacious Plain, at the foot of a Mountain, not far from the Sea-side, another Source, which gives Water but twice in four and twenty hours, and that during the space of an hour at each time, unless it be when the East-wind blows, for then it gives water four times a day. This water comes out of a hole, which Nature hath made in the ground, and which they have cover'd with several great Stones; but when the time of its floud, as I may call it, is come, the water is forced out with such violence amidst the Stones, that it shakes them all, and makes a cast twenty or twenty four foot high, with such noise as would drown that of a great Gun. It is so hot, that it is impossible fire should raise ordinary water to so high a degree of heat, as the earth gives this; for it immediately burns the stuffes on which it falls, and keeps its heat much longer, then the water that hath been boil'd over the fire. The Well is inclosed with a high Wall, having at the bottom thereof several holes, through which the water runs into certain Channels, and so is brought into the houses, where they bath themselves, reducing it to such a degree of warmth as may be endured.

Their Physicians.

Some affirm that their Physicians are so able, that there is no Disease which they cannot discover by the Pulse. They are perfectly well skill'd in the vertues of Simples and Drugs, especially those of the *Radix Chinat*, and *Rhubarbe*, whereof they make use in their *Recipe's*, which for the most part consist in Pills, with very good success. They are also very fortunate in the curing of ordinary Diseases; but Chirurgery is not as yet known among them.

The riches of Japan.

The Mineral Waters we spoke of before, are a sufficient demonstration, that there are in *Japan* Mines of all sorts of Metals. Accordingly, there is found Gold, Silver, Copper, Tin, Iron and Lead. The Country brings forth also Cotton, Flax and Hemp, wherewith they make very fine Cloaths. It produces also Silk, and affords abundance of Goat and Deer skins, the richest Works of Wood and *Lacque* of any in the World, all sorts of Provisions and medicinal Drugs. They have, among others, a particular Invention for the melting of Iron, without the using of any fire, casting it into a Tun done about on the inside with about half a foot of Earth, where they keep it with continual blowing, and take it out by Ladles full, to give it what form they please, much better, and more artificially then the Inhabitants of *Liege* are able to do. So that it may be said, *Japan* may live without its Neighbours, as being well furnish'd with all things requisite to life.

A particular way of melting Iron.

The *Portuguez* came to the knowledge of *Japan*, by means of the Trade they drove in the Kingdom of *Siam* and *Cambodia*. They found it no hard matter to settle themselves there,

there, in as much as the *Japonneſes* had not, at firſt, any averſion for their Eccleſiaſtical Ceremonies, ſo that in a ſhort time the *Roman Catholick* Religion got ſuch footing there, that they were permitted to build Churches in ſeveral places of the Kingdom, and particularly at *Nangaſacky*. But the *Spaniards* too ſoon diſcover'd the Deſign they had to eſtabliſh themſelves there, and had not the reſervedneſs to ſmother that haughty humour, which would reign all over the World: which occaſion'd the *Japonneſes* firſt to ſet upon, and afterwards, to burn their Ships, in ſo much that in the year 1636. they baniſh'd them the Country, with Prohibitions, upon pain of Death, not to return into it. 1639. *The Roman Catholick Religion planted in Japan.* *The Spaniards baniſhed it.*

The *Dutch* have traded thither ever ſince the year 1611. and ſtill continue it, ſo much to their advantage, that their Commerce to *Japan* is worth what they carry on all over the reſt of the *Indies*. They affirm in the Relation of the Voyage they made thither in the year 1598. that the City of *Meaco* is one and twenty Leagues about, but that it had been much ruined by the precedent Civil Wars. That *Oſſacka*, and *Bongo*, are Cities, which, for Wealth, may be compared to any other in the *Indies*. That the Emperours of *Japan* were ordinarily interr'd in the City of *Coyo*, or if they made choice of any other place for their Sepulture, yet were ſome of their Bones carried thither, though it were but a Tooth. That the City of *Piongo*, eighteen Leagues from *Meaco*, was in ſome part ruined during the Civil Wars of *Nobananga*, who was defeated by *Faxiba*, the Predeceſſour of *Taicko*, and that what remained of it was partly deſtroy'd by an Earthquake that happened in the year 1596. and partly by the fire which conſumed the wretched remainders of it, ſome time after. The Cities of *Sacay*, *Volnquin*, *Founay*, *Joſam*, and ſeveral others, are alſo very conſiderable ones. *The Dutch eſtabliſhed there.*

The Air is good and healthy, though more inclin'd to cold then heat, and yet the *Japonneſes* ſow their Corn at the beginning of *May*, but cut not the Rice till *September*. *The Air of Japan.*

They have neither Butter nor Oyl, and have an averſion againſt Milk, out of an imagination, that the Souls of Beaſts reſide in it, and that it is bloud in effect, though of a different colour. They do not eat the fleſh of either Bulls or Kine, nor that of any tame beaſt, but love wild Fowl and Veniſon, and are much addicted to the hunting thereof. They have Cedar-trees, which are ſo big, that they make Pillars of them for their greateſt Edifices, and Maſts for their Ships.

Poverty is not ſo criminal or infamous in *Japan*, as it is in ſeveral places of *Europe*, where the rich are only accounted vertuous. They hate Calumniators, Swearers and Gameſters; but they have alſo their Vices, which much eclipſe their other good parts. *Have many good qualities.*

They are rather of a browniſh Complexion then white, ſtrong and well ſet, enduring pains taking, and the inconveniences of the Seaſons, with incredible patience. They endure hunger and thirſt, heat and cold, without any trouble, and are no otherwiſe clad in Winter then they are in Summer.

The *Japonneſes* are diſtinguiſhed into five Orders. The firſt, is that of Kings and Princes, and ſuch as have civil or military Charges and Employments, who are all called by a common name *Tones*. The ſecond is that of Eccleſiaſticks, whom they call by a general name *Bowzes*. The third is that of Gentlemen and Merchants. The fourth that of Tradeſmen, and ſuch as relate to the Sea. And the fifth that of Labourers, and ſuch as work by the day. *Are diſtinguiſhed into five Orders.*

The general adminiſtration of Affairs is in the hands of three principal Miniſters of State; the firſt whereof, whoſe ſuperintendency is over Eccleſiaſtical affairs, hath the quality of *Zazo*; he who hath the diſpoſal of Charges and Offices is called *Vco*, and he who hath the overſight of things relating to the War is called *Cabacama*. *The principal Miniſters of Japan.*

There could not be hitherto had any true account of the Emperour of *Japan*'s Revenue: but it is certain that he makes above two Millions of Gold of the Rice, which his own Demeſne affords him every year. It is alſo certain, that the Emperour of *Japan* is ſo powerful, that *Taicko*, whom we ſpoke of before, finding himſelf well ſettled upon the Throne, had a deſign to paſs over into *China*, with a Fleet of two thouſand Veſſels, for the building whereof he had already cut down Timber, which he might have done with the more eaſe, upon this account, that the *Japonneſes* are incomparably a more warlike Nation then the *Chineſes*.

But in regard there is not any thing makes a greater diſcovery of the greatneſs of this Monarch, then the Ceremonies of the Interview between him and the *Dayro*, whereof we promiſed before to give here a ſhort deſcription, we think fit to that purpoſe to inſert in this place the Extract of a Relation made by the Director of the *Dutch* Commerce in *Japan*, who was at *Meaco* in the year 1626. This Author ſayes, that being at the Emperours Court in the moneth of *October*, in the year aforeſaid, with ſome others of the Deputies of his Nation, he was deſirous to ſee the Proceſſion, which was made there on the

1639. 25. of the ſaid moneth. To that end they went the 24. and with the retinue took up a houſe, which they had hired near the *Dayro*'s Palace, in regard the next day it would have been impoſſible for them to paſs the Streets.

The Proceſſion of the Dayro and Emperour. On the ſaid 25. of *October*, as ſoon as it was light, they found the Streets and tops of Houſes full of people. The Streets were rail'd in on both ſides, from the *Dayro*'s Palace to the Emperours, having files of Souldiers all along, and the middle of the Street ſtrew'd with white Sand, all laid ſo even, that nothing ſhould retard the Proceſſion, or diſturb its Order. Theſe Souldiers, who were part of the *Dayro*'s Guards, part of the Emperours, were all clad in white, having on their Heads Casks of black *Lacque*, by their ſides two Cymitars, and in their Hands a *Nanganet*, that is, a *Japonneſe* Pike.

The Dayro's baggage. The firſt appearance was that of a great number of the Domeſticks of theſe two Princes, going to and fro, as alſo that of ſeveral Porters or Sedan-men, who carried in great ſquare Cheſts, which were of black *Lacque* and gilt, the baggage of the *Dayro* to the Emperours Palace.

The Ladies of Honour. Then followed, in forty ſix *Palanquins*, carried each of them by four men, ſo many Maids of Honour belonging to the *Dayro*'s Wives, who went in that equipage to the Emperours Palace. The *Palanquins* were of a fine white Wood, painted with Verdure, garniſhed with braſs Plates, very neatly made, and five or ſix foot high.

After them there came one and twenty other *Palanquines* of a kind, which they call *Norrimones*, varniſh'd with black and gilt.

27. Lords of the Dayro's Retinue. Next them there came twenty ſeven other *Norrimones*, of the ſame bigneſs with the precedent, but made with Wickets and Windows, for ſo many Lords of the *Dayro*'s Retinue, who were carried in them to the Emperours Palace, having every one before him a gilt Umbrello, covered with very fine Cloth. They had about them a hundred and eight Pages clad in white, and behind them four and twenty Gentlemen, armed as if they were ready to engage in a fight.

24. Gentlemen. Theſe had on their Heads a kind of Bonnets of black *Lacque*, with a little Plume of Feathers of the ſame colour, and under their *Japonneſſes* they had long and narrow Breeches of Satin, of ſeveral colours, embroidered with Gold and Silver, with Buskins varniſhed with black, and gilt at the extremities. By their Sides they had Cimitars, the Hilts whereof were gilt, and Bows and Arrows at their Waſte, and over their Shoulders Scarfs richly embroidered, the ends whereof hung down on the Cruppers of their Horſes. No doubt, they had cull'd out the goodlieſt perſons in the Country for this Ceremony; for they were all the handſomeſt perſons, both as to Body and Countenance, that could be ſeen. Their Saddles were varniſh'd over and gilt, the Seats embroidered and covered with Tigers and Lynxes Skins; their Trappings were of Crimſon Silk twined, and the Horſes had their Mains tied up with Gold and Silver Thread, and they had on the Breaſt and Crupper a kind of Net-work of twined crimſon Silk, and inſtead of Shooes their Hoofs were done about with plain crimſon Silk. Every Horſe was led by two Lacquies, and two other Lacquies carried two great Umbrelloes, covered with a very fine and tranſparent cloth, and upon that a covering of Scarlet fring'd with Gold. Another Lacquie carried a *Nanganet*, or Pike, the top whereof was alſo covered with a piece of red and black cloth. Every Horſman had eight Pages clad in white, and arm'd with two Cymitars, according to the mode of the Country.

The Dayro's three Wives. This body of Horſe ſerv'd for a Guard for the three chiefeſt of the *Dayro*'s Wives, who followed it in three Coaches of ſo extraordinary a making, that we ſhall not think it much to afford them a ſhort deſcription. They were at leaſt twenty or twenty five foot in height, ten or twelve in length, and five or ſix in breadth, having on each ſide three, and before, two Windows with embroydered Curtains. Before and behind they were made like the Front of a Houſe, as was alſo the Door at which they went in, which was made behind at the back. The Wheels were of Iron, and the Coach was varniſhed all over with black, ſo that the Wheels might be ſeen turning as it were in a Looking-glaſs. The Roofs of them, which were built Arch-wiſe, had drawn thereon the *Dayro*'s Arms, within a great Circle of Gold. The Pillars, as alſo the inſide of the Coach, was inriched with Figures of beaten Gold and Mother of Pearl, and all the extremities were garniſhed with Gold. Two great black Bufflers, covered with a Net-work of Crimſon Silk, drew each of them, and they were guided by four Halberteers clad in white. Every Coach was valued at ſeventy thouſand *Tayls*, which amount to twenty thouſand pounds *Sterling*.

Theſe Coaches had alſo their Foot-guard, and many Pages marching on both ſides of them.

The chief Servants of thoſe Ladies. Twenty three of the chiefeſt Servants belonging to theſe Ladies were carried next to them in ſo many black *Norrimones*, adorned with Braſs plates, having each of them marching before him a Halbertier, who carried an Umbrello, on each ſide two Pages, and behind them

them ſixty eight Gentlement of the *Dayro*'s, clad and armed as thoſe we mentioned before. Theſe march'd two a breaſt, and were followed by a great number of Pages, Halberteers, and Slaves. 1639. 68. Gentlemen.

After them there were carried.

Two gilt Stools, with Plates of Gold at the extremities.
A great Fire-work.
A great and very rich Sea-Compaſs.
Two great Golden Candleſticks.
Two Pillars of Ebony.
Three Cabinets of Ebony, garniſhed with Gold plates.
Four other Cabinets, bigger and richer then the three precedent.
Two great Gold Baſins carv'd.
A pair of Pantofles varniſh'd.

After theſe, there followed in two Coaches of the ſame making as the three firſt, the Emperour and his Ward, having before them a hundred and ſixty Gentlemen, armed with two Cymitars and a *Nanganet*, ſerving for a particular Guard about their Majeſties perſons. Theſe Guards they call *Sambreys*, and they are choſen out of the moſt valiant and moſt active perſons in the Kingdom. Immediately before the Coaches there march'd four Men with Umbrelloes, four others with great Iron Rods to make way, two light Horſes magnificently cover'd, and with very rich Trappings, accompanied each of them by eight Men, arm'd with Bows and Arrows, and two great Pikes. *The Emperour and his Ward.*

The Emperours Brethren followed next on Horſe-back, accompanied by all the Princes and Lords of *Japan*, who were alſo on Horſe-back, all armed, and ſumptuouſly clad, 164. in number.

The Chiefeſt of theſe Lords were, *The greateſt Lords of Japan.*

Owarny Camny Samma, the Emperours Brother.
Quiney Deymangon ſamma, another Brother of the Emperour.
Mittot Chonango ſamma, a third Brother of the Emperour.
Maſſummenamoet Nocammi ſamma, a fourth Brother of the Emperours.
Matſendairo Thoy queſe Nocammi ſamma, Lord of *Canga*.
Matſendairo Moutſnocammy ſamma, *Satſumadonne*, that is, Lord of *Satſuma*.
Matſendairo Jondonne.
Manſendairo Symouts quedonne.
Matſendairo Quonenoch, *Wacchoo*; and
Turogano Deynangono Cammy ſamma.

Theſe march'd all in a File, having each of them a long train of Pages, Lacqueys, Halberteers, Guards and Slaves.

The other Lords, among whom were *Ouwaydonne*, and *Woutadonne*, the chiefeſt of the Emperous Councel, march'd two a breaſt, he of the greater quality taking the left hand, which among them is accounted the more honourable.

After them march'd four hundred of the Guards of the body, and in the ſame order, in white Liveries.

Next them, in ſix fair Coaches, came the *Dayro*'s Concubines; but theſe Coaches were not ſo large as the former, and were drawn each of them by a ſingle Buffler. *The Dayro's Concubines.*

Then followed ſixty eight Gentlemen on Horſe-back, attended by a great number of Lacqueys and Slaves.

The *Dayro*'s Secretary, accompanied by thirty ſeven Gentlemen on Horſe-back, follow'd next in a Coach, and immediately preceded forty ſix Lords of the *Dayro*'s Houſe, who were carried in *Norimonnes*, whereof fifteen were of Ebony, beautified with Ivory, thirteen varniſhed with black and gilt, and the other eighteen were only varniſhed with black. There were carried after them fourty ſix Umbrelloes ſuitable to their *Norimonnes*. *His Secretary.*

Then followed the *Dayro*'s Muſick, which conſiſted of fifty four Gentlemen, very odly, but very richly clad, who plaid on their Inſtruments, which were only Tabours, Timbrels, Copper Baſins, Bells, and that kind of Lute we ſpoke of before, which was not heard by reaſon of the confuſed noiſe of the reſt. *His Muſick.*

Yet

1639. *The Dayro* Yet was this distracted kind of Musick delightful to the *Dayro*, who immediately followed it. He was sate in a little wooden Structure made like a Sedan, but much larger, as being about seven or eight foot high, and as many Diameter, having windows on all sides, with embroidered Curtains. The Roof of that little Structure was arch'd, and had in the midst, upon a great Button, a Cock of massie Gold, with his Wings spread in a Field Azure, with several Stars of beaten Gold about the Sun and Moon, which appeared there with a lustre coming near the natural. This *Machine* was carried by fifty Gentlemen of the *Dayro*'s retinue, all clad in white, with Bonnets on their Heads. Fourty other Gentlemen went before it, and represented the Guard for the *Dayro*'s person. These were clad after a particular fashion, much like that of the ancient *Romans*, carrying each of them a gilt *Nonganet*. The Captain of the Guard marched alone on Horse-back, behind the *Dayro*'s Chair, armed with a Target, stuck through with several Arrows, and had carried after him fourty Umbrelloes for the Guards.

Next were carried thirteen varnish'd Chests, and in the close of the Procession came four hundred Souldiers clad in white, who marched six a breast, and by that means hinder the crowds of people to interrupt that Order. This Ceremony took up the whole day, so that night coming on upon us at the place where we were, we thought it not safe to venture home at so unseasonable a time, by reason of the many Robberies, Murthers, and other Violences committed in the Streets during the disorder, which proved so great, that the next morning there were found a great number of dead persons, some whereof had been kill'd and robb'd, and others had been smother'd in the throng. The *Dayro* staid three dayes at the Emperours Palace, who during that time waited on him in person with his Brethren, and had the charge of his Table, for that time defray'd by *Sugadonne*, chief Judge of the City of *Meaco*, *Ivocamosamma*, *Coberitot homy samma*, *Macamora*, *Mockiemon samma*, and *Mannosa Froyemon samma*. There were brought to his Table at every meal, a hundred and fourteen dishes of meat.

Onwaydonne, the President of the Emperours Councel, *Ivemondonne*, one of the Counsellors of State, *Farimadonne*, *Quiniem Ondonne*, *Sioyserodonne*, and *Chirotadonne*, provided for the Table of the *Dayro*'s three chiefest Wives.

The Emperours Present to him were.

Two hundred Marks of Gold.
A hundred Garments of *Watte*, of the best.
Two great Silver Pots, full of Honey.
Five *Catties* of the Wood of *Calambac*.
Two hundred pieces of Crimson Serge.
Five Pots of Silver, full of Musk; and
Five excellent Horses with very rich Trappings.

The young Emperour gave him.

Three thousand pieces of Silver amounting each to four *Tayls* and three *Mases*.
Two fair Cymitars set forth with Gold.
Two hundred rich Garments after the *Japonnese* fashion.
Three hundred pieces of Satin.
A piece of *Calambac*-wood, three Ells and a half in length, and above two foot thick.
Five great Vessels of Silver, full of Musk; and
Ten excellent Horses with rich Trappings.

These shall suffice for an account of the Kingdom and people of *Japan*.

The

1639.

The Island FERMOSA.

WE said elsewhere, that when the *Japonneses* were banish'd *China*; there were also Prohibitions made, that none should trade with them, and that the *Chineses*, to avoid the confiscation of their goods, which they might carry to *Japan*, made choice of the Island of *Tayovang*, for the continuance of their Commerce. This example encouraged the *Dutch*, in the year 1632. to make use of the convenience of the same place, in regard the *Chineses* had depriv'd them of all hope of Commerce with them, if they came not out of their Country, and setled not themselves in a place where they might give no occasion of suspition. *The Isle of Tayovang*

There is not in all the East, a more convenient haven for the Trade of *China*, and for the establishment of a Communication with *Iapan*, and all the rest of the *Indies*, then this Island affords. For ships may come thither at all times of the year, so as that they need not stay for the *Moussons*, or convenience of the general winds, which in all other places last six moneths of the year.

About that time the *Dutch* built there a Fort, with four Bastions, all of freestone, upon a Down, or Sandy assent, within half a League of the great Island *Fermosa*. Within three hundred paces of the Fort, there passes a Channel, which serves for a Haven, though, even at high water, there be but thirteen or fourteen foot water; but the ships that Anchor there may defie any wind. They have made a redoubt of Stone, very well flanck'd upon the Channel, where they have a little Garrison of twenty five or thirty men, which are enough to defend the entrance of it; and they have found the scituation of it so advantagious, that they have given it the name of new *Zealand*. *The Dutch settle there.*

The Island *Fermosa*, that is, the *Fair Island*, called by the *Chineses Paccande*, lies at 21. Degrees on this side the line, within 32. Leagues of the River of *Chincheu*, and the Island of *Quemoy* in *China*, reaching in length from South-west to North-east, as far as 21. Degrees and a half. *And call new Zealand, Fermosa.*

It is about a hundred and thirty Leagues in compass, and contains many Villages, and an infinite number of men, who acknowledg no King nor Soveraign, and have no other Superiours over them, then such as they create among themselves, after the manner we shall give an account of hereafter. Its Rivers are excellently well stor'd with Fish; Its Forrests well furnished with all sorts of wild-Fowl and Venison; and its Fields, which are for the most part Meddows, in a manner covered with Cattel. They have Deere, Wild-Goates, Hares, Conies, Pheasants, Partridges, Pidgeons, *&c.* and besides these a kind of horned Horse, by the Inhabitants called *Olavang*, whose horns are like those of Deere, and the flesh very delicate. They have also Tygers, and another kind of Animal, which they call *Tirney*, made like a Bear, but much stronger. The skin of this Beast, they account one of the most precious things that the Island produces. *An Anarchy*

The ground here is fat and fruitful, but so poorly cultivated, that there are very few Fruit-trees, and the little Fruit that is, so bad, that though the Islanders eat it in some delight, yet cannot other Nations so much as taste of it. There grows some Ginger and Cinnamon in this Island, which they say hath Gold and Silver Mines, whereof the *Chineses* have sometimes made trial; but it is more then the *Dutch* could ever discover.

The parts thereof which these last mentioned have most frequented are, *Sinkan*, *Mandaun*, *Toulang*, *Taffacang*, *Tifulucang*, *Teosang*, *Tefurang*, which are all within a small distance of the Fort *Tayouang*; so that they may be all gone to in two days, save only the Village of *Tefurang*, which lies in the Mountains, at a day and a halfs journey at the least, from the habitation of the *Dutch*. The rest lies as it were upon the Sea-side, and have all the same manner of life, the same Religion, and almost the same Language. *The places possessed by the Dutch.*

A man would take the Inhabitants at the first sight, to be *Barbarians*, and Savages. For the men are strong and hardy, much bigger then any of the *Europeans*, and coming somwhat near the staure of the Gyants. Their bodies are hairy all over, and they are of a brown complexion, inclining to black, as most of the *Indians* are. The women are somewhat less, but fat enough, and, for the most part, well shaped. They make a greater discovery of shamefacedness then the men, in that they have somewhat of cloathing about them: but both men and women strip themselves, when they bath, which they do twice a day, in warm water. for then, the latter are not ashamed to be seen by men, nor care much whether they have ought about them. *The Inhabitants of Fermosa.*

This

1639. *Are civil and good natured.*

This People, which in appearance seems to be so barbarous, is in effect, good natur'd, faithful and obliging, entertaining strangers with much kindness and civility, and communicating to them such good chear as nature affords them. It hath never been found that they were desirous to get what belongs to any other by indirect ways, but on the contrary, they have often returned to the owners what they found mis-laid or lost; though the Inhabitants of the Village of *Toulang* have a very ill report, as to this particular. They are constant and faithful in their friendship, and religiously observe, as well the Treatises they make among themselves, as those made with Forreigners. Treachery is a thing they are so unacquainted withal, that there is no misfortune which they would not suffer rather then any reproach should be made them of unfaithfulness. They want neither ingenuity nor memory, but easily apprehend and retain what is said unto them. 'Tis true, they have an humour of impudently begging any thing they see; but they are denied with the same freedom, and are satisfied with a small matter.

Are ingenious.

They live altogether by the little Husbandry they carry on, and the Rice they get out of the ground. Not but that their Lands are very fruitful, and that the *Cantons* we named before might produce, what were able to sustain above ten thousand Families: but in regard they have no Ploughs, nor Creatures fit for Tillage, they have no other way of digging the ground, then that of the Spade, and that by the hands of Women; inasmuch as the men mind only War and Hunting, and so their increase cannot be so great as that of those places where they have better conveniences. Another employment of the women is, to transplant the Rice, when it grows thicker in one place then another; which work takes up much of their time, as does also their cutting of it when it is ripe. For instead of reaping it by handfulls with a Hook, they cut it Corn by Corn, some four or five fingers below the Ear, so put it up in the house, and never beat it but when there is occasion, in order to their subsistance, that is, every day. The woman of the house sets over-night two or three little bundles of it a-drying in the Chimney-corner, and rising the next morning two hours before day, she beats it in a Morter, and makes as much clean Rice as is requisite for the Family that day, and no more. And thus they live all the year long.

Fruits.

They sow also two or three sorts of Fruit, which they call *Ptingh*, *Quach*, and *Taraun*, which are somewhat like Millet, as also a kind of Pulse much like the *French* Bean. They have also several sorts of Roots, which they may use instead of Bread, and which in effect were able to sustain them, though they had no Rice nor any other kind of Fruit or Corn. They have Ginger, Cinamon, Sugar-canes, *Bannanan's*, Lemmons, abundance of *Areca*, and several other sorts of Fruits, Simples, and Pulse, not known in *Europe*, such as it would be no easie matter to describe.

Their Wine.

Though they have no *Cocos*-wine, nor any other natural drink, yet have they found out a way to make a kind of Beverage, which is as strong, and intoxicates a mans brains as soon as the best Sack. Their way of ordering it is thus. They set a soaking in warm water a certain quantity of Rice, which they afterwards beat in a Morter till it be reduced to a Paste. Then they chew some Rice-meal in their mouths, which they spet into a Pot, till such time as they have got a Quart of Liquor, which they put to the Paste instead of Leaven, and after they have kneaded all well together, till they have brought it to Dough, such as that of the Bakers, they put it into a great Earthen Pot, which they fill up with water, and so let it remain there for two months; and by this means they make one of the best and most pleasant Liquors that a man need drink. This is their Wine, which is stronger or weaker according to the time it remains in the Pot; and the older it is, the better and sweeter it is; insomuch that sometimes they keep it five and twenty or thirty years. VVhat is towards the mouth of the Pot is as clear as Rock-water, but at the bottom there are only dregs, such as were able to turn a weak stomack; and yet the Islanders make it one of their delicacies, and eat it with Spoons, having first stirr'd it about, with a little water put to it. When they go into the Countrey, they carry along with them a Pot of this stuff, and a Gourd-bottle full of water, and so they are furnish'd as to meat and drink. They make use of the upper part of this Beverage, as of *Aqua-vitæ*, to comfort the heart, and they eat what's in the bottom, ordered as we said before; whence it comes that they spend most part of their Rice in this composition.

Their women go a fishing.

When the women have no work to do about their Grounds, they go a fishing, and particularly to get Oysters, which the Islanders prefer before all meat whatsoever. They have a way of salting the Fish slightly as soon as it is taken, with the shell, and whatsoever is within it, and they eat them with all the filth, nay with the worms, which sometimes are bred within them for want of Salt.

How the men live.

The men, especially the younger sort, to the age of twenty four or twenty five years, do

do nothing at all: but when they are come to forty, they help to do somewhat about the grounds, where they continue night and day with their Wives, in little Huts, and return not to the Village till some necessity or divertisement calls them thither. 1639.

They have several kinds of Hunting, and use, in their sport, Snares, slender Pikes, or Bows and Arrows. They spread their Snares or Nets in the Woods, cross those Paths, which the Deers and wild Boars are wont to make, and force those Creatures into them: or haply, they spread them in the open fields, with the convenience of a great Cane, one end whereof they plant in the ground, and the other is bowed down, and fastened to certain little sticks, upon which they lay a Snare cover'd with a little earth, which assoon as the wild Beast touches, the Cane is suddenly as it were unbent, and hath him by one of the feet. The Hunting with that kind of Pikes is thus. There met together, at a certain place appointed, the Inhabitants of two or three Villages, arm'd every one with two or three Pikes, and having divided themselves into several parties, they send their Dogs into the Woods, and they force out the Game into the Fields, where they meet, and make a great Ring, a League or more in compass, within which when they have once gotten the Deer and wild Boars, it seldom happens that any of them escape without being kill'd or hurt. The Pike it self is of Cane, six or seven foot in length, having an Iron at the top with several Hooks, so as that being entred into the beast, it is beyond any mans strength to get it out: but the Iron is not made so fast to the Wood but that it comes off at the first bush the beast runs into; and to the end it may still annoy the Deer, there is a Cord fastened thereto, which holds both, and at the top of the Iron there is a little Bell, whereby the Beast is discover'd where-ever it goes. They destroy so great a number of Deer by these kinds of Hunting, that being not able to spend all they take themselves, they sell the flesh of them to the *Chineses*, for little Garments, Sweet Wood, and other Commodities, eating themselves only the Umbles and Paunch, which they salt with the filth in them, and indeed care not much for them, till when they are thus corrupted. Sometimes while they are hunting, they cut off a piece, and eat it immediately, so as that the bloud runs about their mouths; and if they find any young ones in the belly of the Female, whether come into any form or not, they eat them with the skin and hair, as a thing very delicate. *Their hunting.*

Their Military engagements are as followeth. They begin not any War till they have first declared it against the Village by which they conceive themselves injured, and then they go by small parties of five and twenty or thirty men, and hide themselves near the place they are to assault, till it be night, and then they run about the Fields, and if they find any in the Huts, where aged persons are wont to keep, as we said before, they kill them, cut off their heads, and, if they have time enough, the hands and feet, and sometimes they cut the whole body to pieces, that every one may carry away his share, and shew the marks of his courage at his return. If the Country take the Alarm, so as they cannot quite cut off the Head, they think it enough to cut off the hair, which they carry away as a noble Demonstration of their Victory; which is accounted among them a very considerable one, though that in an exploit of this nature there happens to be but one man kill'd. Sometimes they venture so far as to enter into the Village, and break open some house; but in regard that cannot be done without noise, they go upon such a Design with so much precipitation, that lest they should be intercepted in their return, they kill all they meet, and fly for it. They also use stratagems, and make Ambushes according to their way, and sometimes they engage in the open field, where they fight with great animosity: but the death of one man passes among them for an absolute Defeat, and obliges those who have had that loss, to an immediate Retreat. *The manner of their war.*

The Pikes they use in the Wars are made of a different manner from those they hunt withall: for the Iron at the top hath no Branches nor Hooks, and is made fast enough to the body of the Pike. Their Bucklers are so large, that they almost cover all the whole body, and their Swords on the contrary, are short, but broad. They use also Knives made like those of the *Japonneses*, Bows and Arrows. *Their Arms.*

When several Villages make an Association among themselves to carry on a War jointly against some other Villages, the Command of their Forces is not bestow'd on one Chief, who hath Authority sufficient to force himself to be obey'd: but such among them as have been so fortunate as to cut off divers heads upon several occasions, find Volunteers enough to follow them in their military Exploits, out of no other Consideration, then that of participating of the Glory of their Commander. Sometimes they engage in a War out of a pure frolick, against the Inhabitants of the Island of *Tugin*, which the *Dutch* call the Island of the *Golden Lyon*, upon this account, that the Captain and Master of a Ship, of that name, were there killed by the Islanders. The Inhabitants of *The Island of Tugin.*

1639. this place permit not any ſtrangers to come within their Iſland; nay they ſuffer not the *Chineſes*, who come thither every year upon the account of their Commerce, to ſet foot on Land; but they force them to ſtay in the Road, whither the Iſlanders bring the Commodities they would truck with them; with ſo much diſtruſt on their ſide, that they never let go any thing out of one hand, till they have faſt hold of what they would have in the other. The Inhabitants of *Fermoſa*, eſpecially thoſe of the Village of *Soulang*, having a Deſign to ſurprize them, embarqu'd themſelves not long ſince, to the number of ſixty, diſguiz'd like *China* Merchants, and being come near the Iſland of *Tugin*, ſent to ſome of the Iſlanders to come and meet them with the Commodities of the Countrey: but inſtead of receiving them from his hands, who preſented them therewith, they laid hold of his arm, and drew him aboard their Veſſel, where they cut him to pieces. This was a great Victory to them; for they think it enough to bring away the Hair, or haply a Pike of the Enemies, to make a ſolemn Triumph, and appoint a day of publick Thankſgiving. They carry the Heads in Proceſſion all about the Village, ſinging Hymns to their Gods, and, in their way, viſit their Friends, who make them drink of the beſt *Arac*, and accompany them to the *Pagode*, where they boil the Head, till there be nothing left but the Bones, on which they ſprinkle ſome Wine, Sacrifice ſeveral Swine to their Gods, and feaſt it for fifteen days together. They do the like when they have brought home only the Hair, or a Pike, which, as alſo the Bones of their Enemies, they keep as carefully as we do Gold, Silver, or Jewels, inaſmuch as when a Houſe is a-fire, they abandon all, to ſave their Relicks. They tender ſo great reſpect to thoſe who have had the good fortune to bring home an Enemies Head, that no perſon comes near him, but with a certain veneration, for above fifteen days after his doing ſuch an exploit, nor ſpeak to him but with ſuch extraordinay ſubmiſſions, as that a Soveraign Prince could not expect greater.

Their Magiſtracy. There is no Lord in all that Iſland, that hath a Superiority or advantage over the reſt. Their condition is equal, ſave that in every Village there is a kind of Senate, conſiſting of twelve perſons, which are changed every two years. The two years being expir'd, they who are to quit their places pull off their Hair off their Eye brows, and on both ſides of their Heads, to ſhew that they have been Magiſtrates. The Senators are choſen out of perſons much about the ſame age, which is that of forty years: for though they have no Almanack, and cannot count their years, yet do they remember well enough the courſe of the Moon, and take particular notice of ſuch as are born within the ſame Month, and about the ſame Year.

Its Authority. Not that this Magiſtrate hath any Authority to force himſelf to be obey'd, or to put his Commands in execution; for all the power they have, is only to give order for an Aſſembly to be held, concerning ſuch Affairs as they think of importance, to confer among themſelves thereof, and to invite all the Heads of Families, to meet in one of their *Pagodes*, where they propoſe to them how things ſtand, diſcover what they think fit to be done, and endeavour to bring the reſt to be of the ſame judgment with them. All the Senatours ſpeak one after another, and uſe all the Eloquence they have to preſs their Reaſons the more home: I ſay, *Eloquence*, for they really have of it. For they will ſpeak half an hour together in ſuch high expreſſions, with ſo much eaſe, and with ſuch apt geſtures, that what we are taught by Art comes not near what Nature hath beſtow'd on theſe People, who can neither write nor read. While one ſpeaks, all the reſt are ſo exactly ſilent, that you ſhall not hear ſo much as a Cough, though their Aſſemblies many times conſiſt of a thouſand perſons. When all the Senators have done ſpeaking, the reſt put the buſineſs to deliberation, with an abſolute freedom of either complying with the judgment of the Senate, or oppoſing it, after they have conſidered the good or evil which may accrew to them thereby.

Their puniſhments. All the power they have conſiſts in cauſing what their Prieſteſſes command to be put in execution, in preventing ought to be done which may offend the Gods, and in puniſhing ſuch as do offend them. They alſo give reparations to private perſons who have been injur'd by others: not by cauſing the offenders to be impriſon'd or puniſh'd with death, or other corporal puniſhment; but in condemning them to pay a piece of cloth, a Deerskin, a certain quantity of Rice, or a pot of their *Aracque*, by way of ſatisfaction, according to the quality of the crime.

There is a certain ſeaſon of the year, wherein they go ſtark naked, and ſay they do it out of this conſideration, that were it not for that, the Gods would not cauſe it to rain, and the Rice would not grow: inſomuch, that if during the ſaid time, the Senators meet with any one that hath ought about his waſte, the cloth or whatſoever it be, is confiſcated, and he is adjudged to a penalty, which at moſt, is but two Deer-skins, or a certain quantity of Rice amounting to the ſame value. Whence it comes, that it is one of the principal Functions of the Senatours, to be during that time, morning and evening, about the avenues of the Village, and to puniſh ſuch as they find Delinquent. There

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are other seasons wherein they are permitted to cover that part of the body, (which is never uncovered in other places,) but with this restriction; that the garment, or rather skarf, wherewith it is covered, must not be of Silk; whence it also comes, that the same Senatours are to take particular notice of it, confiscate those Silk Garments, and adjudge the offendours to pay a penalty; as they do also the women, who to make the greatest ostentation, upon days of publick Ceremonies, go otherwise then they are permitted to do. 1639

The Senatours on the other side, are obliged to observe a certain manner of life, about the time that the Rice grows ripe; for during that time, they are forbidden drinking to excess, the eating of sugar and fat, and chewing of *Areca*; out of a perswasion that the people would not only slight them, but also that the gods would send the Deer and wild Boars into the Rice, to destroy it.

The Magistrate hath no power.

The Magistrate hath no power to punish murther theft, or adultery; but such as are injured do themselves Justice. When the theft is discovered, he who hath been robb'd, goes accompanied by his Friends, to find out the person who hath robb'd him, and takes out of his house what he thinks sufficient to make him satisfaction, by an accommodation he makes with the other; but if he finds any Opposition, he declares open hostility against him, till such time as he hath made him satisfaction. He who finds himself injured in his reputation, by Adultery committed with his Wife, revenges himself another way; for he takes out of his house who hath had to do with his wife, two or three Piggs, as a satisfaction for the injury he hath received. The Friends and Relations on both sides compose the differences arising between private persons, in the case of murther, and so regulate the civil concernment.

They have a respect for old Age.

There is among them so great an equality of condition, that they are yet ignorant of the names of *Master* and *Servant*. Yet does not this hinder, but that they render great honour one to another, and express a great respect and submission one towards another: not out of any consideration of a more eminent dignity, or upon the accompt of wealth, but only upon that of Age; which is so considered among them, that a young man is obliged to go aside, to make way for an old man, and turn his back to him, by way of respect, till he be passed, by continuing in that posture, even though the old man should stand still to speak to him. No young man dares deny the doing of what the other commands him, though he should send him three or four Leagues upon some business of his. They are the ancient men who have the chiefest places, and are the first served at Feasts.

The Age of the men in order to marriage.

As to their Marriages; the men are not permitted to marry till they be twenty or twenty one years of age, which they call *Saat Cassiu wang*. Till they are sixteen or seventeen they are forbidden to wear long hair, so that they cut it even with the tip of the Ear; and in regard they have neither Cisers nor Rasors, to do that work, they make use of a *Parring*, which is a kind of little chopping-knife, lay down the hair upon a piece of wood, and cut it as exactly as the most expert Barbers among us. They draw forth the hair of their faces with little Pincers of Brass or Iron, or with the string of a great Cane which they double, and getting the hair fast between it, they turn the string till the hair be taken out. Being come to the seventeenth year of their age, they let their hair grow, and when it is come to its ordinary length, they begin to think of marriage. Maids never cut their hair, and they are married assoon as they are marriageable.

Their marriages.

Their marriages are contracted and continued after a pleasant manner. The young gallant who hath an inclination to a Maid, sends his Mother, Sister, or some Kinswoman to the relations of the Maid, to shew them what he intends to bestow on his Mistress. If they receive his addresses kindly, and are satisfied as to his estate, the marriage is immediately concluded, insomuch that the young man may consummate it the night following. The wealth which the most able among them send to their Brides, consists in seven or eight of these skarfs of Silk or Cotton, wherewith the women cover themselves about the waste, so many little wastcoats of the same stuffe, three or four hundred bracelets of Canes, ten or twelve Rings of Latten, or Deers horn, which are so broad that they hide half the Fingers, and so thick, that when the Ladies have them on, they are rather a trouble, then any ornament to them; four or five Girdles of course Cloth, ten or twelve little Vestments, which they call *Ethgrao*, and are made of Dogs-hair, twenty or twenty five *Cangas* or *China* garments, a bag of Dogs-hair as big as a man can well carry, which they call in their Language *Ayammamiang*, a kind of head-gear, made like a Mitre, of straw and Dogs-hair; and lastly, in four or five pair of stockins of Deer-skin; so that all put together may amount to about forty Crowns at most. Others who are not so rich, give only three or four Bracelets, and certain Garments, all not amounting to above two or three Crowns.

A pleasant married life.

The marriage being thus concluded, the young Gallant goes in the Evening to his Bride at her Fathers house, and endeavours to get in by stealth, shunning both fire and light,

1639. leſt he ſhould be ſeen, and ſo creeps into the bed, where the marriage is to be conſummated. This he does for many years after his marriage, coming thence before day, and returning at night to his Wife, who ſtill continues at her Fathers houſe, concealing himſelf ſo from thoſe of the houſhold, that to call to his Wife for Tobacco or ought elſe he ſtands in need of, he only hems, and permits her to return to the company ſhe was in before, as ſoon as ſhe hath done what he deſired. Of this carriage the reaſon is, that it were a ſhame for her to leave her Relations, to go to her Husband. Their bed-ſteads are made of *Bambus* or Canes; a baven ſerves them for a bolſter, and a Dear-skin for bed and all belonging thereto.

The women living thus with their Fathers, till the ground belonging to the Family, while the Husband lives at his own houſe, and provides only for himſelf. They never ſee one another in the day time, unleſs they appoint it to be in ſome remote place, where they may not be ſeen ſpeaking together; or unleſs the young man goes to the houſe, when he knows there is none but his Wife at home; yet will he not enter, till he hath ſent one to know, whether it may be done without any inconvenience to her. If ſhe think fit he ſhould ſee her, ſhe comes to the door, and makes him a ſign to enter; but if ſhe deſires not his company, ſhe ſends him away. The children they have remain with the Mother till they are thirteen years of age, and then the Father takes them home. The Women bear no children till they are thirty-five or thirty ſix years of Age, but deſtroy in the womb ſuch as they conceive before that time. To procure abortion, they have one of their Prieſteſſes comes to them, who kneeling upon their bellies cauſes miſcarriage, inſomuch that the Fruit of the Womb, is forc'd out before they leave kneeding of them in that manner, with greater pain to the Woman, then if ſhe were naturally delivered. Not that they are wanting in point of kindneſs to their Children, but prepoſſeſſed and beſotted with the lewd impreſſion they receive from their Prieſteſſes, that it were a great ſin and ſhame for them to bear Children before that Age.

The Women bear no children till 35. years of Age.

The men live not with their Wives till they are forty years of Age. Then they take their leave of the *Pagodes* of their quarter, forſake their own houſes, and go and live in the VVives; but being come to that Age, they ſpend moſt of their time in the Fields, retireing in the night time into Huts, that they may be near their work.

Notwithſtanding this liberty, which the men have to ſee their wives when they pleaſe themſelves, and to divert themſelves elſewhere all day long, yet would they have alſo the conveniency of Divorce. Aſſoon as a man is weary of his wife, he leaves her, and marries another; but with this difference, that if he puts her away without cauſe, the preſents he ſent her ſhall remain hers; but if ſhe be convicted of Adultery, or chance to be ſo tranſported with paſſion, as to revile her husband in words, or affront him otherwiſe, ſhe is bound to make reſtitution. Divorce is reciprocally free to both parties, ſo that Wedlock no more obliges the woman then it does the men; and it often happens, that both of them change their conditions. They condemn Polygamy, though ſome of them marry two or three wives. But in regard there is neither Law nor Magiſtrate to puniſh any Crime wherein there is no Civil concernment, this remains unpuniſhed, as well as Adultery; for, provided they conceal it from their own Wives, and her Husband whom they abuſe, they may confidently, and without any ſcandal ſeek their fortunes elſewhere. A man never finds any inceſtuous marriages among them, nor that a man takes a wife within the fourth degree of Conſanguity or Affinity. Nor do they care a man ſhould aske after their Wives, as how they do, whether they be handſome or not, of what friends they come, *&c.*

Divorce lawful among them.

Boyes, from four years of Age and upwards, nay married men, when they do not lodge with their Wives, lye not at their own houſes, but in a *Pagode* or *Moſquite*, where the Males of fourteen or fifteen Families meet in the Evening, and lye there, upon little Couches or Bedſteds of Canes, made as we deſcribed before.

Their houſes are ſpacious, and fairer then ſuch as are ordinarily ſeen in the *Indies*. They are all raiſed five or ſix foot from the Ground, and have four doors, one towards every quarter of the Heavens. There are ſome have two of a ſide, and are three or four ſtories high. They have no other ornament then what they derive from the heads of Deer and wild-Boars, wherein they are covered both within and without. You find in them only certain ſtuffs, wherewith they cover themſelves, and Deer-skins, which in their trade with the *Chineſes*, is to them inſtead of mony. All the houſhold-ſtuff they have in their houſes are only Spades to digg the ground withall, Pikes, Bows, Arrows, and ſome other Arms. But what they account moſt precious, are the heads or other Trophies taken from their Enemies. Inſtead of diſhes, they uſe little troughs of wood, ſuch as among us are ſet before Swine. Their drinking-pots are of Earth or Cane, and they alſo boil their Rice in Earthen-pots.

Their houſes

Rice

Rice is their ordinary ſuſtenance; and if they put thereto either fiſh, or fleſh, they eat not of it, till it be corrupted and full of worms. Their drink is not ill, eſpecially to ſuch as have not over-weak ſtomacks, or know not how it is made; but on the contrary it is wholſome and very pleaſant. 1639. *Their ſuſtenance.*

They have no ſet day for either reſt or devotion, and celebrate no Feſtivals, yet do they meet on certain days to be merry, and make good chear; every quarter meeting, to that purpoſe, in its own *Pagode*, whither the women alſo come, dreſs'd in the richeſt things they have, and clad after ſuch a manner as we cannot well deſcribe, our Language not having terms to expreſs the odneſs of their habit. Their richeſt cloathing is made of Dogs-hair. For as we ſhear Sheep to make woollen ſtuffs of; ſo they have Dogs, whoſe hair they cut once a year, and dying it red, make ſtuffs thereof, which they eſteem, as we hear do Velvet, or the beſt Scarlet. *Have no Feſtivals.* *Dog-hair-ſtuffs.*

The Ceremonies performed here upon the death of any one are haply as remarkable as any the Reader ſhall find in this relation. Immediately after the departure of any one, they beat a Drum before his door to acquaint the Village therewith. This Drum is made of the Trunk of a great tree, ſo that it may be heard at a great diſtance, and upon that noiſe all the people come to the door of the deceaſed. The women bring each of them a pot of their *Arac*, and having ſufficiently drunk to the memory of the Deceaſed, they fall a dancing upon a great empty round Cheſt, ſo that their motion, which is not very violent, makes a dull and doleful noiſe, ſuitable to the ſorrow they would expreſs. There get upon the Cheſt, eight or ten women at a time, in two ranks, who turn their backs one to another, and gently ſtirring their armes and feet, they go ſeveral times about the Cheſt, till ſuch time as being weary, they think fit to make way for others; and this exerciſe laſts about two hours. The next day, or two days after, they begin to think of the body, not in order to *burial*, as we do, nor yet to *burn* it, as ſome of the fore-mentioned Nations are wont to do; but to dry it. To do that, they make in ſome part of the houſe, a Scaffold of Canes, raiſed five or ſix foot from the ground, whereto they faſten the body, by the hands and feet, and they make a great fire about it to dry it, killing in the mean time a great many Swine, and feaſting it for nine days together. During which time they waſh the body every day, yet does not that hinder, but that it infects the whole houſe, nay indeed the Neighbourhood. After nine days, it is taken thence, to be wrapt up in a Mat, being in which, they place it on another Scaffold, higher then the former, and compaſſed with ſeveral garments like a *Pavilion*, and then they reiterate their dancing and feaſting. The body remains in the poſture till the third year, and then they take the bones out of it, and bury them in ſome part of the houſe, with the ſame Ceremonies of feaſting and dancing. *Their Funerals.* *They neither bury nor burn the dead.*

At the Village of *Theoſang*, they have a cuſtom, which would hardly be obſerv'd elſewhere. They faſten a Rope about their necks who ſuffer much pain in their ſickneſs, raiſe them up by force to a great height, and let them fall down with as much violence, as if they intended to give them the ſtrapado: by which means they are indeed put out of all further pain. *A mad remedy againſt painful diſeaſes.*

As to Religion, it may be ſaid they have not any at all. Of all the Inhabitants, not one can write or read, and yet they have certain Traditions, upon which they have framed a certain ſhadow of Religion. For they believe the World hath been from all Eternity, and ſhall laſt Eternally. They believe the immortallity of the Soul, and thence it comes, that when any one dies, they build before his door a little Hut of bows of trees, ſet Banners at the four corners, and within the Hut a wooden Veſſel full of water, with a Cane-ſpoon, out of a perſwaſion, that the ſouls of the deceaſed return every day to the Hut, to purifie themſelves. 'Tis true, moſt of them do it purely out of compliance with cuſtome, and know not the reaſon thereof: but aged perſons are not ignorant of it. They believe alſo, that Souls ſhall find good or evil in the other life, according to what they have done in this, and affirm, that to go out of this World into the other, they paſs over a very narrow Bridge of Canes, under which runs a Channel full of all kind of filth and naſtineſs, into which the wicked being fallen do there languiſh eternally; but that the good Souls paſs into a pleaſant and delightful Countrey, of which they ſpeak, much after the ſame rate the *Poets* ſpeak of the *Elyſian* fields. But there are very few comprehend theſe myſteries, or think of any other life then the preſent. *Their Religion.*

Their ſins are much different from ours. Murther, Theft, Adultery, and other Crimes, are not ſo much as ſlight offences among them, and they make ſo little account of ſimple Fornication, that they only laugh at it, reprove it not in their Children. They are forbidden marrying before Twenty, or twenty one years of age, yet it is lawful for them to cajol and debauch a neighbours Wife, ſo he know nothing of it. But it is a great Sin among *Their Sins.*

1639. among them, to have cover'd the privy parts at a certain ſeaſon of the year; to wear ſeveral Garments, or one only of Silk, at a time when they ſhould have worn them of Cotton; not to have deſtroyed Children in the Mothers womb; and to have born any before thirty five or thirty ſix years of Age. Theſe are the ſins, which in their judgment deſerve eternal pains; all the reſt is only toolery.

Their Gods. They adore ſeveral pretended Divinities, but among others two, one whereof is called *Tamagiſanbach*, and the other *Sariabſingh*. The former hath his abode in the South, and contributes to the generation of man, who receives from this God, only what is excellent and acceptable, either in his body or mind. They affirm, that his Wife, whom they call *Taxankpanda*, lives in the Eaſt, whence ſhe is heard, when it thunders towards that quarter, ſpeaking to her Husband, *Tamaſgiſanbach*, and chiding him, for ſuffering the Earth to be too long without Rain, and that thereupon her Husband cauſes it immediately to Rain. The other God hath his retreat in the North, and deſtroys all the excellency which *Tamagiſanbach* hath beſtowed on man, by diſfiguring his face with the Small Pox, and ſending him ſeveral other Inconveniencies. Whence it comes they invoke them both, one, that they may not be injured by him, and the other that he may prevent *Sariafingh* from doing them any miſchief. Beſides theſe, they have two other Gods, who have the overſight of War, named *Talafula*, and *Tapaliape*; but they are invocated only by men.

Women only employed about their Myſteries. There is not any Nation, that falls within my knowledge at leaſt, but makes uſe of *Men* in the Religious Service of their Divinity, only this we now ſpeak of employs only *Women*. They call them *Inibs*, and all their Worſhip conſiſts of Prayers and Sacrifices. The Sacrifices and Offerings which they make their Gods, are Swine, Rice, *Areca*, ſome of their kind of Drink, and Deer, and wild Boars heads. Having fed heartily upon them, the Prieſteſſes riſe, and make a long Prayer, during which, a man ſhall ſee their Eyes turning in their Heads, they fall to the ground, and make dreadful cries and ſhrieks. After theſe efforts, they lie down all along upon the ground, immoveable as Statues, and become ſo heavy, that five or ſix perſons can hardly raiſe them. 'Tis while they are in this poſture, as they affirm, that their Gods communicate themſelves to them, for an hour or better. Then they get up on the top of the *Pagode*, go from one end of it to the other, and there ſay their Prayers again; which being ended, they ſtrip themſelves ſtark naked, ſhew their privy parts to their Gods, ſmiting them with their hands, and call for water to waſh themſelves, in the preſence of a great number of perſons. 'Tis true, the men are not guilty of ſo much devotion as to come often to theſe Aſſemblies; and the women, who moſt frequent them, make a ſhift to get ſo drunk, that they hardly perceive what is done before their faces.

Their devotion (pure Quakeriſm) Every houſe hath a particular place appointed for the devotions of the Family, where they invocate the Gods, and where the women make their offerings of what is ſpent every day in the houſe: but in caſe of ſickneſs and ſome other misfortune, they call the *Inibs* to do that Service, which is performed with many extravigant Ceremonies. They alſo foretel good and ill fortune, rain and fair weather, and they have the power to drive away the Devil, after a very ridiculous manner. They purſue him with a great noiſe, having a *Japonneſe* Knife in their hand, and affirm, that by that means they drive him away ſo far, as that he is forc'd to caſt himſelf into the Sea, or at leaſt into ſome River, where he is drown'd. There are to be ſeen alſo at Croſs-ways, and upon great Roads, a kind of Altars, loaden with Offerings for their Gods, and many other impertinent Devotions may be obſerved among them; which the *Dutch* endeavour to aboliſh by degrees, by introducing Chriſtianity into the Countrey, wherein they have had hitherto good ſucceſs.

CHINA.

CHINA.

THe great and vaſt Kingdom, which we call *China*, takes up the moſt Eaſterly part of all *Aſia*. *Marc Paulo* calls it *Mangi*; the *Tartars* term it *Cathay*, and there are ſome who name it alſo *Singely*, or *Tame*. The *Chineſes* themſelves give it the name of *Chunghoa*, or *Chungque*, whereof the former ſignifies the *Middle Kingdom*, in as much as they believe they inhabit the midſt of the Univerſe; and the other, the *Middle Flower*, or *Garden*, and know not the names given it by Forreigners, ſave only that they know the *Tartars* call them *Mangin*, that is, *Barbarians*. *The Kingdom of China.*

We affirm it to be the utmoſt Province of all *Aſia* Eaſtward; for beyond it there is only the Sea, which the *Chineſes* call *Tung*, that is, of the Eaſt. It hath towards the North great *Tartary*, from which it is divided by a Mountain of many Leagues extent, and where that fails, the defect is ſupplied by that admirable Wall, which reaches from the extremities of the Province of *Leaotung*, to the River *Croceus*, upon the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Tibet*, being in length three hundred *German* Leagues. Towards the Weſt, it hath the Kingdoms of *Kiang*, *Vuſucang*, and *Bengala*; and towards the South and South-weſt, the *Conchinchine*, and the Sea. *Its Frontiers.*

The Kingdom extends it ſelf from the *Tropick* of *Cancer* to the fifty third Degree of Latitude, and comprehends in its length all the Southern parts, which lie between the hundred and thirtieth, and the hundred and ſixtieth Degrees. But that we may ſpeak more pertinently of it, we ſhall, with them, affirm, that *China* is ſixty nine thouſand five hundred and ſixteen *Diez*, which make three thouſand *Spaniſh* Leagues, in compaſs, and eighteen hundred in length. This account is made according to their Geometry and their Meaſures, which they diſtinguiſh into *Ly*, *Pu*, and *Cham*. They call *Ly* ſuch a ſpace of ground as is of the extent of a mans voice. Ten of theſe *Ly's* make a *Pu*, that is, about two Leagues; and ten *Pu's* make a *Cham*, that is, a good dayes journey; and according to this Calculation, they find the number of the *Diez*, which we laid down before. *Its extent.*

It is divided into fifteen great Provinces, ſix whereof, to wit, *Peking*, *Xantung*, *Kiangnan*, or *Nanking*, *Chekian*, *Fokien*, and *Quangtung*, are maritime, and the other nine are mediterranean. Of the nine laſt, thoſe of *Quangſi*, *Kiangſi*, *Huquang*, *Honan*, and *Xanſi*, are the more Northerly; and thoſe of *Xenſi*, *Suchuen*, *Queicheu*, and *Junnan*, the more Weſterly. It hath, beſides theſe, towards the Eaſt, thoſe of *Leaotung* and *Corea*; but theſe do not properly belong to *China*. There are accounted in it a hundred forty and five great principal Cities, and twelve hundred ſixty three of a middle ſort, ſuch as might paſs elſewhere for great Cities; in as much as the difference of the *Chineſe* names of *Fu* and *Cheu*, which they give their places, proceeds only from their qualities, who have the command of them. For they call *Fu*, ſuch places as have a Governour in chief; and *Cheu*, or *Hien*, thoſe, where there is only a ſimple *Mandorin*; though the places are many times of equal bigneſs. *The Provinces whereof it conſiſts.*

The Cities are all built after the ſame manner, ſquare, with good Brick-walls, plaiſter'd over with the ſame Earth as they make the Porcelane of, which in proceſs of time grows ſo hard, that it will not be broken with a Hammer: which makes them laſt ſo long, that it hath been obſerv'd, ſome of them have ſtood above two thouſand years; yet is there not the leaſt appearance of any change to be ſeen in them. The Walls are very broad, and flank'd with Towers, built after the ancient way of Architecture, much reſembling the Fortifications of the *Romans*.

Two ſpacious Streets commonly divide their Cities into a perfect Croſs, and they are ſo ſtraight, that though they reach the whole length of the City, how great ſoever it be, yet may a man ſee, from the middle, the four Gates of it. Several other Streets abut upon theſe in divers places of the City, where they are diſpoſed into Market-places, and other publick conveniences. The Houſes are fair and well built, eſpecially thoſe of Perſons of Quality, which have their Gardens, Orchards, Groves, Fountains, Conduits, Ducking-ponds, Aviaries and Warrens; and they are painted or whiten'd on the out-ſide. They have moſt of them three Doors all on the ſame ſide, whereof that which ſtands in the middle is bigger then the other two, and they are for the moſt part ſo neatly wrought, that *The Streets*

it

1639. it must be confessed, all we know of Architecture comes not near their excellency in it: and they do all things the more magnificently, in that they want neither excellent Workmen, nor Materials to embellish their Structures.

There is no Kingdom or Commonwealth in the World, where they are so careful, not only of repairing the High-wayes, but also in ordering all things so, as that Travellers may not want any convenience, in so much that a man shall find Mountains levell'd, and wayes cut through Rocks, yet more even and incomparably better paved then our Streets, nay then even those of the City of *Xuntien*, the *Metropolis* of this Monarchy, whereof we shall give a short account anon, when we come to the description of its Provinces.

The Province of Peking. Its Frontiers.

The Province of *Peking* is so called, by reason of the City of *Xuntien*, where the Emperour of *China* ordinarily resides; for the word signifies, a *Northerly Palace*, as that of *Nanking*, a *Southerly Palace*, but the true name of it is *Pecheli*. It hath towards the East, the Gulf of *Canghai*, which divides it from *Corea*; towards the North-east the Province of *Leaotung*; towards the North the Wall, which divides it from that of *Tartary* which lies beyond the Deserts of *Xamo*; towards the West, the Province of *Xansi*, from which it is divided by the Mountain of *Heng*; towards the North-west, the Province of *Honan*, and the River of *Croceus*; and towards the South and South-east, the Province of *Xantung*. It hath eight great Cities, to wit, *Xuntien*, *Paoting*, *Hokien*, *Chinting*, *Xunte*, *Quanping*, *Taming*, and *Jungping*, which might pass for so many Provinces, since there are under their jurisdiction a hundred twenty and seven Cities of a middle sort. But what most think very strange, is, that though the more Northerly part of this Province reaches not beyond the forty second degree, yet is it so cold there, that from the midst of *November* to *March*, all the Rivers are frozen up.

Its Cities.

The number of its Families.

The Register which the *Chineses* keep of their Country, makes it appear that there are in this Province, a hundred and eighteen thousand, nine hundred eighty nine Families, consisting of above three millions, four hundred and fifty thousand persons, and that it payes yearly to the Emperour, six hundred and one thousand, one hundred fifty and three Bags of Rice, Wheat and Millet; two hundred twenty five pounds of Raw Silk, at twenty ounces to the pound; forty five thousand, one hundred and thirty pieces of Silk-Stuffes; thirteen thousand, seven hundred forty eight pound of Cotton; eight millions, seven hundred thirty seven thousand, two hundred eighty four Trusses of Hay and Straw for the Emperours Stables; and a hundred and eighty thousand, eight hundred and seventy *Quintals* of Salt, accounting a hundred twenty four pound to the *Quintal*; besides the Money which comes in by the Customs: and yet this is one of the lets fruitful Provinces of *China*.

Its Revenues.

Xuntien described.

As to the City of *Xuntien*, it is situated at the extremity of the Kingdom, towards the North, about thirty Leagues from the great Wall. It owes its greatness, though in that particular it comes short of *Nanking*, to *Taicung*, who lived at the beginning of the fifteenth Age, and translated the Seat of the Empire from *Nanking* to this City. It is more populous then that of *Nanking*, and must needs be more sumptuous, by reason of the Court, and the great number of Souldiers which the King maintains there, as well for the safety of the City, as that of his own person. On the South-side it is encompassed with a double Ditch, and a double Wall; on the North-side it hath but one. This Wall is much higher then those of any Cities in *Europe*, and so thick, that twelve Horse might ride abreast upon it without touching one another. There is a Guard kept upon it in the night-time, with as much vigilance as if there were an open War; but in the day-time, the Gates are kept only by Eunuchs, who stand there rather to receive the Duties of Entrance, then for any safety of the City. This is the same City which *Marc Paulo* calls *Cambalu*, and whereof the *Tartars* were possessed at that time.

The Palace.

The Streets of it are not paved; so that in Winter a man goes up to the ankles in dirt; and in the Summer, he is cover'd all over with dust: but this inconvenience hath forced them to make use of an invention, whence they derive much greater conveniences. For they all cover themselves with a thin Lawn, from the head to the waste, and by that means, not being known, they are not obliged to salute any they meet; and so dressed they may ride undiscover'd on horse-back all about the City; which yet is not very honourable in Persons of Quality, who, by this convenience, save the charge it would be to them to be carried in Chairs, whereas they may have Horses and Mules to hire at the corner of every Street, at a very easie rate, three or four pence a day.

The Kings Palace is near a League in compass, and fortified with three good Walls, and so many Ditches. It hath four Gates, whereof that on the South-side, which opens upon the great Street of the City, is the fairest. Persons of Quality may go within the first Wall,

Wall, and Lords of the Councel go within the second; but within the third there go only Women and Eunuchs who attend about the Kings person. They say this Palace consists, within, of near eighty Halls, and, of those, four, which are the richest in the World; besides the other Appartments, which are almost innumerable. 1639.

The Province of *Xanſi* is not so great as that of *Peking*, but more delightful, fertile and populous. It bears not much Rice, but in requital, it affords the more Wheat and Millet, and breeds abundance of Cattle. The Word *Xanſi* signifies, *Towards the West of the Mountain*. Accordingly, that of *Heng* divides it on the East-side from the Province of *Peking*, as the great Wall of the Kingdom of *Tanyu* in *Tartary* does towards the North. The River *Croceus* divides it, Westward, from the Province of *Xenſi*, and, towards the South, and South-east, from that of *Honan*. *The Province of Xanſi.* *Its Frontiers.*

It comprehends five great Cities, to wit, *Taiyuen*, which is the Metropolis, *Pingyang*, *Taytung*, *Lugan*, and *Fuencheu*, and fourscore and twelve of a middle rate, which contain, disposed into 589959. Families, above five millions of persons. It pays in every year 2274022 Sacks of Grain, 50. pound of raw Silk, 4770. pieces of Silk-stuffs, 3544850. Trusses of Hay and Straw, and 420000. *Quintals* of Salt. *Its Cities* *Families* *Revenue.*

The Climate and Soil of this Province is fit for the Vine, and the Grape here is excellent; but the *Chineſes* make no Wine. And there is one thing particular here, not to be found elsewhere, which is, that as there are in other places Pits and Wells of Water, there are here some of Fire. They dam them up so, as that they leave only some Holes, on which they set their Pots with Meat to be dressed. There are here also good store of Pit-coal, and certain Minerals which serve for Firing. *The qualities of the Country.*

The Province of *Xenſi* is, no doubt, one of the greatest of all the Southern part of *Asia*. It hath on the North, the Deserts of *Ximo*, towards the West and North-west, the Kingdoms of *Caſcar* and *Tebet*; towards the East, the River *Croceus*, which divides it from the Province of *Xanſi*; and towards the South, it is divided from the Provinces of *Honan*, *Suchuen*, and *Huquang*, by a high Mountain: It comprehends, in eight great Cities, and a hundred and seven of middle rate, 831051. Families, and near four millions of persons. The great Cities are *Sigan*, *Fungciang*, *Hanchung*, *Pingleang*, *Cungchang*, *Linyao*, *Kingyang*, and *Jengan*. It pays yearly 1929057. Sacks of Grain, 360. pounds of raw Silk, 9228. pieces of Silk-stuffs, 17172. pounds of Cotton, 128770. pieces of Cotton-cloath, and 1514749. Trusses of Hay and Straw. *The Province of Xenſi.* *Its Frontiers.* *The number of its Families.* *Its Revenues.*

There are in this Province some Gold Mines, but there is a Prohibition made by the Laws of this Country, that no search should be made into them, and yet there is abundance of it found in the Rivers and Torrents, especially when the Rain brings down the Earth from the neighbouring Mountains. *Rhubarb* grows here in great quantities, and it is ordered with great care. *Gold Mines.* *Rhubarb.*

This Province affords also Musk, which is nothing but an Imposthume or Botch, fram'd at the Navil of a certain Beast, of the bigness of a wild Goat, which the *Chineſes* call *Xe*; whence comes the word *Xehiang* (so they call the Musk) which signifies *Scent of Musk*. The Reader may take this for certain, whatever those may endeavour to perswade people, who have written concerning this Drug. *Musk.*

Though the Wall which divides *China* from *Tartary* encloſe the three Provinces we named before, as also that of *Leatoung*; yet is it not of the length our Cosmographers assign it; for from the Gulf, where the River *Yalo* falls into the Sea, and where the Wall begins, to the City *Kin*, where it ends, there are not above twenty Degrees, which make but three hundred *German* Leagues. This miraculous Structure is continued without any interruption, unless it be near the City of *Siven*, in the Province of *Peking*, where an inaccessible Mountain supplies its place, and defends the Kingdom against the invasion of the *Tartars*, as well as the Wall it self. It hath Gates and Sluces for the passage of the Rivers which come out of *Tartary*, and hath Houses, Redoubts and Forts, from place to place, for the quartering of the Souldiers appointed for the keeping of it; in which work the Emperour of *China* employs a million of men. It is about thirty Cubits high, and about twelve, and in some places fifteen thick. The *Chineſes* call it *Vanli Ching*, that is, a *Rampier*, or Wall of ten thousand *Stadia*, rather to express an extraordinary work, then assign the just greatness of it, by any certain measure: since that two hundred and fifty *Stadia* of that Country making a Degree, it would follow that the said Wall must take up forty Degrees, that is, more ground then all *China* does. *The great Wall.*

They say it was built by *Xius*, King or Emperour of *China*, chief of the Family of *Cina*, who having usurped the Kingdom from the Princes of the House of *Cheva*, caused that Wall to be made, as well to satisfie his own humour, which was to be magnificent in his Buildings, as to prevent the Incursions of the *Tartars*, over whom he had many Ad- *By whom built.*

1639. vantages. He began it in the year 1215. which was the 22. of his Reign, and imploy'd so many men about it, that it was finished in less then five years.

The Province of Xantung. Its Frontiers.

The Province of *Xantung*, hath, towards the North, that of *Peking*, and the Gulf of *Cang*; towards the East, the Sea; towards the South, the Province of *Nanking*, from which it is divided by the River *Croceus*, and the Sea; and towards the West, the Channel of *Jun*, which joyns those two Rivers, and hath twenty Sluces, as also the River *Guei*. All these Rivers make this Province so fertile, that they say one year brings forth as much as will sustain it ten years afterwards, and that it may communicate to its Neighbours, the Wheat, Millet, Rice, Barley, and Pulse, which the Inhabitants cannot consume. Poultry and Eggs may be had there in a manner for nothing: Feasants, Partridges, Quails, and Hares, are very cheap; and for less then three pence a man may buy ten pound of fish.

Silk.

But what this Province is most remarkable for, is Silk, which here is not got by the pains people take in other places in keeping Silk-worms, but it grows in the fields, upon Trees, where certain Worms, like Caterpillars, blow it, not in a Cod, but in white threads, which are found upon the Hedges, and may be used as advantageously as the ordinary Silk, though it be somewhat courser.

Its Cities and Families.

It hath six great Cities, to wit, *Cinan*, *Yencheu*, *Fungchang*, *Cingcheu*, *Tengcheu*, and *Laicheu*, seventy two other considerable ones, and comprehends, in 770555. Families, near seven millions of persons.

Its Revenue.

It contributes yearly 2812179. Sacks of Corn, 54990. pieces of Silk-stuffs, 52449. pounds of Cotton, and 3824290. Trusses of Hay and Straw; besides the duties paid there, which amount to above ten millions of Gold.

The Province of Honan. Its Frontiers.

The Province of *Honan* derives its name from its scituation, it being seated towards the South of the River *Croceus*, for the word *Honan* signifies, *towards the South of the River*.

It hath on the East, the Province of *Nanking*; North and North-east, those of *Xantung* and *Peking*; North-west, that of *Xanfi*; towards the West, that of *Xenfi*; and towards the South, the Province of *Huquang*.

Its Cities and Families.

This Province lies in the middle of this great Territory, and is so delightful, that the *Chineses* say, it is in *China*, what *Italy* is in *Europe*, and *Tourain* in *France*. It comprehends in eight great Cities, and a hundred less considerable ones, 589296. Families, consisting of above 5000000. of persons. The eight Cities are *Caifang*, *Queite*, *Changte*, *Gueihoei*, *Hoaiking*, *Honan*, *Nanyang*, and *Juning*.

Its Revenue.

It contributes yearly 2414477. Sacks of Corn, 23509. pound of raw Silk, 9959. pieces of Silk-stuffs, 341. pieces of Cotton-stuffs, and 288744. Trusses of Hay and Straw.

The Province of Suchuen. Its Frontiers.

The Province of *Suchuen*, that is, *four waters*, is one of the greatest of all *China*; and in regard it is a Frontier-Province towards the *Indies*, it thence comes, that the Inhabitants are somewhat of the humour of the *Indians*. It hath towards the East, the Province of *Huquang*; towards the South-east, that of *Queicheu*; South, that of *Junnan*; West, the Kingdom of *Tibet*; and towards the North and North-west, the Province of *Xenfi*, and the people whom they call *Coninguangi*, and *Kiang*.

Its Cities and Families.

It hath eight great Cities, which are, *Chingtu*, *Paoning*, *Xunking*, *Siufcheu*, *Chunking*, *Queicheu*, *Lunggan*, and *Mahu*, one hundred twenty four lesser Cities, besides other four which are fortified, and contains in 464129. Families, above 2200000. men.

Its Revenue.

It pays 6106660. Sacks of Rice, 6339. pound of Silk, 749117. *Quintals* of Salt.

Radix Sina.

The true *Radix Sina*, which the *Chineses* call *Folin*, as also the wild kind of it, is found only in the Province of *Suchuen*, and grows there under the Earth, much like Toad-stools, or rather as that fruit which the *Indians* call *Patatas*, or *Potatoes*. Some are of opinion, that it is bred of the Gum which falls from the Pine-trees, which taking root, forms a fruit of the bigness of the *Indian* Nut (or *Cocos*) having a white meat within, which the *Chineses* use with good success in Medicine. This Province brings forth also the best *Rhubarb*, and great store of yellow Amber.

The Province of Huquang. Its Frontiers.

The Province of *Huquang*, that is, *extended Lake*, derives its name from the Lake of *Tungting*, and hath towards the North, the Province of *Honan*; on the North, that of *Nanking*, towards the East, that of *Kiangfi*; towards the South, that of *Quangfi*; toward the South-west, that of *Queicheu*; and towards the West, that of *Suchuen*.

Its Families.

It comprehends in fifteen great, and a hundred and eight less considerable Cities, 531686 Families, and near five millions of persons. Its great Cities are, *Vuchang*, *Hanyang*, *Siangyang*, *Tegang*, *Hoangcheu*, *Kingcheu*, *Yocheu*, *Changxa*, *Paoking*, *Hengcheu*, *Changte*, *Xincheu*, *Juncheu*, *Chinthieu*, *Chingyang*.

Its Revenue.

It contributes yearly, 2167559. Sacks of Rice, and 17977. pieces of Silk-Stuffs.

The

1639. The Province of *Kiangsi*, hath towards the East those of *Nanking* and *Fokien*, towards the South, part of the same Province of *Fokien*, and of that of *Quantung*, towards the West, the Province of *Huquang*; and towards the North, part of that of *Nanking*. This Province is so populous, and the people thereof multiplies so strangely, that it in a manner supplies all the Provinces of the Kingdom, for which reason the *Chineses* call them *Kiang-soi*, Rats. *The Province of Kiangsi: Its Frontiers.*

It hath twelve great Cities, and sixty seven lesser ones, wherein are numbred above 1136659. Families, and in them above 6550000. persons. Its chief Cities are called, *Nanchang*, *Jocheu*, *Quangsin*, *Naukang*, *Kienkiang*, *Kienchang*, *Vucheu*, *Linkiang*, *Xuicheu*, *Juvencheu*, *Cancheu* and *Nangan*. *Its Cities and Families.*

It contributes yearly 1616600. Sacks of Rice, 8230. pound of raw Silk, and 10.516. pieces of Silk-Stuffs. *Its Revenues.*

What is particular to this Province is, that here is made most of the Porcelane, which is carried all over the rest of the world. There is but one Village, and that under the jurisdiction of the City of *Feuleang*, where these Vessels are made, of a kind of Earth brought thither from the City of *Hoeicheu*, in the Province of *Kiangnan*, or *Nanking*, yet so, as that the Inhabitants of that place cannot make any Porcelane, or that any reason can be given, why the same Earth should receive, in a strange Province, the form which cannot be given it at home. It is white as Chalk, and it is laid a soaking certain dayes, to be reduced to a Paste; and to give it a colour, they put thereto some Woad, which grows in abundance, in most of the Provinces of *China*. *Porcelane made in Kiangsi.*

The Province of *Nanking*, which hath not been called *Kiangnan*, but since the *Tartars* became the Masters of it, is no doubt the chiefest of all the Provinces of *China*, though the Seat of the Empire was sometime since translated into *Peking*, by reason of the vicinity of the *Tartars*. *The Province of Nanking.*

It hath towards the East and North-east, the Sea; towards the North, the Province of *Xangtung*; towards the North-west, that of *Honan*, towards the West, that of *Huquang*; towards the South-west, that of *Kiangsi*; and towards the South, that of *Chekiang*. It comprehends in its extent fourteen great Cities, to wit, *Kianquing*, which is the Metropolis, *Fungyan*, *Suchen*, *Sungkiang*, *Chancheu*, *Chinkiang*, *Tangcheu*, *Hojaigan*, *Lucheu*, *Ganking*, *Taiping*, *Ninke*, *Chicheu*, and *Hoeicheu*, and a hundred and ten less considerable ones, wherein there are 1969816. Families, out of which may be taken near ten millions of men. It contributes yearly 5995034. Sacks of Rice, 6863. pound of raw Silk, 28452. pieces of Silk-Stuffs, 2077. pieces of Linnen-cloth; (the Cotton is converted into money) and 705100. *Quintals* of Salt, and 5804217. Trusses of Hay and Straw. *Its Frontiers.* *Its Cities.* *Its Families and Revenue.*

But what will startle the belief of the Reader, is, that besides all mentioned before, this Province pays in yearly into the Exchequer, above sixty millions of Crowns. This is the Province, if any in the Kingdom, which is most inclined to civility, and where there are most Learned men. *The prodigious Revenue of one Province.*

The Province of *Chekiang*, is the most considerable of all the Provinces of *China*, next the last named, and that of *Peking*. It hath eleven great Cities, to wit, *Hancheu*, *Kiabing*, *Hucheu*, *Niencheu*, *Kinhoa*, *Kiucheu*, *Cheucheu*, *Xaoing*, *Ningpo*, *Taicheu*, and *Venchen*, and sixty three of a middle sort. *The Province of Chekiang. Cities.*

It hath towards the East, the Sea, and *Japan*; towards the South and South-west, the Province of *Fokien*; and towards the North and North-west, the Province of *Nanking*. The number of its Families amounts to 1242135. and may comprehend 4525470. persons. *Families.*

It pays yearly to the Emperour 2510299. Sacks of Rice, 370299. pounds of raw Silk, 2574. pieces of Silk-stuffs, besides such Stuffs as are wrought with Gold and Silver, which are brought thence four times in the year by the Kings Ships, to be distributed among those, whom his Majesty permits by an express priviledge to wear thereof; 444769. *Quintals* of Salt, and 8704491, Trusses of Hay and Straw. Besides all this, it sends into the Exchequer, the yearly sum of above thirty millions. *Its Revenue.*

There are in this Province whole Forrests of Mulberry trees, which maintain such abundance of Silk worms, that it is only this Province, in a manner, which supplies the *Indies*, and all *Europe*, with tha kind of Silk which is called *China-Silk*. They cut and order the Mulberry-trees there, as the Vine is dressed in *France*; the Inhabitants having found it by experience, that the least and tendrest Leaves produce the finest Silk. Nay, they can so well distinguish the Silk of these Worms that have been kept with the first Leaves, from that which comes from the second Leaves, that the price of the one is much below that of the other. *Its abundance in Silk.*

1639. *The City of Quinsay.*

In this Province is the City, which *Marc Paulo* calls *Quinsay*. The name of it then was *Lingan*, and it is called in the *Chinese* Language *Kingsu*, that is, a *Royal Seat*, upon this account, that *Koakungkin*, Emperour of *China*, retreated thither, when he was pursued by the *Tartars*, who were entred his Kingdom. Now it is called *Hangcheu*, and if we correct in some things what the foresaid Author sayes of it, we shall find it comes not much short of the greatness he assigns it.

Marc Paulo justified.

For what he sayes of the ten thousand Bridges that are to be seen there, is very certain, if we comprehend in that number those which are about the City; as also the triumphal Arches, which in regard of their being vaulted, are numbred among the Bridges. The Lake he speaks of is not properly within the City, but so near it, that there are so many Bridges built thereon, and the sides of it are covered with so many *Pagodes*, and other publick and private Structures, that it may well be accounted part of the City.

The greatness of the City of Hangcheu.

What the same Author sayes further of the Mountain of *Chinghoangh*, which is within the City; of the Tower, wherein the hours are measured by an Hour-glass, and are marked with Golden letters a foot and a half in length; of its Streets being paved with Free-stone; of its scituation in a Fenny place; of the great number of its Rivulets, and of the River *Cientang's*, being a *Germane* League in breadth, is very certain; as also what he affirms of its compass, to wit, that it is above a hundred *Italian* Leagues about, taking in all its Suburbs; which included, it may be fifty *Stadia* in length, and so much at least in breadth.

There are numbred within the City at least fifteen thousand Priests, sixty thousand persons, whose Profession it is to work in Silk, and so vast a number of people, that it is reported there are spent there every day ten thousand Sacks of Rice, and above a thousand Hogs, besides the Cows, Goats, Sheep, Dogs, Fowl, and other Creatures; though most of the Inhabitants believe the transmigration of Souls, and abstain from Flesh.

The Province of Fokien: Its Frontiers. Cities.

The Province of *Fokien*, which *Marc Paulo* calls *Fugui*, hath on the East and South, the Sea; on the South-west, the Province of *Quantung*; West and North-west, that of *Kiangsi*; and North, that of *Chekiang*.

It hath nine great Cities, to wit, *Focheu*, which is the Metropolis, *Civencheu*, *Cancheu*, *Kienning*, *Jenping*, *Tincheu*, *Hinghoa*, *Xaoun*, and *Foning*, and fourty eight less considerable ones; 509200. Families, and near two millions of men. It pays yearly 883115. Sacks of Rice, 194. pounds of raw Silk; 600. pieces of Silk-stuffs.

Families and Revenues.

But its greatest Revenue consists in the Customs that are paid upon Commodities; it being certain, that excepting only *Macao* in the Province of *Quantung*, where the *Portuguez* drive a great Trade, all the Musk, Precious Stones, Silk, Quicksilver, Silk-stuffs, Linnen-cloth, Cottons, Iron and Steel, and all those other Commodities, which the *Chinese* carry by Sea into *Japan*, *Fermosa*, the *Philippine Islands*, *Celebes*, *Java*, and other places in the *Indies*, come only out of this Province. There is such abundance of Ships in *Fokien*, that it is reported, that heretofore when the Emperour of *China* intended a war against the *Japonneses*, the Inhabitants of this Province proffered to furnish him with as many Boats as would make a Bridge between that Island and the Continent of *China*. Every City almost of this Province hath its particular Language, and that so different from what is spoken in any other City, that they can hardly understand one the other; nay they are ignorant of the common Language of the Country, which all persons of any quality speak in the other Provinces.

The Inhabitants of Fokien trade most out of the Kingdom.

The Province of Quantung. Its Frontiers. Cities. Families. Revenue.

The Province of *Quantung*, is also one of the most Maritime Provinces of all *China*. It hath towards the West-north-west, the Kingdom of *Tunking*; North-west, the Province of *Quangsi*; North, those of *Huquang* and *Kiangsi*; and North-east, that of *Fokien*. All the rest of it lies upon the Sea. It hath ten great Cities, to wit, *Quangcheu*, *Xaocheu*, *Nanhiung*, *Hoeicheu*, *Chaocheu*, *Chaoking*, *Kaocheu*, *Kiencheu*, *Luicheu*, and *Kiuncheu*, and seventy two lesser ones, and among the rest that of *Macao*, whereof we shall have somewhat to say elsewhere: There are numbred in it 443360. Families, and near two millions of persons; and it contributes 1017772. Sacks of Rice, and 37380. *Quintals* of Salt, besides what it payes in ready money.

The richest Province of China.

The *Chinese* affirm, that there are in this Province three things which are not to be seen elsewhere; to wit, Mountains without Snow, Trees perpetually green, and Men who spit bloud, in regard their Spittle is of a reddish colour, occasioned by their continuall chewing of *Bettele* and *Areca*.

The industry of the Inhabitants

To this may be added, that there is no other Province in all *China* so rich in Gold, Pearls, Precious Stones, Silk, Tin, Quicksilver, Sugar, Copper, Iron, Steel, Saltpeter, *Calambac*-wood, &c. as this is. It hath this further particularity, that the Musket and Pistol barrels made in that Province, never break, though never so much over-charged, but only open, to make way for what cannot get out at the mouth.

The

The Inhabitants are more industrious in imitation then invention: but they are so excellent at the former, that no Manufacture or rarity can be brought thither out of these parts, which they will not do as well as the *Europeans*; and among others, they are so great Masters in all Gold-smiths work, that what is done in *Europe* comes not near theirs. 1639.

The City of *Macao* or *Amagao*, that is, *Good Haven*, is famous on this account, that only the *Portuguez* trade thither, excluding all others; and that it is the Episcopal Seat of all those parts. Their particular trading is with the City of *Quancheu*, whither they are permitted to come twice a year to the Fair, at which time they put off thirteen hundred Chests of Silk-stuffs, Sattins, Damasks, *&c.* Every Chest containing a hundred and fifty pieces, and carry thence for them, two thousand five hundred Wedges of Gold, of ten *Toels* each, that is, a hundred and thirty Crowns; eight hundred pound of Musk, and abundance of Gold Thread, Silk, Pearls, precious Stones, and several other Commodities, which they carry to *Malacca* and *Goa*, to be thence distributed into other parts of the World.

The Province of Quangsi.

The Province of *Quangsi* is not so large nor so fertile as the forementioned; yet hath it eleven great Cities; to wit, *Queillen*, the Metropolis, *Lieuchou*, *Kingyen*, *Pinglo*, *Gucheu*, *Cinchen*, *Nanning*, *Taiping*, *Suming*, *Chingan*, and *Tienchen*, which have under their jurisdiction ninety nine lesser ones. It hath East and North-east, the Province of *Quantung*; North, that of *Queicheu*, South and South-west, the Kingdom of *Tunking* or *Gunan*; and West, that of *Junnan*. They number in it 186719. Families, and above 1500000. men; and contributes 431359 Sacks of Rice.

Its Cities.

Frontiers

Families and Revenue.

The Province of Queicheu.

The Province of *Queicheu* is the least considerable of all the Provinces of *China*, as containing but eight ordinary Cities; to wit, *Queiang*, *Sucheu*, *Sunan*, *Chiniven*, *Xecien*, *Tunggin*, *Liping* and *Tucho*, which have four other lesser Cities under them. It hath but 45305. Families, and about 200000. men. The Country is hilly and uneven; so that it yielding but little Corn, it contributes but 47658. Sacks of Rice, and 5900 pieces of Linnen-cloth. But there is not any Province affords more Quicksilver, or breeds better Horses, then this doth.

Its Cities.

Revenue.

Frontiers.

Heretofore this made not a Province by it self, but depended partly on that of *Suchuen*, partly on that of *Huguang*; whereof the one is towards the North and North-west of it, and the other, North-east. The Province of *Quangsi* is its Frontier towards the South and South-east; and that of *Junnan* towards the West.

The Province of Junnan: Its Frontier; Its wealth.

The Province of *Junnan* is the most Westerly Province of all *China*; for it hath East and North-east, the Provinces of *Quangsi* and *Quincheu*; North, that of *Suchuen*; North-west, the Kingdom of *Tibet*; South-west, that of *Mien*; and South and South-east, that of *Laos*, and part of *Tunking*. This is, no doubt, one of the richest Provinces of the Kingdom, and there would be more Gold found in it, if the Veins of the Earth were a little more opened. It affords also yellow Amber, Rubies, Saphirs, Agats, Musk, Silk, Benjamin, excellent Horses, Elephants, *&c.* It hath eleven great Cities, to wit, *Junnan*, *Tali*, *Lingan*, *Cuhiung*, *Chinkiang*, *Munghoa*, *Quangnan*, *Quanfi*, *Chinifien*, *Jungning*, and *Xunning*, under which are eighty four lesser Cities. There are number'd in it 132958. Families, and about 1433000. men, and it contributes 1400568. Sacks of Rice, and 56965. *Quintals* of Salt.

Cities.

Families and Revenue.

There are both black and white Chineses.

By the vast extent we have assign'd the Kingdom of *China*, it may be judg'd, that its Provinces lying in so different Climates, it must follow, that the Qualities of its Air and Soil are also different. Accordingly, there is so vast a difference between the Inhabitants of the Island of *Hainan*, which is in the Torrid Zone, and part of the Province of *Quantung*, which comes near it, and those of the Province of *Peking*, which is the more Northerly of all *China*, that a man might take the one for the *Moors* of *Fez* in *Barbary*, and the others for *Germans* or *Suedes*. I speak as to their colour; for these are white, those black; and there are some more or less swarthy, according as the Provinces they live in are more or less Southerly and Northerly.

The difference of Fruits in China.

The same difference is to be observed in the Fruits. For the more Southerly Provinces bring forth *Cocoes*, *Bannana's*, and such other Fruits as grow only in hot Countreys; and others bring forth Figs, Apples, Pears, Chesnuts, and such Fruits as are common in *Europe*. But it may be said in general of *China*, that there is not any other Country more pleasant or more fertile then it. 'Tis true, it is much obliged to Nature, from whose liberality it hath Gold, Silver, precious Stones, Musk, Silk, Salt, and all sorts of precious Gums and Drugs; but it must be confessed withall, that it is the labour and industry of the Inhabitants, and the mildness of its Government, which occasions this abundance of provisions, and consummates the felicity wherein they live.

The

1639. *The Chineses hate idleness.*

The Country is so populous, that to maintain so strange a number of people, it is but necessary, that all the Ground it takes up should produce somewhat or other. They have a natural aversion for idleness; but if they had not, the Laws have made such provision, in this particular, that there is not any Crime punished with greater infamy then this Vice. Another humour of theirs is, that they are lovers of good Chear, and pride it much in wearing good Clothes, and having their Houses well furnished, so that, to live handsomly, they are obliged to take pains. Hence comes it, that a man shall not see a Mountain but is planted, not a Hill but is cultivated; no Plain, but is sown; no Fen, but some advantage is made thereof; nay, to use the common expression, not an inch of Ground, but brings forth somewhat or other, to requite their labour, who bestow their pains on it.

China Fruits better then ours.

This Country breeds all sort of living Creatures, and brings forth all the Fruits and Simples we have in *Europe*, but all much better in their several kinds then any we have; as may be seen by those Oranges, the Plant whereof was brought thence into *Portugal*, and the Fruit whereof is so highly esteem'd every where. The like may be said of Melons, and other Fruits, especially Plums, which are most excellent there, and so wholsome, that they never burden the Stomack, though a man eat never so many of them. There is such abundance of Honey and Wax, that whole Fleets come thence loaden therewith; and Sugar is so cheap that when it is deerest, the *Quintal*, that is, a hundred twenty four pound, may be bought between twenty four and thirty shillings *sterling*. A man may judge of the quantities of Silk it produces, by the Stuffs which the Provinces pay in yearly to the King, besides the Stuffs and raw Silk which are carried into all other parts of the World. The high Grounds bring forth Wheat, Barly, Oats; and the low Grounds, Rice, but in such abundance, that, when most dear, it is sold at a Crown the Coom, or four *Winchesters*.

Wax and Honey. Sugar.

Flesh very cheap.

Fowl are sold there by the pound, and when the Feathers are off, the ordinary rate is three half pence a pound, and all other Flesh proportionably: for there is so much Cattel, that a fat Cow is not worth above ten shillings; a Buffler a Crown; a Hog, the flesh whereof is very delicate, twenty pence. Nay, even Spices are so cheap there, that under a Crown a man may buy four hundred Nutmegs, and for half a Crown two pound of Cloves; which proceeds hence, that Provisions yielding in a manner nothing in the Country, the *Chineses* truck them with so much profit to the *Moluccas* and the other neighbouring Islands, that they can afford these Drugs cheaper then they may be had at the places where they grew. The Sea, which encompasses a great part of this vast Territory, and the Rivers which are as it were so many Veins and Arteries to this vast Body, supply it with such abundance of Fish, that it is to be had in a manner for nothing.

Spice.

Their fishing.

For there is hardly any City that hath the convenience of a River, but the Inhabitants keep a great number of Cormorants, which they make use of in order to fishing. They are kept fasting one day, and the next they carry them to the water-side, near several Boats half full of water, whereto they are fastened with a Cord tied under their Wings, and having bound them about their Necks a little above the Stomack, they let them go into the River, where they fill, with Fish, that Skin which stretches like a bag under the Throat, and come and disburden themselves, of what they had taken, in the Boat whereto they are fastened. This they do several times, at least till such time as the Master thinks they have taken enough; and then he unties the String which ties up their Necks, and permits them to go a fishing for themselves, and to feast themselves for two dayes: and by this means they take more Fish then they are able to consume.

How they breed Ducks.

How hatched.

There is no Creature so common all over *China* as the Duck, in regard they have a way for the breeding of them, not known in other parts. They are kept in great Cages, made of Canes, and set at the Sterns of great Boats, the Cages being so large, as they are able to contain three or four thousand of them, and they hatch the Eggs, in the Summer time, in Cow-dung, or haply in the Dung of the Ducks themselves, which is very hot, leaving them therein, till the generation be compleated, and then they break the Shells one against another, to make way for their young ones to come out, with such a sleight, that it seldom happens that any one of them miscarries.

In the Winter, they heighten the natural heat of the Dung by Fire, making a Bed of Canes, raised three or four foot from the ground, upon which they set the Eggs between two layers of Dung, and there is a Fire made under, to give them that degree of heat which is requisite for the hatching of them. As soon as they are hatched, they dispose them into the Cages, where they keep old Ducks, which receive them under their Wings, and breed them up. When they are grown big enough to shift for themselves, they give them in the morning a little Rice, but only so much as rather sharpens then satisfies the Appetite,

Appetite, and then they open the Cages, to let them go over a kind of Hurdle of Canes to the shore, where they suffer them to feed among the Rice, out of which they pick the Weeds with so much ease and advantage to the Owner, that he who breeds the Ducks is sufficiently recompenced for his pains. In the evening, he gets all his Ducks together, and makes them return into the Boat, with the noise of a Whittle or little Bell, which they observe so exactly, that, though there are many times twenty or five and twenty thousand of them together, yet will they all get very orderly into their Cages: and by this kind of breeding, they are so cheap, that a man may have two or three for a penny. 1639.

The Inhabitants.

As to the Inhabitants, they are well shaped, and for the most part of a good stature. The Men have large Faces, are small Ey'd, and flat Nosed, wearing little or no Beard. They never cut their Hair, nor pare the Nails of the left Hand, out of a perswasion, that their Nails may be serviceable to them in climbing, when they shall be taken up into Heaven by the Hair.

Their clothing.

They are all clad after the same fashion, save that in the more Northerly Provinces, they use Furs, and in the more Southerly, they go for the most part in Silk. Persons of great quality have their Cassocks embroidered up to the Waste, but others have only a little Gold or Silver about the extremities: and there is this distinction between married Men and Batchelors, that the latter part their Hair upon the Forehead, and wear higher Caps then the others.

Their Women.

The Women are very sumptuously clad, having about them a great many Pearls and precious Stones. They also paint, and dress their Heads with as much curiosity and advantage as in any other place of the World. They have a particular affection of having little feet; whence it comes, that the Mothers make it their business, so to straiten their Daughters Feet, from their Infancy, that they are hardly able to go. Some are of opinion, that this Custom was introduced by those who were desirous to accustom Women to a sedentary life, whereto they are as it were condemned even from their birth. They are never seen in the House; and it is very seldom they go abroad, which when they do, it is to visit some of their neerest Relations; and then, they are so attended, and shut up in *Palanquins*, that they cannot be seen.

Are ingenious.

The Men are ingenious enough, and discover, by their Works, that they are not inferiour to the *Europeans*. It is no easie matter for a Man to avoid the circumventions of their Merchants, who make use of all imaginable Advantages in their Dealings. At every Door there hangs a Table, containing a Catalogue of all the Commodities that are in the Shop: and in regard all the Merchants of the same Body have their habitations in the same quarter, a man finds, as soon as he comes into it, what is to be sold in all the Street.

Their Money.

They use Brass-money in no Province but that of *Chekiang*; in all other parts of the Kingdom, only Gold and Silver is current, which yet is received only by weight, without any regard of the mark. Whence it comes, that no *China* Merchant but hath his Weights about him, and such pieces of Money as are full weight, by which that which he receives is to be weighed.

The provision for the subsistance of the poor.

I am of opinion, that the provision, which is made in several parts of *Europe*, for the subsistance of the Poor, was derived from *China*. Beggary, which is infamous in those who are reduced thereto, and a shame to such as suffer it, in as much as it is a reproach of their want of Charity, whose care it should be to remedy that inconvenience, is there very severely forbidden; and there is in all Cities a particular Judge appointed for the Poor, who, in order to their relief, takes the following course.

The very day he comes into that Employment, he publishes an Order, whereby he commands all those who have any Children, either born weak or imperfect, or become such, through sickness or any other accident, to come and make their cases known, that he may examine whether they are capable of learning any Trade or not; and in case they are not, whether the Parents are able to maintain them. If they are Orphans, and have no other Friends able to keep them, they are disposed into Hospitals, where they are brought up at the Kings charge. The same course is taken with maimed or decrepit Souldiers. They are all lock'd up, and not permitted to go any more abroad. The Houses, where they put up the Poor, have Gardens and Courts belonging to them, where they are permitted to keep Poultry and Swine, as well for their divertisement as advantage, and the King appoints a certain Overseer, who, joyntly with the ordinary Judge, makes a Visitation of the Hospitals twice a year.

They do not put the blind into the number of those Poor who are accounted unable to work; but they are employed in pulling the Bellows at Smiths Forges, and other things which do not much require the help of the sight. Maids that are blind are forced to a Trade, which may be as gainful, but not so honest as some others.

1639. *Printing in China before we had it.*

I conceive I may also presume to affirm, that it is to *China* we are obliged for the Mystery of Printing. For it is certain, we have it but since the year 1450. and that the *Chineses* have some Books printed above seven-hundred years since.

Their way of writing.

They have a way of Writing particular to themselves, not only upon this account, that they make use of Figures rather then Characters, in as much as they signifie entire words, and do not represent the Letters; but also upon this, that, in their Writing they observe an order wholly different from that of all other Nations. For these write either from the left hand to the right, as all the *Europeans* do, or from the right to the left, as the *Hebrews*, *Arabians*, and most of the other Nations of *Asia* do; but the *Chineses* write from the top downwards, and in their Writing observe such equal distances, that there cannot be any thing more exact. And to shew, that these Figures stand not for any word that hath any particular signification in their Language, but that they express the same things, it is to be noted, that the *Chineses*, who, when they speak, cannot understand one the other, by reason of the diversity of the Idioms and Dialects that is among the Inhabitants of several Provinces, make use of these Characters, not only to render themselves intelligible one to another, all over the Kingdom, but also in their Commerce with the *Japonneses*, and the Inhabitants of *Corea* and *Conchinchine*, between whose Languages there is no more rapport, then the *English* hath to the *Greek* or *Arabian*.

Their Paper.

They make their Paper of the Bark of *Bambus*, or Canes, but so thin, that it will bear writing but on one side, though they do not use Pens, but Pencils, as the *Japonneses* do, which only slide along the Paper, so that they write as fast, and cut their Characters so neatly, that the best Pen-men in *Europe* are not to be preferred before them.

The King is at a vast charge, as well in the maintenance of the Schools, where they are taught to read and write, as also the other Elements and Sciences, as in that of the Universities, where are taught Philosophy, natural and moral, Astrology, and the other Sciences. There passes not a year, but there is a Visitation made, at which the Professors and Scholars are examined; and they who express an inclination to study are recompenced; such as apply not themselves thereto as they ought, are punished.

The dignity of Loytia.

The Visitor having ended the general *Examen*, makes another particular one for those who aspire to the quality of *Loytia*, a Dignity there like that of our Doctors. True it is, that they give this Title to all nobly descended; but in matter of Learning, it is a Degree, conferr'd, by giving the Graduate a permission to wear a Girdle, by which he is distinguished from others. For the King bestows this quality, as the Princes of our parts confer Honours on those who have deserved them by their services, or are so much in favour, either with them or such as are about them, as to get them by Letters Patents. This promotion of Doctors is done with as great Ceremonies, as in any *European* University.

The Chineses very ceremonious.

But indeed this Nation is so punctual in point of Ceremony, that it goes beyond any other, even to importunity. The first Lectures they make to Youth are those of Compliments, whereof there are whole Books, that they may be sure to have them upon all occasions. If a man hath but once seen a person, he is obliged to salute him, and this is not done with the Hat, but closing the left hand, they put it into the right, and so both to the breast, with a low inclination of the head, accompanied with protestations to confirm what they would express by their gestures.

Persons of Quality meeting in the Street, make a stand, joyn their hands by putting the fingers one within another, and stretching out the arms bow-wise, they do their reverences with low inclinations, and continue a good while in that posture, proffering one another the way. When there is no equality between the persons who meet, the inferiour gives way to the other, does him reverence, and lets him pass by. He who goes to speak about any business to a *Loytia* at his own Lodgings, kneels down as soon as he comes into the Room, and advances, and continues in that posture till he hath done speaking, or delivered his Petition, and having done his business, he retires still kneeling, without turning his back on the *Loytia*.

If a man standing at his own Door, or in the Street, espy a Kinsman, or Friend, coming out of the Country, if he who lives in the City thinks not himself well enough clad to welcome his Friend as he would, he will pretend not to have seen him, go into his Lodging, put on his best Clothes, and then will come and meet his Friend, and salute him, as if he had not seen him before. If he meet him in the Street at some distance from his own House, the first question he makes is, whether he hath din'd or supp'd, if not, he will carry him to the next Tavern, and treat him magnificently with Fish and Flesh; if he hath din'd, he will give him only a Collation of Fruits and Conserves.

They

They are very ſumptuous in their Treatments, and have a cuſtom different from what is done in all other places. They ſet up as many Tables as there are gueſts; but inſtead of cloths, which would hide the beauty of the gilding and painting, wherewith they are enriched, they have only carpets of Damask, Taffata, or ſome other Silk ſtuff, which covering only the edges thereof, hang down to the ground. At the four corners of the Table they ſet a paper of Fruits and Conſerves for the Deſert, and ſeveral figures of Sugar, made and painted to the life, and flowers for the divertiſement of the Eye, and they ſet the meat in the midſt. 1639. *Their Feaſts*

They uſe either Silver-plate or Porcelane, and have no Napkins, in regard they make uſe of their forks ſo neatly, that they never have any occaſion to wipe either their hands or mouths. They drink often, but little at a time, whence it comes their drinking cups are very ſmall; and whereas they ſerve up many diſhes, they are very long at meals: but that the gueſts might not be weary, they give them all manner of divertiſements, as Muſick, Plays, tricks of Legerdemain, and Puppet-ſhowes. If it be a perſon of quality that is invited, they ſet up in the Hall where the treatment is made, ſeveral other Tables, on which are all ſorts of tame and wild Fowl, all which are carried away by ſeveral ſervants marching in a file before him, when he returns home, whither having brought them, they, with great Compliments, oblige him to ſuffer them to leave at his own houſe what he had not conſumed at their Maſters. The treatments they make for a Governour of a Province laſts ſometimes fifteen days or three weeks, and coſts them a years Revenue who undertake any ſuch thing, what ever their Eſtates may be. Their entertainments are commonly in the night, making choice of ſome time about the change of the Moon, eſpecially that of *March*, with which they begin their year. *Plate.*

That day they all ſpend in merriment, put on their beſt clothes, hang their houſes with the richeſt ſtuffs they have, cover the ſtreets with Roſes and other flowers, adorn their triumphal Arches with branch'd works, Damask and ſilk Tapeſtry, beſet with Torches, and plant before the door a tree ſo enlightned, that though there were but one in a whole ſtreet, it might give light to the whole quarter. Their *Prieſts* are preſent at theſe publick rejoycings, and adde to the ſolemnities of the day by the Sacrifices they make to their Gods. *Their new-years day.*

Speaking of their *civility*, I ſhall here give an accompt of that which they have particularly for the Embaſſadours of Forreign *Princes*, for whom the *Chineſes* have the ſame veneration and reſpect, as they might expreſs to their own Maſters. *The honour they do Embaſſadours.*

They do not look on the occaſion of the Embaſſie, but the quality of the *Prince* who ſends the Embaſſadour, who is received at the entrance of the Kingdom, by the Governour of the firſt Frontier City, who meets him with all the perſons of Quality within his Government. They ſuffer him not to ſet his foot on the ground; but aſſoon as he comes out of the Ship, he is put into an Ivory Chair, and carried by eight men to a houſe appointed for that purpoſe, which is furniſhed at the Kings charge, and ſo ſpacious, that ſeveral Embaſſadours may be lodg'd therein at the ſame time without any inconvenience. The next day, the Governour of the City goes to wait on him, and endeavours to learn of him the occaſion of his Embaſſie, to be communicated to the Governour of the Province, who immediately ſends to the Embaſſadour, to deſire his Credentials, that he may diſpatch them to the Court, and get thence the Paſs-port requiſite for the proſecution of his journey. This *Paſs-port* is upon Parchment, with the Kings Seal in Gold, which is carried before the Embaſſadour, with the Credentials written upon a board, having over head in Golden letters the name of the Prince who ſends him. The Governours of *Provinces* make proviſion for his expence by the way, and when he is come near the Metropolis, there meets him the Preſident of the Privy-Councel, who receives him in the head of all the Councellors, and moſt of the Courtiers, and conducts the Embaſſadour to his Lodgings, and as he takes leave of him, he empowers him to create a certain number of *Loytias*, and to ſet at liberty ſome Condemn'd perſons, the number whereof is regulated ſutably to the greatneſs of the *Prince* who ſends him. They allow him a certain time to repoſe himſelf, and then the ſame perſons, who met him at his entrance, conduct him to his Audience, which the King gives him as often as he deſires it, and is preſent at all the Propoſitions he makes.

The entertainments they make at Weddings, are very great, for the Brides Father

1639. *Their weddings.* gives her no other Portion then what he ſpends the firſt day, in treating the relations and friends of his Son in Law; and the next day, thoſe of the Bride. The Feaſting being over, the Husband delivers to his Wife, in the preſence of her kindred, the Portion he promiſed her, and ſhe gives it her Father or Mother, as a requital of the pains they had taken in her Education; ſo that by this means ſuch as have moſt Daughters are the happieſt, eſpecially if they be handſom. Maids are married very young, and the Father may diſpoſe of the Dower given his Daughter, if any neceſſity oblige him thereto; but if he keep it, it is due to the Daughter, all the other Children being excluded from having any benefit thereof.

Polygamy lawful. Polygamy is lawful among them, but inceſt ſeverely forbidden, in a direct line, to infinitie; and in a collateral, to Siſters and Nieces. The firſt is the only lawful Wife, the reſt Concubines, inſomuch that they do not only not live in the ſame Lodgings with the firſt, but alſo her eldeſt Son Inherits as much of the Eſtate himſelf, as all the reſt put together. If the firſt wife have no Son, or having any, if he die before the Father, the eldeſt by the other wives ſucceeds him in his right, and repreſents the heir apparent of the Family.

A man ſeldom hears of any Adulteries committed among them; for the women are kept in ſuch reſtraint, that they are in a manner inacceſſible. The Husband hath the ſame power, as in other places, to kill the Adultereſs and her Gallant, if he take them in the Act: but in regard it is a ſelf-ended and ſelf-conceited Nation, they chooſe rather to make their advantage otherwiſe of ſuch an accident, then defame themſelves by a ſeverity, which ſaves their reputation only in appearance.

The Government of China Monarchical. The Government of the King, the Emperour of *China*, is Monarchical, and it may be ſaid to be in ſome reſpect deſpotical, in as much as the Soveraign is ſo abſolute, that no Law checks his Power; and yet his Government is ſo mild, that there is not any Democracy, where the Inhabitants are leſs burthen'd then they are in *China*. Nothing is more deſtructive to a State, and more obliges Princes to have recourſe to extraordinary wayes, to the coſt of their Subjects, then War. Whence it comes, that the Kings of *China*, conſidering that no forreign War can be carried on but at the coſt of the people, and that by that means the foundations of a Houſe are dig'd up to cover the roof of it, have made it a Fundamental Law, that no War ſhould be made to extend the Frontiers of the Kingdoms. And to the end, their Subjects may give forreigners no occaſion of making any War againſt their Countrey, they are forbidden upon pain of Death to go out of it, without expreſs permiſſion from the Prince, or Governour of the Frontiers.

Offenſive Warr become defenſive by a Fundamental Law.

Their King called Son of Heaven. They call their Emperour *Tie'neu*, that is, Son of Heaven, or Son of God; not that they believe him deſcended from Heaven, but being the chiefeſt of men, they look on him as a gift of Heaven, and a perſon dear to the Gods. He aſſumes to himſelf the quality of *Hoang*, which ſignifies Emperour of dirt or earth, ſo to be diſtinguiſhed, from *Xanhi*, who is the great Emperour of the Univerſe. They ſay, that he who firſt took the name of *Hoangthir* lived many ages before the birth of our Saviour, and that his ſucceſſours were deſirous to continue the ſame name, as they did who ſucceeded *Julius Cæſar* in the Empire.

The Crown hereditary. That dignity is hereditary in the Family of him who now Reigns, ſo as that the eldeſt Son only ſucceeds him, the younger brothers being wholly excluded, who yet have the Title of King, and a Royal retinue, with ſome City of their demean, where they are lodg'd and treated as Kings, but have ſo little Authority, that the Governour who hath it wholly himſelf, ſuffers them not ſo much as to go out of the City, nay, lets them have their allowance but quarterly, leſt having it paid in altogether, they might employ it in making friends, to the diſturbance of the Publick.

The Councel of State. The Councel of State conſiſts of twelve Councellours and a Preſident, who next the King, hath moſt Authority. Beſides this, there are in the City of *Xuntien* ſix other Councellours, to wit, one for the adminiſtration of Juſtice, which they call *Lyp'u*. The ſecond, for the Revenue, which they call *Hup'u*. The third, for Ceremonies, which are eſſential in that Kingdom, and is alſo called *Lyp'u*. The fourth for Military Affairs, and is called *Pingp'u*. The fifth for publick Structures, called *Cungp'u*. And the ſixth for criminal affairs, called *Hingp'u*. The Councellours employed in theſe Counſels, deliberate about thoſe things whereof they are to take Cognizance, and come to ſome reſolution; but they neither publiſh nor execute any thing without the Emperours expreſs permiſſion, who reſerves the deciſion thereof to himſelf, as indeed he doth that of all other affairs of the Kingdom.

Once

Once in three years he ſends Viſitors into all the Provinces, who particularly inquire into the lives and actions of the Governours, and the ſtate of the Provinces; whereof they make him a faithful report; and by this means he perfectly knows what is done all over the Kingdom, though he never ſtirs out of his place. 1639

Aſtrology requiſite in Councellors of State.

Themembers of that Councel of State which they call *Colao*, or *Caiſiang*, that is, Auxiliary Governours, or Miniſters of State, are all Philoſophers, and moſt of them well skil'd in Aſtrology, inaſmuch as it is expected they ſhould fore-ſee the Events of things, not only by the help of civil Prudence, but alſo by the courſe of the Stars, which they think more infallible, then thoſe of reaſon grounded on experience. The Preſident of this Councel, and in his abſence, the moſt ancient Councellour, reports to the King the debates of the Councel, ſpeaking to him on his knees, and looking down to the ground, never lifting up his eyes, though the audience ſhould laſt two hours.

Viceroys & Governours

All the Provinces of *China* have a Viceroy, whom they call *Comon*, only *Peking* and *Nanking* excepted, which are Royal Provinces, and have only Governours, whom they call *Inſuanto's*, and are as King's Lieutenants, inaſmuch as they have the chief Authority in the Province next the Viceroy, yet each within his own juriſdiction, which extends only over the great Cities, where they reſide, and the leſſer ones which depend on them. Theſe laſt have alſo their Governours, whom they call *Tutuam*, and the *Portuguez*, *Mandorines*.

Other Officers of Provinces.

They call him who is receiver of the King's Revenue in a Province, *Ponchaſi*; him who commands the Soldiery thereof, *Toloc*; The Preſident for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, *Anchaſi*, and the chief of a Councel of War *Aytao*. All theſe Officers have their ſeveral Counſels, who all meet in the Vice-roys Palace, who takes Cognizance of all Affairs paſſed therein; and if they be of importance, he ſeuds an Expreſs to give notice thereof to the Preſident of the Councel of State.

Officers of the Crown.

The moſt eminent perſons next the Preſident, whom they call *Colao*, are the *Cautoc*, that is, the chief Standard-bearer; the *Pochin*, or receiver of the Kings Revenue; the *Pochinſy*, or Lord-keeper of the Great-Seal; and the *Autzat*, who is the chief Judge of the City.

Civil Officers.

Under this laſt, there are three Lieutenants, whereof one is called *Hutay*, another, *Tzia*, and the third, *Tontoy*, who ſit in Judgment once a week at their own houſes, and appoint Commiſſioners, who have their ſetled quarters, conſiſting each of a thouſand houſes. This is particularly obſervable, that the Commiſſioner hath no Authority in the ſtreet where he lives, leſt he ſhould be byaſſed in his Judgment by any conſideration of neighbour-hood, whence it alſo comes, that no man is made Vice-roy, Governour or Judge in his own Country, but he is ſent to remote Provinces, where he hath no relations.

The Officers are changed every three years, and from the day of their departure from Court, or the place of their ordinary Habitation, the King defrayes all their Charges, leaving it to their choice, whether they will take their allowance in proviſion or mony. While they continue in their employment, they are lodg'd and treated at the Kings charge, and there are lodg'd neer the Judges in the ſame houſe, the Clerks, Door-keepers, and all the other Officers belonging to their charge, who are alſo maintain'd and paid by the King, that they may take no bribes or gratifications from the parties.

Debtors cruelly treated.

They are ſo circumſpect in all their proceedings, that there is no Judge but ſo ſtrictly examines all particulars, as not to fear any reproach of neglect. Debtours are treated with ſo great rigour, that ſuch as are not able to ſatisfie their Creditors, had rather be ſold to them then endure the cruel fuſtigations, in the middeſt whereof, ſome, who are of a more delicate Conſtitution, many times expire.

An admirable order.

The courſe taken for the diſcovery of Crimes, and to prevent ſeveral other diſorders, is admirable. The Judges coming to the place of their reſidence, cauſe a Liſt to be taken of all the houſes within their juriſdiction, and having diſtributed them into Decads, they ſet a bill on every tenth houſe, injoyning the Inhabitants to diſcover ſuch of their Decad as they know hath committed any crimes, upon pain of being reſponſible for the ſame themſelves; as alſo to give notice of ſuch of their Decad, as remove from their houſes, or intend any great journey, that they may be oblig'd to pay their debts, before they leave the quarter.

They have no mercy on Criminals, yet is there not any perſon Executed, till the crime be made ſo apparent, that the criminal can alledge nothing for himſelf. They endeavour to get out the truth by fair means, and never order any to be tortured, but upon very great preſumptions; but then they do it cruelly.

Their Tortures.

They put their fingers between two ſticks, two fingers broad and better, through the ends whereof they draw a ſtrong pack-thred, which they bind ſo hard, that they break the bones, and make the nailes come off. Another torture they have is, to put the feet between

1639. two boards, much after the ſame manner, as in ſome parts of *Europe*, they put the Leggs into boots full of hot oyle, ſave that, there the feet are tormented, and here the leggs.

Priſons. Every great City hath ſeveral Priſons, which are very ſtrictly kept, but have belonging to them Courts, Gardens, Ponds, and Walks for the divertiſement of ſuch as are detained there for ſlight offences. They have alſo drinking-houſes, for the convenience of the Priſoners, and Shops, wherein are ſold ſuch things as the Priſoners make, in order to their better ſubſiſtance.

The Sentence of death is not executed till the King hath confirmed it; nay, even that had, it is done with ſo many Ceremonies, that unleſs the heynouſneſs of the Crime cry for Vengeance very loud, there are more Condemn'd perſons languiſh in the Priſons, then die by the hand of the Executioner. For there is no Execution, but in preſence of the chief Judge of the Province, or Viſitor, who being come to the place, calls for the Indictments of ſuch as ſtand condemned to die, and examine them, and thereupon either confirms or repeals the ſentence of the ordinary Judge. Of thoſe whoſe Sentence is confirm'd, he takes fifty of the greateſt offenders, and orders the Goaler to prepare them for their execution. Yet are they not brought out of the Priſon, till they are once more examined; and if they can alledge any receivable excuſe, they are ſhut up again, and then they diſcharge the great Guns, to ſhew that they are going to Execution. But before they are brought to the place of puniſhment, they are examined once more, and the Judge preſſes them to think of themſelves, and to find out ſome pretence that might oblige him to defer it. If they have nothing to alledge, he orders ſo many Guns to be fired, as there are perſons to be executed. Being come to the place of execution, they are ſet upon heaps of Aſhes, where they have ſomewhat given them to eat, and then begins the laſt examination: but if, that over, they have no excuſe, the Guns are diſcharged the third time, and the execution is compleated.

Their puniſhments. Their puniſhments are, to hang up, to empale, to burn; but this laſt is only for ſuch as are guilty of high Treaſon.

That of Thieves. They have a particular puniſhment for Thieves. For as they deteſt Theft above all Crimes, ſo is its puniſhment attended with more infamy then the others. They lay the Malefactor upon his belly, with his hands ti'd behind him, and in that poſture, two executioners beat him with all their might upon the calf of the Leg, with great Canes moyſtned in water, which is ſo painful a chaſtiſement, that moſt of the wretches die under their hands. The Judges are preſent at theſe executions; but that they may not be moved to compaſſion, which the Condemned would never be the better for, they ſpend their time in gaming and drinking, and ſtop their ears againſt their cries.

The Viſitors But that Governours and Judges may not abuſe their power, they are obliged not only to give an account of their actions, at the expiration of their Commiſſions, before Judges appointed for that purpoſe, whom they call *Chenes*; but alſo the King ſends into the Provinces a Viſitor, whom they call *Leaches*. He goes into the Province *incognito*, takes an exact and ſecret information of the Actions of the Officers, and having gone round the Province, comes up near the Metropolis of it, towards the time that all the Officers of the Province meet there, which is once a month; he ſends to the Viceroy and the Aſſembly to open the Gate to him, that he may come and acquaint them with the King's pleaſure. This meſſage diſcovers his quality, and yet when he goes into the Aſſembly, he hath his Commiſſion carried open before him; and aſſoon as it is read, the Viceroy comes out of his place, and the other Judges out of their ſeats, and do reverence to the Viſitor, who having taken the Viceroys place, commends thoſe who have done their duty, and tells them, he ſhall not fail to report the ſame to his Majeſty.

Then turning to thoſe whom he hath found Delinquent, he reproves them, deprives them of the Marks of Magiſtracy, which are the Hat and Girdle, ſuſpends, or abſolutely diſpoſſeſſes them of their charges, and puts others into them. It is in his power to advance to the greateſt dignities ſuch as he judges capable thereof, to brand with infamy thoſe who have neglected their duty, nay, to puniſh them, but not with death; inaſmuch as the Emperour only is Maſter of the lives of his Subjects.

The Religion of the Chineſes. As to the Religion of the *Chineſes*, it may be ſaid to be *Pagan*, though from the figure of one of their principal Divinities, it might be imagined that they have heretofore had ſome apprehenſions of *Chriſtianity*, and ſome would infer, that three Heads, which they make coming out of the Body of one of their Idols, repreſent the *bleſſed Trinity*, which makes the firſt and greateſt Miſtery of *Chriſtian* Religion. They adde hereto, that *St. Thomas* the Apoſtle Preached the Goſpel in *China*, and that there are ſome Pictures to be found there, wherein may be ſeen men dreſſed and ſhaped as the Apoſtles are painted among us, and that ſome have ſeen their Images repreſenting the *bleſſed Virgin*, holding the

the Saviour of the World in her Armes. But these are only chimerical imaginations, since that, setting aside the establishments which the *Portugues* and *Spaniards* have made there some years since, there is not the least track to be seen of the Ancient *Christian* Religion. 1639.

They affirm that all things, visible and invisible, were made by Heaven. And this they express by the first Letter of their Alphabet. They also believe that the Heaven governs the Universe by a Vicegerent, whom they call *Laocon Tzautey*. For him it is they have the greatest veneration next the Sun, and say, it is an eternal Spirit, who was not created. They have the same opinion of another Divinity, whom they call *Cansay*, and to whom they Attribute an absolute power over all Sublunary things. To these three Spirits, they add three principal Ministers, whom they call *Tanquam*, *Teiquam*, and *Tzuiquam*, whereof the first presides over the Air, and makes it rain; another, over the generation of Men and other Animals, and the production of Fruits; and the third hath the government of the Sea. They also canonize some, whose lives have been eminent for Sanctity, or otherwise, and call them *Pausaos*, that is, Saints; but they do not render them the same Honours they do the Gods before mentioned, or yet the three following Saints, who are also in great veneration among them. *Their Divinities.*

The first they call *Sichia*, who came into *China* out of the Kingdom of *Toungking*, and is Founder of all the Religious Orders of both Sexes, which are at present in the Kingdom, and whereof there are very great numbers, living in perpetual celebate, and inhabiting in Monasteries. *Three China Saints.*

The second is called *Quanina*, a Female Saint, and, as they affirm, was the third Daughter of King *Tzonton*, who having married his two elder Daughters, would also have this embrace the same kind of life. But this Princess having made a Vow of Chastity, would not hear of Marriage, and upon that account lost her Fathers favour, who shut her up in a place, where her employment was, to carry Wood and Water, and to weed a great Garden whereof she had the keeping. They have great Legends of the Life of this Saint, and relate several stories of her; among others, that the Apes of the neighbouring Forrest came thither, and carried Water for her; that the Birds weeded the Garden for her; and that several other Creatures brought the wood she was obliged to fetch. The Father imagining this was done by his Daughter's witchcraft, caused the house to be fired, which the Princess seeing, and considering that it was for her sake, would have cut her own throat, with a string of hair; but she immediately found the fire put out by a great shower which then fell, whereupon she went thence and retired into the Deserts of the neighbouring Mountain. The King's impiety was punished with the Leprosie, which spread it self over all his body, wherein it bred so many Worms, that he had been devoured by them, if the Daughter, upon notice given her of it by a voice from Heaven, had not relieved him. The misery he endured had raised in him a great remorse of Conscience; so that finding himself recovered by his Daughter's intercession, he fell down on his knees before her, begg'd her pardon for what was past, and would have adored her, but she refused those honours: yet so as that, it not being in her power to avoid them, she set an Idol before her, and returned to the Desert, whence she came only to cure her Father. She dyed there, and, by an extraordinary austerity of life, acquired so great a reputation of sanctity, that they still honour her with a Religious worship, invocate her, and beg her intercession for the remission of sins. *The Fable of Quanina*

They have yet a third Saint, of the same Sex, whom they call *Neoma*; and affirm, she was a Daughter of a Prince of the City of *Yocheu*, in the Province of *Huquang*. The aversion she had conceived against Marriage, obliged her to retire into the Island of *Ingoa*, where they say she wrought many Miracles. They relate, among others, that a Lord named *Compo*, having received orders from the King to go along with a Fleet which lay ready to set sail, it was not in the power of the Mariners to weigh the Anchors. *Compo* was so surprised at the accident, that he would needs see himself what might be the cause of it. He found *Neoma* sitting on the Anchor belonging to the Admiral. He told her, the King had commanded him to go and make a War in one of the neighbouring Provinces, and entreated her not to oppose his Design. She made answer, that she would contribute to his gaining the Victory he promised himself in that Expedition, if he would take her along with him: which he was the more inclinable to do, in regard he already knew her by reputation. Accordingly, the Army was no sooner come in sight of the Enemies Countrey, but she dissolved the Charm, whereby the Inhabitants had made all the Sea look as if it had been on fire, and forced the Enemies to render themselves up at mercy. *Compo* thought at first it had been an illusion; whereupon he would have a stronger assurance of *Neoma's* power, and told her, he should make no further question *The Fable of Neoma.*

of

1639. of her ſanctity, if ſhe could make the ſtick he had in his hand to flouriſh, and wax green again; which ſhe did. *Compo* planted his ſtick at the ſtern of his Ship, and openly acknowledged, that all the ſucceſs of his Arms was to be attributed to *Neoma*; and thence it comes, they ſay, that the *Chineſes* ſet this *Neoma* at the Sterns of their Ships, and make their Addreſſes to her, for the proſperity of their Voyages.

The Chineſes uſe incantations

They expreſs little Devotion and reſpect for their Idol's. For being extreamly addicted to conſult Incantations and Charms, in all their affairs of great Importance, in ſo much that they will not undertake a journey, nor marry, nor indeed do any buſineſs of conſequence, till they have conſulted them. If they prove not according to their expectations, they raile at their Gods, call them Dogs, and reproach them with all baſeneſs. But when their indignation is a little over, they change rheir reproaches into flattery and kindneſs, ask them pardon, promiſe them what they leaſt intend to perform, and then return to their Incantations again. If they are otherwiſe anſwered then before, they flatter and praiſe their Gods; but if they are ſtill threatned with misfortune, they give them both ill words and blows, throw them down, tread upon them, beat them, drag them into the dirt, burn them with a candle, or whip them, till the Spell favours them, and then they offer to them Ducks, Geeſe, Poultry, boild Rice, *&c.* Their great Sacrifices conſiſt of offering to their Gods the head of a boil'd Hog, adorn'd with flowers and leaves, and a Jar of Wine.

How they do it.

Their way of Incantation is performed by two pieces of Wood, about the bigneſs of a Wall-nut, whereof one ſide is flat, the other round, like a half bowl. Theſe they caſt upon the ground, and if it happen that both, or one fall ſo as that the round ſide be downwards, they take it for a very ill *omen*; but they caſt them ſo often, that they muſt at laſt fall as they would have them. Another way they have, and that is, by caſting into a *Pot* ſeveral pieces of Wood, each whereof hath a certain Character upon it, and they have them drawn out by a Child; and as they are taken out, they turn over a Book, till they come to a Page that begins with the Character drawn out of the *Pot*, and they accommodate the words they find in the *Page*, to the thing whereof they would know the event by the ſaid drawing out of the Characters.

They invoke the Devil.

They alſo invoke the Devil; and the geſtures of thoſe who are employed in theſe Invocations are ſuch, as a man would ſay they were really poſſeſſed; nay, there have been ſome *Chriſtians* ſo ſimple as to believe it.

Their belief concerning the Creation.

The *Chineſes* believe, that the Heavens, the Earth, and Water, have been from all eternity, but that heretofore they were ſo confounded together, that it muſt be the work of a Divinity to reduce them into order. They call the God who did this, *Tayn*, and affirm that, in the beginning, he, of nothing, created a man whom he called *Panzon*, and a woman, whom he namen *Panzona*; That *Panzon*, in like manner, of nothing, created another man, named *Tanhom*, and his thirteen brethren, and that this *Tanhom* was ſo learned, that he gave names to all things that were Created: That *Tanhom* and his brethren had diverſe Children, but particularly that the ſecond, whom they call *Teyencom*, had twelve ſons, and that his eldeſt, whoſe name was *Tuhucom*, had nine: That their Race hath lived upon the Earth above ninety thouſand years; but that, at laſt, *Tayn* kill'd all the Males for their Rebellion: That at that time, the heaven fell, but that *Tayn* raiſed it again, and created another man, named *Lotzitzen*, who had two horns in his forehead, out of which came forth a pleaſant ſcent, from whence were begotten males and females, and that all now alive are deſcended from *Lotzitzan*, who, as they affirm, lived nine hundred years: That the Heaven begot alſo another man, named *Atzion*, by a very extraordinary production, inaſmuch as his Mother, whom they call *Lutim*, was got with child, by looking on the head of the Lyon in the Zodiack, and that ſhe was brought to bed in the City of *Tengcheu*, in the Province of *Xantung*: That many Ages afterwards, one named *Vſao* taught Architecture, and began to build houſes, and make cloathes: That *Huntzui*, his ſucceſſor, found out fire, and taught people how to boil and roaſt meat, as alſo how to buy, and ſell, and make contracts: That a woman named *Hautzibon*, had conceived, by ſetting her foot in the ſtep of a man, and brought forth *Ochentey*, who firſt made marriages, and invented ſeveral muſical inſtruments: That *Ezonlom*, his Son, was the firſt Teacher of Medicine and Judiciary Aſtrology, and the firſt who made uſe of the Plough and the Spade. They affirm alſo, that he was wont to feed on a Sallad of ſeven of the moſt venemous Herbs could be found, and that inſtead of receiving any harm thereby, it kept him alive four hundred years, and that he left a ſon, from whom are deſcended all the ancient Kings of *China*.

They believe the Immortality of the Soul.

They believe the Immortality of the Soul, and affirm that the Heaven communicates its Eternity thereto, and that, after this Life, it ſhall enjoy eternal bliſs, or be eternally tormented, according to the good or evil done in this World,

They

They believe also a kind of *Purgatory*, and that there is a certain place, where Souls are to be cleansed from the impurities they derived from the bodies which they had informed; and that, as to this particular, the Suffrages of their Friends and Relations may procure them some refreshment. Whence it comes, that, in *August*, they have a Day appointed for Prayers and supplications to be made for the Deceased: but instead of performing these Ceremonies in their *Pagodes*, they do them in the private Houses of such as are inclined to this kind of Devotion: To that end, three of their Religious men go to the House appointed, and exhort the Family to make the Prayers requisite for the purging of those sins which obstruct the Beatitude of their deceased Relations. Of these three Religious men, one carries a little Drum; another certain Images; and the third, a small Bell. Having set the Images upon the Altar, they Incense them, while in the mean time some others are busied in setting, on five or six Tables, certain Dishes of Meat, for the Saints and Souls of the Deceased, and that done, they fall a-dancing, and singing certain Hymns, which the younger of the Religious men writes down on Paper, and afterwards lays on the Altar. Assoon as he is returned to his place, they fall a-singing again, till such time as he who says the Service strikes his Image against the Table, whereto the others answer with their heads, and that done, they burn the Images before the Altar. Having spent the night in this kind of Devotion, which is not begun till after Sun set, the Religious men, and those of the House make good chear with what they find on the Tables, and had been set there for the spirits of the other World: and thus they procure the purgation of the Souls departed. 1639.

Most of them do also believe the Transmigration of Souls, but few speak of it with any rational ground. *And Metempsychosis.*

They have four Orders of Religious men, whereof some are clad in black, some in white, and some in a dark grey. Every Order hath its General, whom they call *Tricon*, who lives in the City of *Xuntien*. He hath under him Provincials, who make Visitations within their several Jurisdictions, to see that there be an observance of Discipline, and that there be no remission of the rigour required by the Rules of the Order. These have also the nomination of Superiours and Guardians in the several Monasteries. The General continues in that dignity as long as he lives, and when he dies, the King names his successour, making choice of him among those who are most deserving. He is cloth'd in Silk, but of the same colour as is worn by the Religious men of the Order, and never goes out of his own house, without a retinue of four Religious men, who carry him in an Ivory Chair, upon their shoulders. He hath a particular Seal for such affairs as concern his Order, and his Religious men never speak to him but on their knees. The King allows him what may keep a plentiful house, and contributes also to the subsistance of the Monks in the Monasteries; and if they want any thing, it is supplied by the liberality of private persons. The Religious men are all clad in serge, and all after the same fashion, save that they are distinguished by the colour. They all shave their heads and beards. They use beads, and say their Mattens and other Offices, much after the same manner as our Monks in *Europe* do. Those who enter into the Monastery make a feast for all the Monks; but the eldest Son of a Family is not permitted to take the habit; in regard the Laws of the Kingdom forbid it, and would have him to be the comfort and support of the weak and decrepit age of his Father. Their vows are not indispensable, but they may quit the Monastery, and marry. *Their Religious men.* *Use Beads.*

The *Chineses* observe at their Funerals the following Ceremonies. Assoon as any person is deceased, they wash the body, put about him his best cloathes well perfum'd, and set him in the biggest Chair they can find in the house: That done, the Wife, Children, Brothers, Sisters, and afterwards all the Relations, kneel down before him, and take their leave of him. That Ceremony over, they put him into a Coffin of sweet-wood well closed, and set him upon a Table, or two trestels, and they cover him with a Hearse-cloath, reaching down to the ground, upon which they draw the *Picture* of the deceased. They leave him in that posture fifteen days, during which time, in some other Chamber or Hall, there stand constantly set on a Table, Wine, Fruit, and two wax Torches lighted, for the Priests, who spend the night there in singing and praying, according to their way; but especially in making divers inchantments against the evill Spirits, and in burning several Images, and fastning others to the Hearse-cloath, which covers the Coffin, which Images they ever and anon move with their hands, thinking they by that means force the Soul to Heaven. The fifteen days being over, the body is carryed into the Country, where the *Priests* interr it, and commonly plant a *Pine*-tree neer the Sepulchre; whence it comes, that they have a particular veneration for that Tree. *Funeral Ceremonies.*

Their

1639. *Their mourning.* Their mourning is auſtere enough. Sons continue it for a whole year, and ſometimes two, during which time, they are clad in a courſe cloth, cover their heads with a Hat of the ſame, and tie about their upper Garment with a cord. Nay, ſome quit the publick employments they have, with the Kings conſent, and ever after live privately. Remote kindred go in mourning for ſome months; and friends put it not off till the body be laid in the ground.

The preſent State of China. From what we ſaid before concerning the Wall which divides *China*, from *Tartary*, it may well be inferr'd that the *Chineſes* have a dreadful enemy beyond it. It muſt indeed be acknowledged, that though we have not any Author that hath given a pertinent account of the Eaſtern part of *Tartary*, which reaches from little *Tartary*, and the Kingdom of *Caſcar*, to the Eaſtern Sea, and the Streights of *Anian* above *Japan*, yet have we it for certain, that out of thoſe parts, and the Kingdoms of *Samahania*, *Taniulth*, *Niuche*, *Niulhan*, &c. came thoſe Nations who over-ran ſeveral Provinces of *Europe*, and in a manner all *Aſia*, under *Tamerlaine*; and under other Chiefs, poſſeſſed themſelves of the Kingdom of *China*.

The Tartars poſſeſſed of China. For in the year 1206, the *Tartars*, whom the *Chineſes* called *Tata*, becauſe they do not pronounce the Letter *R.* entred *China* with a powerful Army, and after a War of ſeventy two years became Maſters of it, forc'd thence the Princes of the houſe of *Sunga*, which then Reign'd, and were peaceably poſſeſt of the whole Countrey, for the ſpace of near ſeventy years; till a certain Prieſt's ſervant named *Chu*, conſidering that the ſavageneſs of the *Tartars* was much abated by the delights of *China*, undertook a War againſt them, and forc'd them out of *China* in the year, 1368. The averſion the *Chineſes* had to be governed by a forreign power ſoon prevail'd with them to become ſubject to *Chu*, who aſſumed the quality of *Hugnus*, that is, Great Warriour; and was the firſt of the Royal Family of *Teiming*, which reign'd in *China* even to our days.

And forced thence.

The origine of the Royal houſe of Teyming.

Chu not thinking it enough to have forced the *Tartars* out of the Kingdom of *China*, entred with an Army into that of *Niuche*, whither the *Tartars* were retreated, and forc'd them to acknowledge the Soveraignty of the Emperour of *China*, and to pay him Tribute.

The *Tartars* divided themſelves into ſeven Colonies, which warred one againſt the other, till they were reduced into one State, under the name of the Kingdom of *Niuche*, about the year 1600.

The beginning of the Tartarian War. About that time Raigned in *China*, *Vanlie*, who had ſucceeded his Father in the *Empire*, in the year 1573. and lived in an abſolute peace, when the Governours of the Frontiers, conceiving ſome jealouſie at the great powerfulneſs of the *Tartars*, would needs hinder their Merchants from trading into *China*, oppoſed the match, which the King of *Niuche* would have made between his Daughter, and the King of *Tanyu*, took him and killed him. The King of *Nyuche's* ſon, deſirous to revenge his Fathers Death, raiſed an Army, paſſed over the great wall, entred *China* in the year 1616. and took the City of *Gayven*, whence he writ, in very reſpectful terms, to *Vanlie*, who was then living, and repreſented to him the injury had been done him by the Governours of the Frontiers, proffering to deliver up the City, and go out of the Kingdom, upon condition his complaints might be heard, and Juſtice done him. *Vanlie*, inſtead of reflecting on the Juſtice of this demand, returned the buſineſs to the Councel of State, where it was not thought fit ſo much as to anſwer his Letters. The *Tartar*, on the other ſide, was ſo incenſed at this ſlighting of his Propoſals, that he vowed to ſacrifice two hundred Thouſand *Chineſes* to the *Manes* of his Father.

Take the Metropolis of Leatung. Accordingly, having taken the City of *Leaoyang* by aſſault, though the Metropolis of the Province of *Leaotung*, he put all the *Chineſes* to death. He afterwards took the City of *Quangning*, and entred with his Army into the Province of *Peking*. But fearing to be ſhut up there by the *Chineſes*, who had got a vaſt Army together, he returned to *Leaoyang*, where he cauſed new Fortifications to be made, and there aſſumed the quality of *Thienming*, and was called Emperour of *China*, though he were poſſeſſed only of *Leaotung*; which is ſo inconſiderable a place, as that it is not ſo much as numbred among the Provinces of that Kingdom.

This happened in the year 1618. The year following, 1619. the *Chineſes*, who had got together an Army of ſix hundred thouſand fighting men, gave battel to the *Tartars*; but they were defeated, and loſt, beſides the fifty thouſand men kill'd upon the place, moſt of their beſt Commanders. Upon this Victory, the *Tartars* entred the Province of *Peking*, where they took and ranſack'd all; nay would have ſet upon the City of *Xuntien*, where the Emperour was then in perſon, had they not been prevented by the Garriſon, which conſiſted of twenty thouſand men.

Amidſt theſe diſtractions, *Vanlie* dies, in the year 1620. *Tayohang*, his Son, ſucceeded him

him; but he reigning only four moneths, left the Scepter to *Thienki*, who proved so fortunate, as to force away the *Tartars*, not only out of the Cities they had taken in *Peking*, but also out of *Leaotung*, and all the Province of *Leaoyang*, where their cruelties had made their Government very odious and burthensom. But he injoyed not long the fruits of that Victory. For the *Tartar* having set all things in order at home, sent into *China* an Army of eighty thousand Horse, which he followed with another Body, and retook the City of *Leaoyang* by assault, there having been before an Engagement between them, wherein both sides had fought very resolutely, for the space of fourty hours. 1639. *Vanlie dies and succeeded by Tayohang He by Thienki. Who forces away the Tartars. But they re-enter Leaotung.*

There were killed in the said Engagement 20000. of the *Tartars*, who were so startled at that resistance, that having fighting work elsewhere, cut them out by *Maovenlung*, General of the *Chinese* Army, even in *Leaotung*, things continued in that posture till the year 1625.

In the said year 1625. they assaulted the City of *Ningiven*, which the *Chineses* had fortified, but were forc'd back, with the loss of ten thousand men, and among others the King of *Tartary*'s Son, who to express his resentment of that misfortune, pass'd over with his Army into the Island of *Thaoyven*, where the *Tartars* put all the Garrison to the Sword, but made no further progress. *Take the Isle of Thaoyuen*

In the year 1627. died *Thienki*, Emperour of *China*, and *Thienning*, King of the *Tartars*. The former was succeeded by *Zungchini* his Brother; the other, by *Thienzung*, his Son, who taking a different course from his Fathers, and changing his cruelty into mildness, endeavoured by that means to prevail with the *Chineses*, whom he could not overcome by force. Yet was it not either the prudence of *Thienzung*, or the courage of the *Tartars*, but the disloyalty of the *Chineses*, and the treachery of their Commanders, which proved the final ruine of the Kingdom. *The Kings of China, and Tartary dye.*

For *Zunchini*, perceiving that the Army which he had sent into *Corea* had been defeated, though the *Tartars* had lost on their side above fifty thousand men, and that he had some ground to fear a Civil War, bestowed the command of an Army on one named *Yuen*, empowring him withall to make a peace with the *Tartars*. This Traytor having received money from the Enemy, took off *Maovenlung* by poyson, and concluded so disadvantagious a Treaty with them, that the Emperour refused to ratifie it. This pretended affront proved the destruction of *Yuen*, who still continued his intelligence with the *Tartars*; but *Zungchini*, having discovered his Treachery, ordered him to be cut in pieces, which was done in the year 1630. *The Chineses betray their Country.*

Ever after that time, the *Tartars* only made incursions into the neighbouring Provinces: but *Thienzung*, King of *Tartary*, dying in the year 1636. *Zungte*, his Son, (who had been brought up in his infancy in *China*, where the manner of living of that Country had been instill'd into him) succeeded him, and by his liberality corrupted most of the Governours and *Chinese* Commanders, who thereupon sided with him; especially when they saw that the distractions which then shook the State, wherein there were eight Armies of *Tories*, or common Rogues, at the same time, were absolutely contrary to the preservation of the Kingdom. *Thienzung King of Tartary dies.*

These Armies were disposed, in the year 1641. under two Generals, whereof one was called *Licungzo*, the other *Chanchienchung*, who divided the Provinces between them, so as that the former had the command in *Xensi* and *Honan*, and the other, in *Suchuen* and *Huquang*. *Licungzo* having taken in the chief Cities of these two Provinces, assumed the quality of King, and would be called *Xunuang*, that is, the fortunate King; and hoping to become Master of the whole Empire, would needs have the Title of Emperour, and that his Family should have the name of *Thienxun*, that is, obedient to Heaven. And indeed Heaven seem'd to comply with his perfidiousness, by the intrigues which in the mean time were carried on at Court, where all the Grandees were divided into Factions, through the means of a Favourite, of whom we shall here take occasion to say somewhat.

Under the Reign of *Thienki*, there was, at Court, an Eunuch, named *Guei*, who was so much in favour with the Emperour, that the latter call'd the other Father. This man, who had been raised to that greatness, in a manner from the Dunghill, abused his Authority, and made his Ministry odious, by the ill treatment they received from him, who had too much courage to become his Courtiers and Adorers. He was so impudent, as to declare himself against the Prince, who was looked upon as Heir apparent to the Crown, in as much as *Thienki* had no Children, and to oppose his establishment after the Emperours death. This Prince was *Zungchini*, whom we spoke of before, and of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. He prov'd so fortunate as to elude the Artifices of the Eunuch, and got the Crown on his Head, without much contestation, but he had not so

1639. much power as to ſmother the Factions, into which the Court was divided by the intrigues of the Favourite. As ſoon as he came to the Crown, he gave the Eunuch a Commiſſion, very honourable in appearance, but in effect very fatal to him; for he commanded him to go and viſit the Sepulchres of his Anceſtors, and to give order there ſhould be nothing amiſs about them: but as ſoon as he was gone from *Peking*, *Zunchini* ſent after him a Meſſenger, who preſented him with a gilt Box, wherein there was a Silken Halter, and told him, that the Emperour had commanded him to bring an account of his death. But this Execution reconciled not thoſe who had engaged either for or againſt him, during his life, and the averſion which the Emperour openly expreſſed towards his Abettors, only augmented the number of diſcontented and treacherous perſons, which were on both ſides; in ſo much that moſt of the Grandees, minding only their private Affairs, they either neglected ſending the relief which the Governours of the Provinces required againſt the *Tartars*, or maliciouſly diſſembled the need they ſtood in thereof: and by that means, the Rebels had time to make ſure work on their ſide.

Lizungzo enters the Province of Xanſi.

Lizungzo ſo well knew how to make his Advantages of theſe Diſtractions, that, having ſettled all things relating to the Province of *Xenſi*, he without any obſtruction croſſed the River *Hoangh*, or *Croceus*, and entred the Province of *Xanſi*, where he took the great and rich City of *Kiangcheu*. The other Cities of the ſame Province afterwards came in, ſave only that of *Thaiyuen*, which was taken by ſtorm, and plunder'd. The Emperour, hearing that the Rebels had paſſed the River *Hoangh*, and fearing they might beſet him in the City of *Xuntien*, would have retreated to *Nanking*; but he was perſwaded to the contrary by his Council, it being the intention of ſome by that means to keep up the reputation of his Armes, of others, to deliver him up to *Lizungzo*; ſo that he ſent againſt the Rebels a powerful Army, under the Command of the *Colao*, or Preſident of the Council, who prov'd ſo unfortunate in his buſineſs, that, out of deſpair, he hung himſelf.

Takes the City of Peking.

Lizungzo, who had his Correſpondents in the City of *Peking*, or *Xuntien*, underſtanding how things ſtood at Court, ſent ſome of his people into the City, who, under pretence of keeping a Tavern, or opening Shops for Mercery, were to make a Riſing, when they heard the Army was advanced near the City. Some affirm, he had corrupted him who had the Command of the City, and that by his Order he found one of the Gates open, at which he entred it, in *April* 1644. and afterwards became Maſter of the Palace, before the Emperour had any notice of his coming. The Traitors, who had kept him from hearing of it, prevented him alſo from getting away: ſo that perceiving *Lizungzo* was poſſeſſed of all the Avenues of the Caſtle, and thinking it too great a diſhonour to ſubmit to the Commander of a ſort of Robbers, he with his own hands kill'd an only Daughter he had, ſo to ſecure her honour, which ſhe could not have kept with her life; and going into the Garden, he took off one of his Garters, and hung himſelf at a Plum-tree. The *Colao*, the Queen, and ſome of his Eunuchs, followed his example, and hung themſelves in the ſame Garden. *Zunchini* left three Sons, whereof the two youngeſt had their Heads cut off, three dayes after the Fathers death, but the eldeſt vaniſh'd, and could not be found, notwithſtanding all the diligence *Lizungzo* uſed to get ſome account of him.

I ſhall forbear giving a relation of all the executions which this barbarous perſon ordered in the City, where he put all the Officers to death; only this I cannot omit, that, among others Perſons of Quality, there was an ancient man named *Vs*, whoſe Son commanded the *Chineſe* Army upon the Frontiers of *Leaotung*. *Lizungzo* ſent order to this *Vs*, that he ſhould write to his Son, to this effect, That if he with his Army would acknowledge him Emperour of *China*, he would divide Fortunes with him; threatning, if he did it not, to put him to death. The Father writ to *Vſanguei*, ſo was his Son called, in ſuch terms, as he might infer from them what condition he was in: but the Son generouſly made him anſwer, that he could not own him for a Father, who had been unfaithful to his King; and that if he had ſo baſe a Soul as to adviſe him to be a Traitor, he, for his part, had one ſo loyal, as to perſiſt in the reſolution he had taken, rather to die, then obey a Highway-man. Whereupon *Vſanguei* immediately ſent to the *Tartars*, to deſire them to joyn, and march along with him againſt that Uſurper. The *Tartar* thought it not amiſs to make his advantage of the opportunity he then had, to get into the Heart of the Kingdom, and ſo marched with his Forces againſt *Lizungzo*.

A Chineſe calls the Tartars to his relief againſt the Rebels.

Lizungzo flies

This lewd Villain, who had put ſo many innocent perſons to death, trembled at the firſt notice he received of the March of the *Tartars*, left the City of *Xuntien*, and retreats into the Province of *Xenſi*, intending to eſtabliſh the Seat of his pretended Empire at the City of *Sigan*. The *Tartars* purſued him to the River *Croceus*, or *Hoangh*, defeated

part

part of the Rear-guard, and had the Plunder of some part of the Baggage, in which were all the Riches which the Emperours of *China*, of the House of *Taiming*, had been two hundred and eighty years getting together. 1639.

The *Tartars* would not cross the River, as well because they would secure the Conquest of the Province of *Peking*, as for that they were without any Prince, ever since the death of *Zungte*, who died when the Army began to march out of the Province of *Leaotung*. He had left only one Son, about six years of age, whom he had recommended to the tuition of the eldest of his three Brethren, who proved so faithful to his trust, that the *Tartars* gave him the name of *Amahan*, that is, Father-King.

Usanguei, finding the Province of *Peking* and the *Metropolis* thereof deliver'd of those Robbers, would have requited the service the *Tartars* had done *China*, and obliged the Forreigners to leave the Kingdom. But he who commanded the *Tartarian* Army told him, that it was too soon to talk of any such thing as yet; that *Lizungzo* was still alive, and might re-enter *Peking*; that there was a necessity of ruining him, so as that it should be impossible for him to recover himself; and that *Usanguei* should go himself with his Army, and some of the *Tartarian* Force, against the Usurper, and put the Rebels to an absolute Defeat. *The Tartars will not go out of China.*

As soon as the *Tartars* were intreated by *Usanguei* to come into *China*, they sent to invite all the other *Tartars*, from the Eastern Sea to the River *Wolga*, to come and participate of their Conquests; in so much that no Colony of them but sent in some Forces, which coming into *China*, brought along with them that young *Tartar* King, the Son of *Zungte*. As soon as he was come, the *Tartars* discover'd what their intentions were; for they settled him upon the Throne, and caused him to be proclaimed Emperour of *China*, under the Regency of the eldest of his Uncles. He took the name of *Xunchi*, and ordered his Family to be called *Taicing*; and they say, that young Prince made so sensible a discourse at his inauguration, as very much startled those who heard it, and expected no such thing from one so young. *And proclaim their King Emperour of China.*

The same day that these Ceremonies were performed at *Peking*, they sent away some *Tartarian* Regiments, with Orders to establish *Usanguei* King, to give him the quality of *Pingsi*, that is, Pacifier of the West, and that he should reside in the Province of *Xensi*. He was the more inclinable to accept what was proffer'd him, since there was no other choice to make; for as to *Lizungzo*, it could never be known, what became of that Villain. *Usanguei made King.*

Usanguei's declaring himself satisfied with what had been proffer'd him by the *Tartars*, facilitated their Conquest of the Provinces of *Peking*, *Xanfi*, *Xensi*, and *Xantung*, which they possessed themselves of in less then a years time, and settled themselves therein, allowing the Inhabitants their Laws, Magistrates, and manner of life, and reserving only to themselves military employments, and the defence of places.

In the interim, the Southerly Provinces had raised a powerful Army, which they sent to the Emperours relief: but upon the first news brought them of the reduction of *Peking*, and the death of *Zungchini*, they remanded their Army, with all the Boats, which carried the yearly Provisions and Contributions to the Court; and hearing of the Invasion of the *Tartars*, they proceeded to the election of another Emperour, of the House of *Taiming*, whom they called *Hungquang*, Nephew to *Vanlie*, and Cousin to *Zungchini*. This man began his Reign with a solemn Embassie which he sent to the *Tartars*, to demand a Peace, and to proffer them the Northerly Provinces of the Kingdom. *Amahan*, whom the *Chineses* call *Amauang*, made answer, that the *Tartars* never received from any one what they were already possessed of; that if the *Chineses* had made choice of an Emperour, it was their business to protect him; and that, for their parts, they would have all or nothing. *The Southerly Provinces chuse another Emperour.*

During the time of this Negotiation, there came into play a Prince, who gave himself out to be the eldest Son of the Emperour *Zungchini*, and was acknowledged to be the same person, by several Grandees of the Court: But *Hungquang* imprisoned him, with an intention to have him strangled, to the great dissatisfaction of those who thence took occasion to revolt: so that the *Tartars* made their advantage of him to get into the Province of *Nanking*. *Hungquang* sent against them a powerful Army, but it ran away, without ever engaging, upon the first sight of the *Tartars*, getting into the Boats to cross the River. Upon that defeat, all the Cities of the Province, on this side the River *Kiang*, submitted, save only that of *Yangcheu*, into which *Zu Colou* was got with some Forces, who made a vigorous resistance, but such as prov'd the destruction of the City, which was burnt, purposely, to bury, in its ashes, their bodies who had been kill'd, for fear of infecting the Air. *A Son of Zungchini's.* *The Tartars enter the Province of Nanking.*

1639. The *Metropolis* was yet in the power of *Hungquan*, who kept the *Tartars* from croſſing the *Kiang*, by a good Fleet he had under the Command of *Hoangchoang*, who had already gaind many advantages over the *Tartars*, and put them out of all hope of croſſing the River, when he was kill'd with an Arrow by one of his own people, named *Thien*, who had been corrupted by the *Tartars*. This may be ſaid to have been *China's* fatal blow, ſince that upon the Generals death, the Army fled, and the *Tartars* paſſing the River, immediately purſued *Hungquang*, and having taken him, by the treachery of the ſaid *Thien*, they ſent him to *Peking*, where they ſtrangled him in *June* 1644. They alſo put to death the young man, who pretended himſelf *Zunchini's* Son, whom they found in priſon, and with him all the other Princes of the Royal houſe of *Tayning*, that fell into their hands.

Hungquang ſtrangled.

Several Chineſe Lords retire to Hancheu.

Moſt of the Lords, who eſcaped theſe defeats, met together in the City of *Hangcheu*, in the Province of *Chekiang*, the greateſt of any in the whole Country, with a deſign to give the utmoſt expreſſion they could of their fidelity and courage. They had choſen Emperour one of the Royal Family, named *Louang*; but ere he had reign'd three dayes, the *Tartarian* Army was come to the Gates of the City; and the Garriſon, which was not much inclined to fight, demanded their pay; ſo that *Louang*, out of all hope to prevent the taking of the City, would preſerve it and the Inhabitants, by a voluntary delivery of himſelf to the *Tartars*, who ſtrangled him, and ſuffered not that noble City to be plundered. They took in the ſame Province, the great City of *Xoaking*, and were likely to have made a powerful ſettlement there, had they not been ſo imprudent, as to oblige the *Chineſes* to ſhave themſelves: but they found them ſo reſolutely bent on the contrary, that the *Chineſes*, who had taken the loſs of their Country with ſo much indifference, choſe rather to loſe their Lives then their Hair. They beat the *Tartars* out of the City of *Xoaking*, forc'd them to repaſs the River *C'enthæng*, and no doubt had retaken the City of *Hangcheu*, had they had the courage to purſue them. They thought it enough to entrench themſelves on the River ſide, and own'd the Authority of a Lord of the Houſe of *Tayming*, named *Lu*, who aſſumed the Quality of *Reſtaurator of the County*, and refuſed that of the *Emperour*.

Another Emperour. Who is alſo ſtrangled.

Another Prince in the Province of Chekiang.

About this time, the Officers and Souldiers, who retired out of the Province of *Chekiang* into that of *Fokien*, choſe another Emperour, named *Thang*, who writ to *Lu*, that he ſhould own him for his Soveraign, in regard he was the nearer of Kin to the deceaſed Emperour. This diviſion brought the *Tartars* to be abſolute Maſters of all *China*: for theſe two Princes refuſing to joyn their Forces together againſt the common Enemy, the *Tartars* ſet upon *Lu*, and forc'd him to retire into the Iſland of *Cheuxan*, over againſt the City of *Ningpo*, which had hardly been peopled, had it not been for that Defeat.

Another in that of Fokien.

This diviſion proves the ruine of China.

The Tartars reduce the Province of Fokien.

They found it no harder matter to conquer the Province of *Fokien*, though it be divided from thoſe of *Quantung*, *Kiangſi*, and *Chekiang*, by Mountains, which ſix thouſand men have kept againſt all the Forces of *Tartary*. The Emperour himſelf, who had aſſum'd the name of *Longuu*, that is, warlike Dragon, fled, and was kill'd, as is conceiv'd, by the *Tartars*, who purſued him.

They had divided their Army into two Bodies, whereof one was got into *Fokien*, as we ſaid before; the other had paſſed through the Provinces of *Hungquang* and *Kiangſi*, ſo that they met, much about the ſame time in that of *Quantung*, where they again divided, one part being commanded into *Peking*, the other into the Province of *Quangſi*. Their eaſie conqueſt of *Fokien* proceeded, partly from the good ſucceſs that attended their deſigns, where-ever they went, but particularly from the correſpondence they held with *Chincilug*, who had the command of *Longuu's* Army in that Country. He had ſometime been an Interpreter, and a kind of Broker, to the *Portuguez*, *Caſtilians*, and *Dutch*, at *Macao*, the *Philippine* Iſlands, and that of *Fermoſa*, under the name of *Iquon*. Giving over that employment, he turned Pyrat, and by that means became ſo powerful, that having obtained, or rather extorted, an Act of Oblivion from the Emperour of *China*, he forced him to ſuffer him to carry on the Trade of the whole Kingdom, keeping the Sea with a Fleet of above three thouſand Veſſels. His deſign was to get himſelf proclaim'd Emperour of *China*; but knowing he ſhould find too much oppoſition in the inclinations of the people, as long as there were Princes to be choſen out of the Family of *Tayming*, he was not ſorry to ſee it extirpated by the *Tartars*, with whom he held correſpondence, as we ſaid before. Upon the reduction of the Province of *Fokien*, they gave him the Title of King, under the name of *Pingnam*, that is, *Pacifier of the South*, treating him highly, and putting him in hopes, that they would leave him the command of the two Provinces of *Fokien* and *Quantung*. But the Prince, who commanded the *Tartarian* Army in the Province, being upon his departure towards the Court, *Chincilung*, who had left his Fleet

The treachery of a Chineſe Pyrat.

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in the Haven of *Focheu*, desirous to accompany him to the place where he was to take leave of all the Officers; the *Tartar* took his advantage of the opportunity, pressed him to go along to *Peking*; and finding him unwilling to do it, secured him, and brought him away by force; and had it not been for his Brothers, who were Masters of the Fleet, the *Tartars* would have put him to death. 1639.

The other Army, which was got into the Province of *Quangsi*, met with so much resistance there, that it was forced to dislodge thence, and retreat into that of *Quantung*, into which the Viceroy and Governour of the Province pursued them; and to give the greater reputation to their designs, they created an Emperour of the Royal Progeny, who assum'd the name of *Junglie*. After their example, several other Provinces revolted, but all their attempts only confirmed the settlement of the *Tartars*, who after the death of *Kiang*, Governour of the City of *Taitung* in the Province of *Xansi*, who took up Arms against them in the year 1649. and their reduction of the City of *Quangcheu*, in the Province of *Quangsi*, which was taken on the 24. of *November*, 1650. have been possess'd of that vast Country, without any disturbance; rather through the cowardice of the *Chineses*, then by the number of their own Souldiery; in as much as it is impossible for any Army, how numerous soever, to conquer so powerful a State as that of *China*; if the Inhabitants had ever so little courage to defend themselves. *Xunchi*, the *Tartarian* Emperour of *China*, married the daughter of the King of *Tanyu*, in the Western *Tartary*, in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred forty and nine. *An Emperour chosen in Quangsi*

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MANDELSLO'S TRAVELS INTO THE INDIES.

The Third Book.

1639. WE gave the Reader an account in the precedent Book, how that the calm, which ſtaid our Ship in a manner in ſight of the Iſland of *Ceylon*, occaſioned the digreſſion we have made, wherein we have repreſented the State of the *Indies*, even to the utmoſt extremities of *Aſia*.

FEBRUARY. *The Voyage continued.* We continued at the Altitude of *Ceylon*, till the 20. of *February*, at which time the North-weſt-wind oblig'd us to take our courſe towards South-eaſt. Taking the Latitude about noon, we found we were two minutes beyond the *Æquinoctial* Line. I asked the Maſter of the Ship, what he thought of their opinion, who affirm, that being under the Line, a man may diſcover both the Poles: but he made it appear to me, that it was an errour, and ſhewed me clearly, that the *Artick* Pole is not to be ſeen within ſix Degrees of the Line, and that the *Artartick* cannot be perceiv'd, till a man comes to the eighth degree. He ſhew'd me farther, that at eight or ten degrees of the Line, the wind ſeems to be as changeable, as it is in our Seas on this ſide of it, inaſmuch as that of the North-weſt reigns there ſix months together; and that of the South-eaſt blows there as conſtantly for the other ſix moneths. So that ſuch as go into the *Indies*, or come thence, may regulate their Voyages accordingly.

Several ſorts of Birds. In theſe parts we ſaw ſeveral ſorts of Birds, whereof ſome were white, and not unlike our Pidgeons, ſave that their Tails are longer and narrower. Others were of ſundry colours, and ſomewhat like wild Ducks. But among others, we ſaw abundance of thoſe Birds which the *Portugues* call *Garayos*, or *Rabos foreados*, which are black and white, as Mag-pies, but ſomewhat bigger, and have their Tails divided like a Taylors pair of Shears. All theſe Birds live only by the Sea, and feed on a certain flying Fiſh, which to avoid the purſuit of the *Albocores*, *Bonitos*, and *Dorados*, that continually prey upon them, fly into *And Fiſh.* the Air, where they can abide no longer then while their wings are moiſt, and where they are caught by theſe Birds; or if, for want of moiſture, they fall back into the Sea, they are devour'd by thoſe Fiſhes. The *Albocores* are white all over, and have no Scales, no more then the *Bonitos*. The former are much bigger then the latter, and have but one bone in them, which comes from the Head to the Tail. Some of them are ſo large, that if we may credit report, one, between five and ſix foot long, hath dined ſixty Seamen; but the meat of it being not very good, I conceive they were rather glutted then ſatisfied. The *Dorado*, which

which the *English* confound with the Dolphin, is much like a Salmon, but incomparably more delicate, and hath ſmaller Scales. 1639.

We alſo took a certain Fiſh, which had a mouth like the ſnout of a Hog; the *Portuguez* call it *Tonina*, and the *French Marſouin*, a name, which no doubt is deriv'd from the *German* word, which ſignifies a Sea-hog. The *Hollanders*, in the Relation of their firſt Voyage, affirm, that out of curioſity they opened one of them, and that they found within it not only fleſh and fat, and the intrails after the ſame manner as thoſe of a Hog, but alſo a young Pig in the belly of it, which they caſt into the Sea. They are ſeen alwayes many of them together, and when the Sea is rough, they come near the Veſſel, and grunt, as if they deſired ſhelter againſt the Storm they perceive coming, and whereof the Sea-men look upon them as an infallible ſign. Marſouin.

The Sea hath not a more dangerous Fiſh then thoſe which the *Portuguez* call *Tuberones*, the *Dutch*, *Hayes*, and the *Engliſh*, *Shark*. It is a great Fiſh, and hath much ado to ſwim; whence it comes, that many times, when the Sea is calm, it is ſeen floating above water. It is never ſeen, but there are faſtened to the head of it ſeven or eight other Fiſh, about the bigneſs of a Herring, expecting to participate of what he takes. Above all things, they love mans fleſh, and there are many ſad examples of it, in Sea-men, who have either loſt arms or other limbs, or have been devoured by them; for their teeth are as ſharp and cloſe as thoſe of a Saw. Their mouth is below the head, ſo that to take their prey, they lie upon their backs, and ſo catch it upwards. That we took had the heart in the head, and lived a good while after it was taken out. They are not eaten, and are hunted only for recreation, or to cleanſe the Sea of them. Tuberones.

The Fiſh which the *Portuguez* call *Peſce puerco*, and whereof there is abundance in theſe Seas, is no bigger then a Bream, and is ſo called, only becauſe it grunts like a Pig. There are alſo about thoſe parts great ſtore of Tortoiſes, which lie on their backs, and commonly ſleep upon the water, when the weather is calm. The Sea-men, when they ſee them in that poſture, get near them, caſt out a hook, which faſtning in the ſhells, they draw them into the Boat. Their meat is as delicate as Veal, and it is one of the greateſt refreſhments the Sea-men meet with in theſe great and dangerous Voyages.

February 21. We were at one degree and twenty minutes of the Line, the weather being rainy and tempeſtuous, and continuing ſo much longer then we expected it ſhould at that place; for it is ſo unconſtant there, and changes ſo of a ſudden, that many times they have hardly leiſure to take in their Sails, to avoid the violence of the Winds, which the *Portuguez* call *Travados*, that is, Whirlewinds.

The 23. died one of our Seamen, who having got the Pox at *Surat*, neglected the taking of timely Remedies for the cure of it.

The 24. being *Sunday*, the Preſident treated all the Officers of the Ship, and among other diſhes, had the *Biggel* dreſſed, and ſome of the Country Fowl, which the Viceroy of *Goa* had preſented to him.

The 25. We were ſurprized by a Calm, which kept us in the ſame place all that day; but the night following there roſe a Tempeſt, that put us out of our courſe, which we could not well have kept, had that not happened: in regard that having the Sun in the Zenith, ever ſince the 22. we could not take the altitude, but only in the night, by the Stars.

This inconvenience continued till the fifth of *March*, having had the twenty ſeventh and twenty eighth of *February*, the wind at South-weſt, which put us in hope, we ſhould ſoon have the *Manſon*-wind whereof we ſtood in need to bring us to the Cape of *Good Hope*. But the continual changes of the Wind, and Tempeſts, which obliged the Sea-men to be alwayes about the Maſts, leſt they ſhould be ſurprized by the *Travados*, retarded our progreſs very much. MARCH.

March 5. We began to make our Obſervations by the Sun, and found we were at eight degrees, ſix minutes Latitude. Our Ship was encompaſſed by a great number of all ſorts of Fiſh, which ſeem'd to be our protection againſt the Whales, by whom they were purſued.

March 10. We were at ten degrees, fourteen minutes, the Wind at Weſt, which turned to a Storm that laſted ten hours. *Very changeable weather near the Line.*

March 12. and 13. We had a great Storm, accompanied with Lightning and Thunder. But what we thought moſt ſtrange, was that, though we were not come to the 13. degree, yet we found nothing of the ordinary Wind of the ſeaſon, which is commonly perceived about the eight or ninth. For the South-wind, which blew conſtantly, not only retarded the proſecution of our Voyage, but alſo forced us ſo much back Eaſtward, that we were in in ſome fear, we might be conſtrain'd to return upon the Coaſt of the *Indies*.

March

1639 *March* 15. The Wind changed, and came to the South, and at Night we had it South-east; ſo that not doubting but it was the *Manſon*, we put out all the Sail we could, and made two Leagues an hour, taking our courſe South-weſt. During the time the Wind was thus fair for us, we ſaw a great number of Dolphins, which followed our Ship, and we took as many of them as found us three good Meals.

March 20. We were ſurpriz'd by a Calm, which took off much of our courage; in regard our ſtore of freſh Water being ſomewhat low, at a time when we knew not what to hope of our Voyage, we were forced to aſſign every Man his allowance; and to make it laſt the longer, it was reſolved, that for ſome dayes there ſhould be no ſalt Meat eaten, but that the Swine, and ſome other Creatures, whereof, having good ſtore, ſome had died that day upon the eating of Muſtard-ſeed, ſhould be kill'd and conſum'd.

Being about this time at ſixteen Degrees, we found that the Compaſs declined thirty Minutes to the Weſt, and it continued ſo to the four and twentieth Degree. But when the Cape of *Good Hope* is once doubled, the Loadſtone draws towards the Earth.

The 21. While we floated up and down, without ſo much as a breath of wind, our Ship took fire, which might have proved to the ruine of us all.

The Butler, going to remove a Vat which he had filled with *Aqua vitæ*, ſet it on fire; whereat he was ſo ſtartled, that he turned it out about the Cellar, where the fire took in one of the great Veſſels, and was going to ſet thirty more into a flame, had it not been timely prevented with Coverlets. The Ship was ſo loaden with all ſorts of Gums, and other fat Drugs, that it would have been impoſſible to quench it, had there not been a care taken to ſmother it, at the beginning.

After that day, we began to make uſe of the invention of drawing freſh Water out of the Sea; but it was fit only to dreſs Meat withall, in regard it had ſo untoward a taſte, that the Sea-men would not take it for their ordinary drink.

March 22. We made a good dayes ſail by the help of the *Manſon*, getting above two Leagues an hour. The ſame Wind continued the 23. 24. and 25.

This laſt day, a Sea-man was whipt at the Main-maſt, for offering to debauch two young Boyes.

March 26. The Wind continued ſtill fair; but in regard we had ſome reaſon to fear that in caſe the wind ſhould fail us, as it was likely to do, we ſhould be put to great inconveinences for want of freſh water, a Councel was call'd, at which it was reſolv'd, that we ſhould indeavour to make for *Maurice* Iſland, and there take in freſh water. This reſolution very much rejoyced the company. The ſame night, we diſcovered the Iſland called *Diego Roiz*, or *Diego Rodriguez*, at twenty degrees, forty five minutes, in ſo much that we were in hopes the next day to reach *Maurice* Iſland, as being but ſixty Leagues further.

Maurice Iſland deſcribed. This Iſland, which the *Portuguez* call *Ilha do Cerno*, and the *Dutch* have named *Maurice* Iſland, from the Prince of *Orange*, who was Admiral of the *United Provinces* at the time of their firſt Voyage into the *Indies*, lies at 20. degrees, 27. minutes, and is about 15. leagues in compaſs.

Its Haven. The Haven of it is very good, as well in regard, that at the entrance of it there is a hundred fathom water, as that it is able to contain above fifty great Veſſels, ſheltred from all winds. It hath ſome Mountains, which reaching up to the Clouds are ſeen at a great diſtance, and are extreamly delightful to the eye, in as much as Nature maintains them in a conſtant verdure, though ſome *Cocos*-trees, and Date-trees, only excepted, all the other Trees are wild.

And affords the beſt Ebony. In the Vallies there are ſome Fruit-trees, but ſuch as bear no Fruit are not the leſs eſteemed for that, for theſe are they which yield the faireſt Ebony in all the Eaſt. Some of it is as black as any Jet, and as ſmooth as Marble; but the yellow and red is of greater value then the other, as being more rare.

There is, as well in the Rivers of it, as the Sea about it, ſuch abundance of Fiſh, that at one caſting of the Net, as many may be taken, as will fill two or three Tun ſalted.

A prodigious Thornback. The *Hollanders* in their Relations affirm, that they took a Thornback, which found all in the Ship two good Meals, and that they ſaw there Tortoyſes ſo big, that four Sea-men ſitting on the back of one of them, it went as well as if it had had no burthen at all. Whereto they add, that they were ſo large, that ten Men might ſit upon ones Shell.

* *The Dutch have built a Fort there ſince the year 1640.* The Iſland is not inhabited; * whence it comes, that the Birds are ſo tame, that a man may take them with his hand; and they are commonly killed with Cudgels, eſpecially the Turtles, whereof there is ſuch abundance, that the *Dutch* in leſs then two hours, took

above

above a hundred and fifty, and might have taken more, if they could have carried them. 1639.
There is alſo great ſtore of Herons, and a kind of Birds, of the bigneſs of a Swan, which have neither Wings nor Tail, but ſo hard a fleſh, that no heat can either boyl or roaſt it. There is no four-footed Creature in all the Iſland: but for other refreſhments, and particularly, for the taking in of freſh water, there is not a fitter place any way near it. *No four-footed Beaſts.*

When the *Dutch* came thither in *September*, 1601. they found there a *French* Souldier, who had left his Country ſome three years before, with three *Engliſh* Ships, which were the firſt in thoſe parts that attempted ſailing into the *Indies* upon the account of Pyracy. Of theſe three Ships, one was caſt away near the Cape of *Good hope*, and ſickneſs having conſumed moſt of the men, they that remained ſet fire on the ſecond, in regard for want of men, they were not able to govern it. The third was wrack'd upon the Coaſts of the *Indies*, where all the men were loſt, ſeven only excepted, to wit, four *Engliſh* men, two *Negroes*, and a *French* Souldier, who attempted to return with ſome booty, which they diſpoſed into a *Cannow*, wherein they ſet to Sea, and made a ſhift to get to *Maurice* Iſland. The two *Negroes* had a deſign there to rid themſelves of their Camerades, but being diſcovered, they caſt themſelves into the Sea, and were drowned. The four *Engliſh* men would proſecute their Voyage, but the *French Souldier* choſe rather to continue in the Iſle, then double the Cape, and expoſe himſelf to the mercy of the Sea, in ſo ſmall a Veſſel. Accordingly, of the *Engliſh* men there was no more news heard. The *French* man had been twenty moneths in the Iſland, when the *Dutch* came thither. He was ſtark naked, in regard that having been in a burning Feaver, which heightned into a degree of madneſs, he had torn his clothes; ſo that having not had any thing about him ever ſince his ſickneſs, nor fed on any thing but the raw Tortoyſes he took, they were not a little ſurpriz'd at the ſight of him, and conceived it would be no eaſie matter to reſtore him to his Senſes, though he behaved himſelf well enough otherwiſe, and was in very good health. *A French man lived 20. moneths in Maurice Iſland.*

We got ſo near *Maurice* Iſland, that we clearly ſaw it; but in regard the wind continued fair, the Preſident called together the chief Officers, and repreſented to them, that if they put into the Iſland, they ſhould loſe at leaſt ten dayes time, whereas if the wind continued fair, as it then was, we might in that time reach the Cape of *Good hope*, and ſo avoid the inconveniences of wintering in the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*; whereupon it was reſolved we ſhould proſecute our Voyage, which we did, and the ſame day got out of ſight of *Maurice* Iſland. *The Ship puts not into the Iſland.*

March 29. After Sermon, the Preſident acquainted all the men with the reaſons which had obliged him to change his reſolution of taking in Water at *Maurice* Iſland, and made it appear, that if they had gone to refreſh themſelves in the Iſland, they muſt have loſt the convenience of that Wind, and the faireſt Seaſon of the year, and ſo the means of finiſhing their Voyage; exhorting all to take courage, and execute his Orders, and to be content with their allowance, which ſhould be equal to what thoſe had who ſate at his own Table.

March 30. We paſſed the Tropick of *Capricorn*, continuing our courſe towards Weſt-South-Weſt.

April 1. We were at 26. degrees, three minutes. The Wind began to abate, and towards the night it rain'd, and blew not at all; yet ere we were ſo becalm'd, we had made a ſhift to get forty Leagues in twenty four hours. The next day we ſaw ſeveral Whales, and at night the Wind roſe, and in a ſhort time grew into an abſolute Tempeſt. Our courſe was ſtill to the Weſt-ſouth-weſt, in order to our gaining the South, which was to bring us to the Cape of *Good hope*. *APRIL.*

The 3. We altered our courſe a little, taking it more towards the Weſt. We were then at 28. degrees, 30. minutes; and in 24. hours, we got 50. Leagues.

April 5. We had but little Wind, and in regard the Compaſs ſtill varied and declined, we took our courſe towards the Weſt, inſtead of taking it to the South, as we ſhould otherwiſe have done. In theſe two dayes we made 73. Leagues.

The next day we were at 30. degrees Latitude.

The 7. We began to perceive, that we ſhould not long enioy the good Wind had attended us ſome dayes before. Accordingly, the next day, we had a great calm, at 32. degrees Latitude.

The 9. The Wind riſing again, put us into ſome confidence, that within a few dayes we ſhould reach the Cape of *Good hope*, from which we could not be above three hundred Leagues diſtant.

1639. From that day to the 14. we ſtill advanced ſomewhat. That being *Eaſter* day, the Preſident made a great Entertainment, whereof all in the Ship participated.

Pintados, a Bird diſcovering nearneſs to Land. The 15. The North-weſt-wind grew to a great Tempeſt, and our Sea-men affirm'd, that they ſmelt Land, being confirm'd in their perſwaſion, by thoſe Birds which the *Portugueze* call *Pintados*, and which alwayes keep within the diſtance of fourty Leagues of the Land.

The Tempeſt ceaſed with the morning of the 16th, and our Sea-men perſiſted in affirming we were near the Coaſt, in regard many Birds were ſeen about the Ship.

The 17. Towards night, there blew a freſh Gale of wind: but the next day, and the night following, we had no wind at all, yet was the Sea as rough as it proved to be afterwards in the Tempeſt, which ſurpriz'd us the 19. at night, with the South-weſt wind, at 35. degrees Latitude. We took in all our Sails, and let down the Yards, preparing our ſelves by that means againſt the Tempeſts, which are very frequent, and in a manner unavoidable, about the Cape of *Good hope*, and we hover'd up and down in that poſture all the next day.

Mangas de valeudo, a kind of Bird. *April* 20. We perceiv'd that the Water was ſomewhat more whitiſh then it is in the main Sea, and ſaw abundance of thoſe Birds, which the *Portugnez* call *Mangas de valendo*, and are a kind of Sea-Mews, being white all over the bodies, and having black wings. They have alſo this in particular, that in their flight they beat their wings one againſt the other, whereas the common Sea-Mews ſeldom do it, but glide through the Air in an uninterrupted and even flight. It is obſerved, that where theſe Birds are ſeen, there is ground within a hundred, or hundred and fifty fathom at moſt. Accordingly upon trial, we found it at eighty fathom. We ſaw alſo the ſame day, a ſort of Black-birds, that had only a little white upon the breaſt. The *Engliſh* affirm, they are Birds preſaging misfortune, as being the infallible fore-runners of a great Tempeſt.

The ſame day, we had one, with the Weſt-north-weſt wind, which on the 24. turn'd to a North-weſt. During that time we were forc'd to go before the Wind, the Water coming into the Ship with ſuch violence, that it took off our Carpenter; but he was ſo fortunate, as to lay hold on a Rope was caſt him, by which he was got aboard again. We found

The Cape of Agulhas. ground at eighty fathom, and in regard the Earth which ſtuck to the Plummet was black, we inferred thence, that we were not far from the *Cap d' Agulhas*, which is ſixty Leagues from that of *Good hope*.

The 15. The Tempeſt increaſed ſo, that we began to deſpair of eſcaping, in regard the current of the Sea forced us towards the Coaſts, where we had inevitably been wrack'd, if it had continued. We were at thirty ſix degrees, twenty minutes beyond the Line; and this day we had like to have been deſtroyed by fire, occaſioned by a Lamp in the Preſidents Chamber: but it was ſoon put out.

Fiſh foreſhewing the change of weather. The Storm continued all the next day. Our Sea-men ſeeing about the Ship many of thoſe Fiſh called *Peſce Puercos*, would thence perſwade us, that it would not be long ere the weather changed, and that the Wind would blow from the ſame quarter that thoſe Fiſhes came. Accordingly, about two in the afternoon, the Wind came to the North-weſt, and the Tempeſt ceaſed, ſo that we could ſpread our Sails.

The 27. We had no Wind at all, but in the afternoon, it came to the North-weſt, which obliged us to take our Courſe to the North-north-weſt, ſailing two Leagues an hour. We

Trombas. ſaw that day a great number of *Trombas*, from which we inferred we were not far from the Cape of *Good hope*. Theſe *Trombas* are a kind of great Canes, about the bigneſs of a mans arm, and three or four foot long, which flote upon the water with their roots, as if the Sea had forced them away from the neighbouring Coaſt; yet can it not be ſaid whence they come, nor that they are ſeen any where but about that *Cape*.

April 28. We diſcovered the Coaſt, which before us reach'd from North to Weſt. Some thought at firſt it was *Cabo-Falſo*, or the Cape of *Good hope*; but finding ground at forty Fathom, and at thirty four degrees, forty minutes, they were ſoon convinced, that it was the *Cap d' Agulhas*, whence it came that we went all that day laveering with a North-weſt wind.

The 29. The Wind came to the South-eaſt, ſo that we continued our courſe to the North-weſt, keeping ſtill in ſight of the Land. That day we took as many Fiſh as found the whole company two or three good meals. The night following the Wind changed, and came to the North-weſt, obliging us to laveer; but being in a manner directly contrary, we advanced but little. Taking the Altitude of the Sun that day, we found our ſelves at 34. degrees, 27. minutes, and conſequently, that we wanted 24. Leagues of being at the Altitude of *Cap d' Agulhas*.

April 30. We continued laveering along the Coaſt, the Wind being ſtill contrary;

May

May 1. The wind coming to the North-east by East, we kept along the Coast, and perceived a very high shore, which was at last known to be *Cabo Falso*, which is within seven Leagues of that of *Good hope*. It is called *Cabo Falso*, because it is seen at a great distance, extending it self into the Sea much after the same manner as the other, though it be not so high. 1639. *MAY.* Cabo Falso

The 2. A North-east wind brought us in sight of the Cape of *Good hope*; but turning immediately to the North-west, we could not possibly enter the Bay, which obliged us to make off the Coast, and get into the main Sea, taking our course towards the South. *They discover the Cape of Good hope*

The next day, with a North-west wind, we had a great tempest, which yet hindred us not from getting somewhat nearer the Coast. That day we cast one of our Sea men over-board, with the ordinary Ceremonies used at funerals upon such occasions. This was the third man died out of our Ship, since our departure from *Goa*.

May 4. We doubled one of the points of the Cape of *Good hope*, which is about ten Leagues distant from the Road or Bay, and much about the same time we discovered the Mountain, which the *Dutch*, in the year 1601. named the *Tafelberg*, it being flat and square at the top like a Table. It was our intention to get into the Bay, which is at the foot of the Mountain, and at 34. Degrees, four Minutes, within fifteen Leagues of the Cape; but the wind being contrary, obliged us to keep along the Coast, endeavouring to make the best advantage we could of it.

The 5. At Sun-rising, we were out of sight of Land; whereupon we changed our course, taking it North-east, and turning the prow of the Ship towards the Coast, which we discovered about noon. About two in the afternoon, we passed in sight of the Island called *St. Elizabeth*, which is inhabited, and at night we got into the Bay, and cast anchor at seven fathom water.

This Promontory of the Continent of *Africk*, which extends it self into the Sea towards the South, at 36. Degrees beyond the Line, was named *Cabo de bon' Speranza*, by *John* II. King of *Portugal*, under whom it was discovered, by *Bartholomew Dias*, about the year 1493. That Prince would needs call it so, out of the *hopes* he conceived to discover afterwards the wealth of the *East-Indies*; and other Nations have continued that name, upon this account, that having once doubled the Cape, there is some assurance of compleating the Voyage, whereof the Cape makes one half, as lying in a manner at the equal distance of two thousand five hundred Leagues between *Europe*, and the most Easterly Coast of the *Indies*. *The Cape of Good hope*

Most Ships take in refreshments at this place, and the *Dutch* are wont to leave there under a Stone at the entrance of the Haven, some Letters, wherein they acquaint the Ships that are coming after them, with whatever had hapned to them in their Voyage, and the course they take at their departure thence. The water there is excellent good, and so easie to come at, that the taking of it in, is without any trouble. Cattle are very cheap; their Oxen are large, and have bunches on their back, as those of the *Indies*; and there are some Sheep, whose flesh is extreamly delicate; they have long ears, and their tails are as big and weighty, as a good hind quarter of Mutton.

They have also all sorts of wild Fowl, and those Creatures that are hunted, Deer, wild Boars, Partridges, Quails, *&c.* and among the rest, a kind of Geese, which they call *Pinguins*, which have no wings, but stumps, and consequently cannot raise themselves off the ground. It is an amphibious Animal, and with those stumps makes a shift to swim. A man may take them up with his hands, but the flesh of them is not edible, it is so hard and insipid. There are also Dogs, or rather Sea-bears, Camels, Tygres, Lyons and Lynxes. *Pinguins a kind of Fowl*

The Inhabitants are of low Stature, ugly and ill-shap'd, living more like Beasts, then men. Their faces are wrinkled, their hair full of grease and nastiness, and they stink so, that they are smelt assoon as they are seen; which proceeds not only hence, that they rub their bodies with train Oyl, but also from their constant eating of raw flesh. They never kill a beast in order to the eating of it, but feed on them only when they die of any disease. A dead Whale cast up by the Sea upon the shore, is an excellent dish of meat with them; as is also the hot entrails of some beast, which they eat with all the filth about them, having only taken out the excrements, wherewith some rub their faces. *The Inhabitants about the Cape of Good hope*

They go naked, save that both men and women cover their privy parts with a triangular piece of skin, which they fasten with leathern girdle about the waste: Some of the men cover their buttocks and thighs with a Lyons skin, or Oxe hide, drawing up the taile between their legs, so that it covers not what they intend should not be seen. Nay, there are some, who wear a skin, which comes down from the shoulders to the waste, and cut their faces, arms and thighs, in which they make divers strange incisions and characters, which though they were ugly enough before, adds somewhat to their deformity. The women wear *Their cloathing.*

1639. about their Arms and Leggs, rings of Iron or Braſs, which they receive from ſtrangers for their Cattle.

Their food. They who live near the Sea-coaſt feed only upon Oyſters, Fiſh, ſuch Herbs as Nature produces thereabouts, and the Whales caſt up by the Sea: but ſuch as inhabit further within the Countrey, and are called *Soltanimans*, live a little better, though they are no leſs barbarous and ſavage then the others.

Uſe no husbandry. They do not cultivate the Ground, though it be excellent good and very fertile, nor do they underſtand any thing of improving and ordering the fruit which Nature beſtows on them. They all live in little Huts, or in the ſame place with their Cattel, without Beds, Stools, or any ſuch ſuperfluous pieces of houſhold ſtuff: Their way of reſting themſelves is to ſit upon their heels. They are never ſeen near the Sea, but only when they think to drive ſome Trade, in trucking their Cattle, Ox-hides, Lions, Leopards, Tigers-skins, and Oſtritch Feathers, for Knives, Looking-glaſſes, Nailes, Hammers, Hatchets, and other pieces of old Iron, to their great advantage who come thither.

Know neither God nor the Devil. They have no knowledg at all of God, nor never heard any talk of the Devil; but all the miſchief they fear, is, what may be done them by the Lyons, againſt whom they are forc'd to fortifie themſelves in the night time by great fires, which they make all about their quarters.

Lions their only enemies *May* 10. Having fill'd all our Veſſels with freſh water, and bought ewo Oxen of the *Soltanimans*, who were unwilling to ſell any more, we reimbarked, intending to get out of the Bay that day, but the contrary wind would not permit us. The next day, we ſent our Boat to bring aboard us fifteen perſons, to wit, four men, eight women, and three children, to be tranſported into the Iſland of *Pingui*, which is at the entrance of the Bay, where thoſe poor people were in hopes to live more at their eaſe upon the Carcaſſes of Whales, which the Sea is wont to caſt aſhore there, and to be free from the perſecutions of the *Soltanimans*. The Boat returned in the Evening, loaden with all ſorts of Birds, eſpecially *Pinguins*, which had been all kill'd with ſticks.

May 12. Being Sunday, we weighed Anchor before day, and got out of the Bay with a North-eaſt Wind, taking our courſe Weſtward. The next day it came to North-north-eaſt, and afterwards to the North, and in the afternoon, we had not any at all: So that we continued all the remainder of the day in ſight of the coaſt. At night it came to the South, but in leſs then two hours, it returned again to the North, and about midnight we had ſuch a Tempeſt, that we were forc'd to take in all our Sails.

The 17. The Tempeſt which had continued ever ſince the 12. grew ſo high, that had not our Ship been very ſound, and of great burthen, it could not poſſibly have reſiſted the violence of the winds and waves, which ſo covered it ſometimes, that all upon the Deck were wet to the skin.

The next day the Skie cleared up, and the wind was ſomething allayed, but ſtill contrary. We took the elevation, and found our ſelves, at 34. Degrees, 40. Minutes; whence we concluded, that we were between *Cabo Falſo*, and the Cape of *Good hope*, and conſequently, that the Wind had forc'd us back 25. or 30. Leagues, yet in the evening we had in a manner recover'd what we had loſt; but the night following, the wind was ſo violent, as if the Elements had been near their reſolution into their firſt Chaos.

Hurricans. Theſe extraordinary winds are called *Hurricans*, and they come not with ſuch fury, but once in ſeven years, though the Sea in thoſe parts be ordinarily tempeſtuous. We loſt in that tempeſt two of our beſt Sea men, who fell from the Scuttle into the Sea, where one was immediately ſwallowed up; the other had ſo much ſtrength as to lay hold on the rope was caſt out to him, and got into the Ship; but falling on the ſides of the Ship, he had ſo bruiſed himſelf, that he died within an hour after. The contrary wind forced us into the main Sea, and reduc'd us to ſuch extremities, that we were not ſo much concern'd in the proſecution of our Voyage, as the ſaving of our lives; in as much as had the Sea made the leaſt breach in the Ship, it had been impoſſible for us to eſcape.

The next day, the contrary wind continuing in the ſame violence, we were ſtill in the ſame danger, having no other hope, but what the next change of the Moon gave us. But though ſhe appeared the next day above the Horizon, yet the tempeſt was nothing abated, till the rain ſomewhat allay'd the wind the 22. ſo that we could make uſe of our ſails, indeavouring to keep our courſe Weſtward.

May 23. VVe had a calm, during which the Ship ſtirr'd not from the ſame place. VVe diſcovered the Coaſt North-eaſt of us; and in regard we were then at 37, Degrees, ſix Minutes, we imagined our ſelves to be in the ſame Altitude with the Coaſt which

lie

lies between *Cabo Palſo*, and that of *Agulhas*. In the evening the wind increaſed, and brought with it a tempeſt, from the Weſt-north-weſt, which forc'd us to put off from the Coaſt. 1639.

The 24. The wind continued ſtill contrary, and in the evening there roſe ſuch a tempeſt, as forced us to go all night before the wind.

The 25. We reſum'd our courſe with a Weſt wind, taking it South-weſt. We were that day at 36. Degrees Latitude.

The 26. With the Sun-riſing, we had the North-eaſt wind, which made us put out all our Sails, taking our courſe Weſt, and ſayling after the rate of two Leagues an hour. But in the evening, the wind turned to the North-weſt, with ſo great likelyhood of a tempeſt, that it was thought fit to take in part of our Sails. Accordingly, the wind increaſed ſo by degrees, that we were forc'd to take in all but the main Sail, which was not taken in till the wind grew ſo violent, as if it would have confounded all the Elements, to have ſwallowed us up in the diſorder. Nay, its fury was ſuch, that our Ship which had reſiſted all before, as a Rock, was toſſed by the waves like a little boat. I muſt confeſs it was through Gods infinite mercy to us, that we eſcaped that danger, wherein we were in all likelihood, to periſh, ſince it was a kind of Miracle, that the Maſts ſtood, conſidering the violence of the winds was ſuch, as might have rooted up the ſtrongeſt Trees. This dreadfull Tempeſt continued the 28. and 29. with ſo little intermiſſion, that we began to deſpair of proſecuring our Voyage, inaſmuch as the firſt quarter of the Moon had brought no change of weather: whereupon it was taken into conſideration whether it were not our ſafeſt courſe to go and paſs over the Winter in the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*. It was urged, that the Ship, having been much batter'd by the waves, would not be able to hold out much longer, and that though it ſhould, our proviſions would not, and ſo it would be impoſſible for us to compleat our Voyage. This propoſal was generally approved; but when it was conſidered on the other ſide, that that delay, which muſt have been at leaſt ſix moneths, would be an inconvenience equal to the imminent danger we were in, it was thought the beſt courſe to proſecute the Voyage.

But *May* 30. The Preſident having called all the Officers together, and repreſented to them the condition of the Ship, and the little likelihood there was of compleating the Voyage; Nay, on the contrary, that the wind might be more violent, as the Moon increaſed, and that coming in *September*, or *October* upon the Coaſts of *England*, the danger would be as great as that they were then in upon thoſe of *Africk*, it was reſolved, that to preſerve the Ship, we ſhould put into the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, and ſtay there till *September*, inaſmuch as within that time there would come thither ſome *Engliſh* Veſſels, which might ſupply us with things neceſſary for the proſecution of our Voyage.

According to this reſolution, we tack'd about at two in the afternoon, the weather ſo tempeſtuous, that we could bear but two Sails. We ſaild two Leagues an hour, but the Sea was ſo rough, that many times the waves came over the Ship. This tempeſt continued till the next day, but about noon it ceaſed.

June the firſt, We ſaild on, with a VVeſt wind, taking our courſe Eaſt-ward; VVe put out all our Sails, ſo that in 24. hours, we got forty Leagues. JUNE.

The next being *Whitſunday*, the Tigre we brought from *Surat* bit the Preſident in the hand, and had forc'd it off, had not I and ſome others come ſeaſonably in. About 11. at night, the wind changed, and came to South-ſouth-eaſt, which was the beſt point we could have wiſhed it in for our return; inſomuch that we immediately chang'd our reſolution, and ſet things in order to our return to the Cape of *Good hope*, with an intention, to take in freſh water at the Iſland of Saint *Helene*.

The ſame wind continued the third of *June*, inſomuch that about noon, we were got to 35. Degrees, 8. Minutes.

June 4. VVe ſaw abundance of the *Manga's de Valudo*, but the wind changed, ſo that we had much ado to keep on our courſe to South-ſouth-weſt, and afterwards to North-north-weſt towards the Coaſt. VVe ſaw alſo abundance of *Trombas*, whence we inferred we were not far from the Cape of *Good hope*.

The 6. VVe had no wind at all, ſo that we ſpent the day in fiſhing. We found ſometimes, 43. and 48. ſometimes 54. and 63. fathome water. Towards night, we had a good North-weſt wind.

The 7. The wind came to Weſt; and at night we had ſo great a tempeſt, that we were forc'd to take in all our Sails.

June 8. The Tempeſt continuing with the ſame violence, we could advance but little.

About

1639. About midnight, it came North, and we took our course Northwest.

The 9. The wind ceased, and having taken the Altitude, we were at 35 Degrees, 30. Minutes. In the afternoon we had a North-west wind, with a dreadful Tempest, which forced us to take in all our Sails, and go before the wind, in some danger of running upon the coast. This was the saddest night we had in all our Voyage. For the Master of the Ship fearing the reproaches of his superiours, if he came not to *England* within the year, endeavoured all he could to prosecute the Voyage; but finding at last, all was to no purpose, he acknowledged there was no other way to save the Ship and the persons in it, but to put in somewhere. Whereupon it was immediately resolv'd we should go and winter in *Madagascar*; and so we presently changed our course.

The 11. The weather was fair; but about midnight the sky was so overcast, that it was not doubted but a Tempest was coming, as indeed it did, and continued the three next dayes.

The 15. It ceased, and the wind being VVest-north-west, we took our course to the North-east, and in 24. hours, got 33. Leagues.

The 16. We got 44 Leagues. The 17th. 50. with an East-south-east wind, taking our course to the North-east.

The 18. VVe got 30. with a VVest-south-west wind; the 19th. 40. and the 20th. having sailed 30. Leagues, we were at 31. Degrees 15. Minutes Latitude.

The 23. At break of day, we discovered a Vessel, which soon came up to us. It was a Ship belonging to the new Company, of 500. Tun burthen, and came out of *England* some four moneths before, under the command of Captain *Hall*, who being sick, and not able to stir, sent to the *President* to desire him he would honour him so far as to come aboard his Vessel, which he did, taking along with him the Physitian and my self. He not only treated us kindly, but also proffer'd to supply us with Cordage and Sails, in case we met not with any Vessels of the old Company at *Madagascar*: whither it was resolved they should make all the haste they could; Captain *Hall's* Ship being less, and not so loaden as ours, going before, with a South-east wind.

JULY.

They discover Madagascar.

The first of *July*, he was got out of sight, and in the evening we discovered the Coast. VVe doubted not but it was *Madagascar*, and so had a watch set in the night, to see we came not too near it, as also that we put not off too far from it: It being on the one side hard to approach, it having once lost the Altitude, and on the other, dangerous to approach it in the night time, by reason of the Rocks that are at the point of the Island, and especially by reason of the little Island, at the entrance of the Bay.

Arive there

The 2. We arrived at *Madagascar*, and got into the Bay of Saint *Augustine*, finding no bottom, till within a quarter of a League of Land, where we cast Anchor, at 25. fathom water, glad we were got into a Harbour, after so many dangers escaped.

Our joy was hightned by our finding in the Bay two *English* ships, belonging to the same Company, one whereof was upon her return for *England*; the other bound for the *Indies*. It was but three months since the latter came from *England*; commanded by Captain *Willis*, being 1400. Tun burthen. Her name was the *London*, and she was one of the noblest Vessels I ever saw. The Captain came immediately aboard us, accompanied by a young Merchant, and proffer'd the *President* to supply him with all things necessary for the prosecution of his *Voyage*.

The 3. The Officers of all the three ships had a meeting aboard ours, to consider what course they should take with the Inhabitants, that they might not hold their provisions at too dear a rate; and it was resolved, that what ever were bought should be bought upon a common account; and to that end, every one should bring out the commodities they were willing to truck, which should be put off by the Secretaries of the three Ships.

The Glass-bracelets, beads and Agats, we had brought from the *Indies* were incomparably beyond what they were laden with, out of *Europe*; so that it was resolved ours should not be produced, till the others were sold. By this means, we bought every day four Oxen for forty pair of Glass-bracelets, which the Inhabitants call *Rangus*; a Sheep for two, and a Calf for three *Rangus*; and for a brass ring, ten or twelve inches about, a man might have an Oxe worth here six or seven pound.

What Commodities go off at Madagascar.

The 4. The *President*, Captain *Willis*, and Captain *Hall*, went up the River to discover the Countrey, and to see what Cattle was brought down to the Bay. *We* found neer Captain *Willis's* Tent about thirty men, and some women, who had brought milk to sell. They had brought also about twenty Oxen, Sheep, and Goats: but hearing there was a greater number coming after them, we provided our selves only for three dayes.

The

The 6. The Preſident invited the two Captains and all the Officers of both the other Ships to dinner; and ſome dayes after Captain *Willis* treated the whole Company. In the afternoon he entertain'd us with a Comedy, which laſted above three hours. 1639.

The 14. Captain *Hall* went on his Voyage towards the *Indies*, and the 16. Captain *Willis* went away alſo, having ſupplied us with all things neceſſary for the proſecution of ours. He intended to touch at the *Maldives*, and ſtay there till the 20. of *Auguſt*, that he might arrive at *Surat* in the *Winter*. We accompanied him to the Iſland, at the entrance of the Bay, and having taken leave of him, went into the Iſland, where we found abundance of odd Shells of divers forms, ſeveral ſorts of Fiſh caſt up there by the Sea, and rotted Cocos, which the *Wind* had forced thither from the Eaſtern Coaſt of *Madagaſcar*, where ſome grows, but not from the Coaſt of the Saint *Auguſtines* Bay, which is oppoſite to the *Weſt*.

The 21. The Preſident took up his Lodging in the Tent pitched for him on the Sea-ſide, intending to continue there, till he imbark'd in order to our return. They made there alſo certain Huts, for the Souldiers that were about him, as alſo for ſuch as were repairing ſome things belonging to the Ship, and for the Butchers, who kill'd and ſalted the Beef for the Proviſion of the Ship: but on Sundayes all came aboard, where there was a Sermon.

The Lord of thoſe parts.

About four Leagues from the Haven, there lives a Lord, who had three Sons, the eldeſt of whom was named *Maſſar*. They came all three to ſee us, with a retinue of about a hundred men, arm'd with a kind of Pikes. They brought along with them about three hundred Oxen, ſome Sheep, Goats, Poultry, Citrons, and Oranges, to truck for our Commodities. Being come near the Preſident, they made a little halt, to obſerve what poſture we were in, and at laſt the eldeſt of the three Brothers came up, and beſtowed on the Preſident twelve Goats, and his two *Wives* gave him, each of them, a fat Capon. The Preſident preſented him with three Strings of Glaſs Coral, each of his Brothers with two, and each of the *Wives* with a Bracelet. This ſignified but very little to us; but they highly valued them. They planted a great Pole in the ground, as a mark of the Alliance they made with us, promiſing ſeverely to puniſh ſuch as ſhould injure us, and deſiring us to take ſuch a courſe, as no diſorder might happen on our ſide. They deſired to hear our Muſick, and ſeem'd to be much pleaſed with it. They ſold us ten fat Oxen, ſome Sheep, Goats and Poultry. They ſold us a fat Sheep, the Tail whereof weighed twenty or twenty four pound for ſeven or eight grains of Coral or Agat, and a Capon for three or four grains of counterfeit Coral. They would not meddle with our money, as being ſo happy as not to know the value of a thing which occaſions the miſery of other parts of the *World*.

Makes an alliance with the Engliſh.

During the ſix weeks we ſtaid in the Iſland, moſt of our diverſion was ſhooting at Buts, or fiſhing with the Angle-rod. *We* took good ſtore of Fiſh, and ſome Oyſters, which the Inhabitants call *Oring*. Theſe ſtick to the Trees and Buſhes that are upon the Sea-ſide, being at high-water cover'd with the Tide. They are large, and as delicate as any *England* affords.

AUGUST.

From the fifth to the eighth of *Auguſt*, there were ſuch abundance of Graſhoppers, that they deprived us of the ſight of the Sun. The Inhabitants eat them, but they look on them as fore-runners of famine and mortality of Cattle. One ſmall ſhower of Rain diſperſed them all.

Madagaſcar deſcribed.

As for the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, which the *French* call the Iſland of St. *Laurence*, (either from its being diſcovered by *Laurence*, Son of *Franciſco Almeyda*, General of the King of *Portugal*'s Army in the *Indies*, or from its being done upon Saint *Laurence* his day, in the year 1506.) It lies in the *torrid Zone*, reaching from North to South, from the tenth to the twenty ſixth degree. 'Tis certainly one of the greateſt Iſlands in the *World*, ſince it is above 150. Leagues in length, and 180. in breadth, and hath many good Harbours, whereof the chiefeſt are, St. *Auguſtine*'s Bay, where we put in, St. *Jago*, *Anton Gil*, *Antipera*, St. *Julian's*, St. *Maries*, St. *Sebaſtians*, St. *Romanus* and *Manatenga*. Its Mountains are for the moſt part covered with Citron-trees and Orange-trees; and if any are bare and rocky, that Rock is an excellent white Marble, out of which iſſues forth the beſt *Water* in the *World*. Some of them are covered with a kind of Trees, the *Wood* whereof is of all ſorts of colours, (but eſpecially, ſuch as afford Ebony, and a certain *Wood*, which in colour comes near that of Braſil, whereof they make their Lances or Pikes) and Date-trees, which gives ſhelter to an infinite number of Apes and Birds, and among others, a kind of Hens, as big as Turkies, ſave that they were black all over the body, but marked with little white ſpots. Their heads are between a red and blew colour, and in their foreheads they have a yellow horn. They feed in the *Woods* whole hundreds of them together.

Its greatneſs.

Its Havens.

There

1639. There is also great store of that Gum, which the Druggists call *Dragons-bloud*, which is drawn out of the flower of a Tree, about the bigness of a Pear-tree, but much more branchy, and not so full of leaves. Its leaves are longer, but narrower then those of Lawrel, and the flower is taken off in order to the extracting of the juyce, and put into hollow Canes, wherein it is reduced to that form, in which it is brought into *Europe*.

Dragons-bloud.

Aloes. This Island affords also some *Aloes*, a Commodity we have before given an account of, in the description of the Island of *Zocotora*. That which grows in *Madagascar*, is not so good as the other, in regard it is wild; yet it is used in Medicine, nay, many times instead of the other. They have also Cotton and Indico, but they make it not into a paste, as they do in *Indosthan*, and elsewhere.

The Island rich in Cattle. Their greatest wealth consists in Cattel. For where they do till the ground, it is only to get a little Rice, which is excellent good there, as also for Beans, Pompions, and that kind of Melons, which the *Persians* call *Harpus*. There are also several sorts of Citron-trees, and Orange-trees, which bring forth twice a year, Date-trees, *Cocos*-trees, and *Bananas*. No House but hath some Hives of Bees about it; but they have not yet the invention of making *Wax*, nor using their Honey, otherwise then in making a certain Drink of it with Rice, which serves them instead of *Wine*. The ground yields Salt, and Saltpeter, and upon the Sea-coasts there is found abundance of Ambergreece. It is reported also, that there are mines of Gold and Silver; but the Inhabitants making no use of these Metals, and valuing Tin above Silver, have not yet search'd into them.

Its Inhabitants. *Madagascar* is very populous, and the Inhabitants are for the most part Negroes, of a good stature, and well shap'd. All the clothing they wear is only a piece of Cotton-cloth, of several colours, which they so fasten about their *Waste*, that one of the ends hangs down to the Knee before, and the other to the Ham behind, and in the night they take it off, and make it serve for a Coverlet. They lie upon Mats, and in regard their Huts are made only of the branches of Trees, (those little wooden Houses only excepted which they make for their Princes) they make a fire of all sides of them, against the Mill-dew, which it seems is there very dangerous. Some wear above their Navels a row of Glass-beads of several colours, and several Bracelets of them about their Necks, their Arms, or above the Elbow, and about their Legs under the gartering place. Both Men and *Women* have their Ears bored through, and put into them Copper Rings, somewhat like, but not so large as those they wear about their *Wrists*, and the small of the Leg. Their Hair is black, but not equally curled all over the Country, and they dispose it into several tresses, but it grows not much, though they grease it perpetually, and do all they can to get long Hair. There is little difference between the clothing of the Men, and that of the *Women*, save that the *Women* wear also a kind of sleeveless long Coat, and that the Cloth wherewith they cover themselves is so large, that it hides all their Thighs almost down to the Knee. In this Cloth they carry their Children upon their Backs, so as that putting their Legs under the Mothers Arms, they seem to be in a manner fastned together, and yet as she carries them, a Man would think, they should fall backwards, and break their back-bones.

The fidelity of *Wives* towards their Husbands is here exemplary, and the Men think it no disparagement to take their advice. No Man but hath at least two *Wives*, but dispos'd into several Huts. For the more aged of the two he hath most compliance, though he undertakes no business, nor concludes any bargain, till he hath consulted both. These they buy of their Parents, or rather Relations, for a certain number of Oxen, Pikes, or other Arms. Adultery and Fornication is punished with death; but they do not easily suspect one another. They are very free in their conversation, and there is no familiarity so great as to raise any jealousie in them.

Some young *Women* made no difficulty to come into our Tent; nay, one of them made not any to take one of my Shirts from the President, who intreated her to wear it for my sake. She accordingly wore it two dayes, but afterwards tore it to pieces, to be used about other things.

The men are couragious. The Men are couragious, and well skill'd in the use of their Lances, Darts, and Pikes, which they carry along with them where ever they go. When they are at work, their Arms lie not far from them, and they are accustomed to them from the eighth or ninth year of their age.

Their Arms. Some Persons of Quality have a bundle of twenty five or thirty of these little Pikes carried after them. They use also Bows and Arrows, and their Bowes are at least five or six foot long, the String being very loose, yet have they a sleight of shooting with a miraculous swiftness and strength. *When* they cast their Pikes or Javelings, they make several postures,

poſtures, and are ſo expert at this exerciſe, that at the diſtance of forty paces they will not miſs a bird. 1639.

Their Chief

The Inhabitants of *Madagaſcar* are divided into ſeveral Tribes, which conſiſt of Cantons of a 100. 200. and 300. perſons, and live like *Tartars*, under a Chief, whom they call *Tſebich*, that is, King, or Lord. There were two of theſe Princes lived in a wood neer our Tent, where they had built them huts under Date-trees. When their cattle multiplies ſo as that the graſs falls ſhort, they engage in a kind of a war among themſelves, and endeavour to get what they can from their neighbours. King *Maſſar*, whom we named before, told us, that he had joyn'd with two other Kings, named *Machicore*, *Schich Tango*, and *Andiam Palola*, with whom he made account to get together a body of 500. men, and to ſet upon ſome of their neighbours, who had better paſtures then theirs. Theſe Princes have an abſolute power over their Subjects, and ſeverely puniſh the crimes committed within their juriſdictions, eſpecially ſuch as tend to the diſturbance of the Publick peace: but this dignity is not ſo continued in the ſame Family, but that upon the Prince's death, the ſtrongeſt is advanced to this pretended Crown.

Their Religion.

It were a hard matter to ſay what Religion they are off, ſave that as I have been informed, they belive there is one God, who hath made Heaven and Earth; and will one day puniſh bad Actions, and reward the good. I ſaw one among them, who was certainly their Prieſt, getting up a tree, and ſpeaking to the People, for above half an hour: but not one of us underſtanding their Language, I know not what diſcourſe he made to them, nor yet what difference there is between their Prieſts and the others; ſave that I obſerv'd, they carried at the end of a Cane a piece of a Cowes-tail, and that one of them ſuffered the nailes of the two fore-fingers of his right hand to grow to the length of Eagles claws. Every Canton hath its Prieſt, who would alſo be accounted Sorcerers, and have it thought they can binde the Devil, and force him to do what they pleaſe.

Mozambique.

The *Portuguez* of the Iſland of *Mozambique*, which is but half a league from the Continent of *Africk*, drive a conſiderable trade here in Aloes, Dragons-blood, Ebony, and other Drugs. For the Captain, who under the King of *Portugal* hath the command of this little Iſland, which is but half a league in compaſs, and who, in the three years of his Government, gets a hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, is not a little obliged to the Neighbour-hood of *Madagaſcar*, though the greateſt part of his wealth comes from *Soffola*, where he hath his Factor, and where the *Portuguez* have built a Fort.

When diſcovered by the Portuguez.

Hieronymus Oſorius, in his Hiſtory of the Life and Actions of *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, affirms, that when the *Portuguez* diſcovered the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, in the year 1506. there came aboard their Ship as many Negroes as a boat could well carry. They were kindly receiv'd, and had ſeveral little Preſents made them; but they ill requited that civility, for aſſoon as they were got into their own boat, they ſhot ſo many Arrows at the *Portuguez*, that they were forc'd to anſwer them with Cannon and Muſket-ſhot. The ſame year another *Portuguez* Captain, named, *Rodrigo Pereira*, being caſt by a tempeſt upon the Eaſtern Coaſt of this Iſland, he ſent word to the Inhabitants, by an *African Moor*, who underſtood ſomewhat of their Language, that the deſign of his coming thither, was to enter into an alliance with them, and to ſettle an advantagious Commerce for both. The Iſlanders ſeem'd to approve of this Propoſal, and told the *Moor*, they would carry him to their King, that he might conclude with him the Treaty deſired by the *Portuguez*, but being got off a little from the others, they fell upon him, and had kill'd him, had they not diſcharg'd ſome Muskets at them, whereby ſome fell, and the reſt were forc'd to let go the *Moor*. The *Portuguez* Captain having got him again, landed at another place, where he ſurprized the Inhabitants, and took their King Priſoner: but treated him ſo well, that he proffer'd to bring them to a place, where they ſhould find a good Haven for their Ship. He brought the *Portuguez* Captain to a Bay, at the entrance whereof there was a very populous Iſland, whereat the Inhabitants were frightned, and fled into the great Iſland, forſaking Wives and Children, nay even their King: ſo that it proved no hard matter for the *Portuguez* to poſſeſs themſelves of the Iſland; whence they ſent to the Inhabitants, Inviting them to return, and to permit their planting among them, ſince they deſired only their friendſhips. They returned, and preſented the Captain with 50. Oxen, and 20. Goats; but, to be rid of their Gueſts, they repreſented to them, that there were greater advantages to be made in the Port of *Matatana*, inaſmuch as there they would find Silver and ſeveral Drugs to truck for. The Captain would have gone thither, but the current of the Sea having forc'd one of his Ships upon the Coaſt, he retired with the other to the Iſland of *Mozambique*. The ſame Tempeſt which had caſt that Captain upon the Eaſtern Coaſt of the Iſland, forc'd another Ship of the ſame Fleet into the Port of *Matatana*, whither there preſently came one of the boats

1639. of the Country, into which he ſent the Maſter of his Veſſel, who by the many Voyages he had made upon the Coaſts of *Africk*, and learnt the Language of the Countrey. The *Negroes* having him in their boat, made all the haſte they could aſhore, which obliged the *Portugnez* to put out their ſhallop, with fourſcore men in it, to overtake them; but the *Negroes* were too quick for them, and carried away the man. The Shallop coming near Land, the *Portugnez* ſaw their Maſter, who told them he had been brought to their King, and civilly received by him, and that he was deſirous to ſpeak with the Captain, and enter into friendſhip with him. The Captain made no difficulty to go aſhore, where the King received him kindly, and treated him magnificently, according to the cuſtom of the Country: but thinking to return in the Evening, there roſe ſo great a tempeſt, that it was impoſſible for him to get aboard. The tempeſt continued four dayes, ſo that thoſe who were in the Ship, believed that their Captain had been kill'd by the *Barbarians*, weighed Anchor, and returned to *Mozambique*. The Captain finding the Ship gone, and that there was little likelihood of ever getting out of the Iſland, grew ſo diſcontented that he died of it. Eight other Perſons of his retinue died alſo, and they who remained embarked in the Shallop, chooſing rather to expoſe themſelves to the uncertain event of a dangerous Navigation, then ſtay in a place where they muſt periſh within a few days; and they were ſo happy as to meet with a Veſſel commanded by the Captain *John Fonſeca*, who received them aboard, and carried them into *Africk*.

The firſt landing of the Dutch at Madagaſcar.

The firſt landing of the *Dutch* in this Iſland, was in *Auguſt* 1595. at which they met with as great difficulties as the *Portugnez* had done. Their deſign was only to refreſh themſelves there, upon this account; that, in thoſe firſt Voyages, they had ſo little knowledge of the diſeaſe called the Scurvy, and the remedies now uſed for the cure of it, that moſt of their men being not able to perform their labour, they were forced to touch there in order to ſome relief for their diſeaſed: but ere they could meet with any refreſhment, there died above 70. perſons out of the four Veſſels whereof their Fleet conſiſted, whom they buried in a little Iſland, which upon that occaſion they called, The *Dutch-Church-yard*. The deſcription they make of this Iſland is very ſhort, and for the moſt part, taken out of the Relation of *Mark Paulo Veneto*, which is none of the moſt exact. That of *Francis Cauche* of *Roüen*, Printed by the means of the late M. *du Puy*, is ſo exact, that that of the *Dutch* cannot compare with it. What theſe laſt relations have in particular, is, that the Inhabitants of *Madagaſcar* are circumciſed, though there be nothing otherwiſe that evinces them to be *Mahumetans*, ſince they have no *Moſques*, nor any exerciſe of Religion, nor appearance of Devotion in all their Demeanour.

Having paſſed over the Winter on the other ſide of the *Æquinoctial* Line, we began to ſet things in order for the proſecution of our Voyage, and bought the 19. of *Auguſt*, of King *Maſiar*, and two other neighbouring Princes, *Tſchich Tanga*, and *Andiam Palola*, twenty five fat Oxen more, and about a hundred Sheep and Goats, beſides the hundred and fifty Oxen we had bought during our abode in the Iſland, all which we put aboard the 20. that we might not want freſh meat during our Voyage. The ſame day we embarked our baggage, and the next day we got out of the Bay of St. *Auguſtine*, and left the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, with a South-weſt wind, which continuing all the night following, we ſoon got out of ſight of the Iſland.

The 22. The *Manſon*, which we could not yet have hoped for, came unexpectedly upon us, and advanced our progreſs very much, taking our courſe to Weſt-ſouth-weſt.

The 23. The wind came to the Eaſt, ſo that having it full behind us, we went on merrily, taking our courſe the more towards the South, to avoid the Cape of *Good hope*, where we intended not to touch at all.

The 24. and 25. the wind was ſomewhat abated; but the 26. it blew ſo freſh a gale, that we made a great progreſs. We were that day at 27. degrees, 27. minutes Latitude; and the 28th. at 28. degrees, 12. minutes.

The 29. We had the wind Eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, with thoſe ſtorms which the *Portuguez* call *Travados*: They were immediately over. We ſaw that day, being at 31. degrees, 15. minutes Latitude, a great number of the Fiſhes called *Peſce puercos*, which leaped three or four foot above water, as if it had been their deſign to find us ſport. The next day we had a Tempeſt, yet ſuch as hindered not our getting ſomewhat forward; ſo that the laſt of *Auguſt*, we were at 33. degrees, 34. minutes.

SEPTEMBER. *September* the firſt, the wind grew ſo violent, that we were forc'd to take in part of our ſails, yet we made a ſhift to get 50. Leagues in 24. hours. The next day, we got but 30. the wind being South-weſt.

The 3. The Sea being very calm, we kill'd one of the Cowes we had bought in *Madagaſcar*, and

and found three Calves in the belly of it; as also a Goat, that had four young Kids within it; from which a man may judge of the fruitfulness of the Country. 1639.

At night we saw up and down certain Lights, like flames; but we could not judge whether they were the Fishes, which the *Spaniards* call *Dorados*, and the *English Blubbers*, or those Meteors, which the *Spaniards* call *Cuerpos Jantos*. In ancient time, when there appear'd two, they were called *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Dioscures*, and *Tyndarides*, and when but one, it was called *Helene*. Some have not shaken off the superstition of believing, that their fire presages a Tempest. But, on the contrary, we had a great calm, the next day, and saw infinite multitudes of little Sea-birds. About two in the afternoon, we had a North-east wind, which continuing fair all the next day, we sailed above two Leagues an hour.

September 6. We had a great tempest; It continued all night, and shook the Ship so, that the water coming in at several places, we were forc'd to pump four times an hour. The same day we came 35. degrees Latitude.

The 7. The weather was somewhat fair, so that we made use of our Sails, taking our course West-north-west. The Sea was very rough, and forc'd us towards the Coast, from which we thought our selves fourty Leagues distant, and from the Cape of *Good hope* 130. The 8. and 9. the wind South, and it proved rainy weather.

The 10. We had but little wind, yet got 40 Leagues in 24 hours; we saw many of the *Mangas de Valudo*; whence it was inferred we could not be far from the Cape *d' Agulhas*.

The 11. We made but a small progress, with an East wind. Casting the plummet, and finding a sandy bottome, one hundred and twenty fathom water, we are confirmed in the opinion we had before, of our being near Cape *d' Agulhas*.

The 12. The contrary wind forc'd us to laveering to the North-north-west, and South-west, going either further from, or neerer to the Coast, which yet they could not discover. In the afternoon, we resumed our course to the West-north-west, with a South-west wind, and at night we found a yellowish sand, at 190. fathom water.

The 13. Our course was to the West-north-west, with a South-east wind. About 10. we saw a dead Whale floating upon the water; and being then at 35. degrees latitude, we conceiv'd we might be at the altitude of the *Cape of Good hope*, where many of these creatures are ordinarily seen.

The 14. we found at Sun-rising, that the Compass declin'd four degrees, 50. minutes to the East, whence we inferr'd, that we had compass'd the *Cape of Good hope*. *Declination of the Load-stone.*

The next day, we had the wind so full a Stern, that had it been contrary, it would have forc'd us once more to think of putting into some place, or at least put us to the same extremities we had been in before near the Cape. We therefore found the declination of the Load-stone to be one degree, fifty minutes, and presently after, the declination of it near the *Cape of Good hope*, is four degrees, though otherwise it doth not decline so much. Assoon as the *Cape* is past, the Compass still varies towards the East, in regard the Needle draws to the Earth, where no doubt there is Iron, and other Load-stones that draw it: but the declination on that Coast never exceeds eight degrees.

About 20. Leagues on this side the *Cape of Good hope*, and at 33. degrees, 15. minutes, lies the Island of St. *Elizabeth*. It is not above two Leagues distant from the Coasts of *Africk*, and hath a very good Haven towards the Continent, at 16. fathome water. The Coast of the Isle is but one continued Rock, but there grows such abundance of delicate Herbs in the Island, that it may be presum'd it would afford as great conveniencies and refreshments as that of St. *Helene*, if it were planted with Citron-trees, and Orange-trees, and stock'd with Cattle. 'Tis true, it hath no fresh water, but what falls from the sky, which in all likelihood is the reason that seldom any touch at it, though there come thither such store of Sea-wolves, that in a few dayes there might be as much fat gotten, as would load a Vessel of 600 Tun. *The Island of St. Elizabeth.*

These creatures are called *Sea-wolves*, though they are more like Bears, both in colour, and the making of their heads, save that the snowt of these is somewhat sharper. They have only two paws under the breast, and draw the lower part of the body after them, as if it were a taile, yet are they so swift, that it is as much as a man can do to overtake them running. *Sea-Wolves*

It is a cruel and fierce beast, which fears not to set upon two or three men together; and his teeth are so close and strong, that he can therewith easily break the handle of a *Patizan*.

There is also in the same place a kind of *Badger*, the flesh whereof is as delicate and wholsome as that of Lambs; the birds call'd *Pinguins*, are there better and more tender then any where else: and in regard few Ships come thither, these birds and some others, are *Badgers.*

1639. ſo tame and ſo little afraid of a man, that he needs only put out his hand to take them.

The 16th. The wind was contrary, we being at 32. degrees Latitude. The next day, and the 18. with a North-north-weſt, and South-weſt wind, we got 64. Leagues, and came to 29. degrees, 16. minutes Latitude.

The 19. *With* a good South-ſouth-weſt vvind, vve got 40 Leagues to the North-weſt, and were at 28 degrees Latitude.

The 20. *With* a South-eaſt wind, we got 34 Leagues, continuing the ſame courſe to the North-weſt.

The 21th. 28 Leagues, with the ſame wind, and keeping on the ſame courſe.

The 22th. 20 Leagues, with the ſame wind, and in the ſame courſe.

The 23th. 24 Leagues, with the ſame wind, taking our courſe *Weſt*-north-weſt.

The 24th. *We* got with the ſame vvind, 30 Leagues, continuing our courſe to the *Weſt*-north-vveſt.

The 25th. *We* had ſo great a calm, that vve advanced not any thing at all.

The 26th. *We* got but 20 Leagues, vvith a little Eaſt-ſouth-eaſt vvind, continuing the ſame courſe.

The 27th. *We* got 36. Leagues, vvith a North-eaſt vvind, purſuing the ſame courſe, and vvere come to 21 degrees Latitude.

The 28th. *With* the ſame vvind, and holding the ſame courſe, vve got 46. Leagues, and vvere at 20 degrees Latitude.

29th. *With* an Eaſt-north-eaſt vvind, vve got 20 Leagues, continuing the ſame courſe.

The 30. Keeping the ſame courſe, to the North-vveſt, vve advanced 25 Leagues.

OCTOBER. *October* the firſt, a South-vveſt vvinde put us forvvard 25 Leagues; keeping our courſe to North-vveſt, and vve got that day to 17 degrees Latitude.

The 2. *With* the ſame vvind, vve got 25 Leagues, keeping on in the ſame courſe, till vve vvere come to ſixteen degrees, ſixteen minutes Latitude.

The 3d. *With* the ſame vvind, and in the ſame courſe, 28 Leagues.

The 4th. *With* the ſame vvind, taking our courſe to the vveſt 20 Leagues.

The 5th. In the ſame courſe, 16 Leagues.

St. Helen's Iſland. The 6th. *We* got 15 Leagues vvith a South-eaſt vvind, and came that day to the Iſland of *St. Helene*.

This Iſland lies at 16. degrees, 12 minutes, beyond the *Æquinoctial*, and vvas ſo called by the *Portuguez*, upon its being diſcovered the one and tvventieth of *May*, on vvhich day is celebrated the memory of Saint *Helene*, Mother to *Conſtantine* the Great. It is diſtant from the Coaſt of *Angola* 350. Leagues, from that of the Cape of *Good hope* 550. and from that of *Breſil* 510. So that it is ſomevvhat ſtrange, that at ſo great a diſtance from the continent, the Sea ſhould ſtart out an Iſland about 7 Leagues in compaſs. It is ſo fertile, that there is not any Province in *Europe* affords ſuch plenty of excellent fruits, and breeds ſo many creatures as this Iſland.

Planted by the Portuguez.

Some affirm, it afforded neither, vvhen it vvas firſt diſcovered by the *Portuguez*, and that the fevv Trees they planted, and the little ſtock of Cattle they left there, hath ſo furniſhed it, that it is able ſufficiently to refreſh all the fleets that come thither. At this place, a man may have at any time of the year, Figs, Pomegranats, Citrons and Oranges, and there are Goats, Swine, *Barbary*-Hens, Feaſants, Partridges, Quailes, Peacocks, Pigeons, and great ſtore of all ſorts of Birds, as alſo ſalt for the keeping of them; ſo that Ships might be ſufficiently provided with all things, if they would ſtay there any time. The Sea ſupplies it with more Fiſh then can be conſumed; and the Earth brings forth ſo many excellent Herbs, that the *Portuguez*, unwilling to retard their Voyage, leave at this place their ſick men, who recover their health within a few days, and having only a little Oyl, Rice, Bisket and Spice, make a ſhift to live there till the Ships come thither the next year. Its Mountains are ſo high, that they reach above the Clouds, and are ſeen at Sea, at the diſtance of 14 Leagues. The Trees wherewith they are covered bring forth no Fruit, and are fit only for firing, but the Valleys are extreamly pleaſant. The King of *Portugal* would not have any eſtabliſhment to be made there upon theſe reflections; that all Ships paſſing that way might find refreſhment there, and that it would be a hard matter to keep the ſaid Iſland againſt all the other Nations, who are concerned in its being ſtill free, inaſmuch as were it not for that, Veſſels many times, would be forc'd upon the Coaſts of *Guiny*, where water is not to be had at all times, and where they ſhould be obliged to ſtay for Rain, which would be ſo great an inconvenience that many of the men would in the mean time droop and die.

The

The fertility of this Iſland proceeds chiefly from the daily rain which falls there: but they are tranſient ſhowrs ſoon over, ſo that the Sun ſhining preſently after, and that by intervals, it muſt needs very much advance the maturation of all things. 1639.

There are three places where freſh water may be taken in, to wit, where the three Rivers, which come out of the Mountain fall into the Sea. They breed abundance of Snakes; but the *Dutch* eat them, and prefer them before Eels.

At 190 Leagues, North-weſt of the Iſland of Saint *Helene*, is that of the *Aſcenſion*, ſo called by the *Portuguez*, upon its being diſcovered upon *Aſcention-day*. It lies at 8. degrees, 30. minutes South of the Line, and hath alſo very high mountains; but it affords no freſh water, nor any other refreſhment; nay, it hath not ſo much as any verdure; only what may be particularly ſaid of it, is that upon the Coaſts of it, there are more Fiſh then upon thoſe of Saint *Helenes*, which occaſions the coming thither of abundance of Birds, that live only upon the ſaid Fiſh. Theſe Birds are ſomewhat like Geeſe, at leaſt as the Relations deſcribe them. Aſſoon as a Veſſel comes near, there flie ſuch numbers thereof into it, that they are eaſily kill'd with ſticks, but the meat of them is not good. The Earth of its Mountains is of a reddiſh colour, much like that which the *Spaniards* call *Almagro*, from the name of a City, where there is much of it found. Aſcenſion Iſland.

October 9. The South-eaſt wind continued, but ſo weakly, that we got that day but 15. Leagues, holding our courſe to the South-weſt, and we were at 16. degrees, 11. minutes Latitude.

The 10. We had a great calm, with inſupportable heats, ſo that we got that day bu 8. Leagues, keeping the ſame courſe.

The 11. With an Eaſterly wind, and keeping on the ſame courſe, we got 15. Leagues.

The 12. We got 21. Leagues with the ſame wind, taking our courſe to the North-north-weſt.

The 13. The wind came to North-eaſt, and helped us forward 25. Leagues to North-north-weſt, to 14. Degrees, 25. minutes Latitude.

The 14. With the ſame wind, keeping on the ſame courſe, we advanced 22. Leagues.

The 15. The wind came to South-eaſt, and keeping on the ſame courſe, we advanced 44. Leagues.

The 16. The wind continued South-eaſt, and we got 46. Leagues; we had that day the Sun in the *Zenith*, ſo that we could not obſerve the Elevation. The heats were very great.

The 17. We got 40. Leagues, with the ſame wind.

The 18. With the ſame wind, we got 42. Leagues, to the fifth degree of Latitude. That day we ſaw Millions of flying fiſhes, and abundance of thoſe birds the *Portuguez* call *Mangas de Veludo*. The heats were exceſſive.

The 19. With a South-eaſt wind, we got 40. Leagues, and got to 3. Degrees, 19 minutes Latitude.

The 20. With the ſame wind, we got 40. Leagues further, and at one degree, 18. minutes Latitude.

The 21. With the ſame wind, we got 35. Leagues, and paſſed under the *Æquinoctial Line*. At one degree beyond the Line lies the *Cape de Lope Gonſales*, upon the Coaſts of *Guiny*, the Road whereof is very good. There Veſſels take in refreſhments, in caſe they had not done it at Saint *Helene's* Iſland.

The Iſland of Saint *Thomas*, ſo called by the *Portuguez*, from its being diſcovered on 21th. of *December*, lies under the Line. Though there be no talk of any Plague at that place, yet is the air thereof very unwholſome, and prejudicial to ſtrangers, who cannot well bear the exceſſive heats predominant there; Whence it comes, there are few gray-beards ſeen there, and few *Chriſtians* reach 50. years of Age, though the Inhabitants of the Country live to above a hundred. Day and Night are of an equal length there all the year long, and it rains only in *March* and *September*: but all the remainder of the year, the Earth is moiſtened by a certain Dew, which brings forth all ſorts of fruits. They who diſcovered the Iſland found it overgrown with a kind of trees, the branches whereof were all ſtreight. Heretofore there grew Sugar there, in ſuch quantities, as that there was enough to load thence yearly above forty Ships: but it is now ſometime ſince that there bred there a kind of Worms, which ſo gnaw the Canes, that the Iſland can hardly furniſh ſix Ships therewith. It affords much Wheat, and Wine, Millet, Rye, Barley, Melons, Cowcumbers, Figs, Ginger, red-Parſnips, Cabbages, Navews, Lettice, Parſly, all ſorts of Roots, Pulſe, and Pot-herbs, and among others, a certain Root named *Ignaman*, accounted a very delicate diſh by the Inhabitants. It is a kind of Toad-ſtool, St. Thomas Iſland.

1639. ſtool, the rinde whereof is black, and the meat white, about the bigneſs, and not unlike the *French Navew*, ſave that it caſts forth ſeveral branches below. It is baked in the Embers, and taſtes ſomewhat like, but much better then a great Cheſnut. The *Spaniards* have planted Olive-trees there, as alſo Peach-trees, and Almond-trees, which grow well enough, but bear no Fruit.

Land Creviſhes. Among the living Creatures, particularly to this Iſland, there is a kind of Creviſſes, which live within the ground, and work like Moles. There is alſo abundance of Partridges, Quails, Black-birds, Parrats, and other Birds: but particularly great ſtore of excellent fiſh, eſpecially VVhales, which are of a monſtrous bulk, upon the Coaſts of this Iſland.

In the midſt of the Iſland, there is a Mountain covered with Trees, and over-ſpread with a Cloud, which ſupplies it with freſh water, and that abundantly enough to water the Sugar Canes: but what is moſt remarkable is, that the higher the Sun comes over the Horizon, the more water falls from the ſaid Cloud.

The Inhabitants. The natural Inhabitants of it are *Negroes*, but Forreigners continue white to the third and fourth Generation; and it is reported, that the lice and fleas, wherewith the *Negroes* are extreamly troubled, meddle not with the white people, inaſmuch as the skins of the former are much more delicate then thoſe of the latter.

Rolles-Iſland. VVithin 35. Leagues of St. *Thomas* Iſland, South-ward, there is another Iſland, which the *Portuguez* call *Rolles Iſland*, wherein there are Oranges, Citrons, *Bananas*, *Ananas*, Ginger, Poultry, Swine, and other refreſhments, in ſuch plenty, that having beſides a very good Haven at ten Fathom water, it is a more commodious place then the Cape *de Lope Gonſales*.

Cariſco-Iſland The Iſland of *Cariſco*, which lies 30. minutes on this ſide the Line, hath no other refreſhment but freſh-water, and is ſo neer the Continent, that ſeldome any Ships Anchor there, but in great extremity.

October 22. VVith a South-weſt wind, we got 33. Leagues, and about noon, were at one degree, 35. minutes Latitude, North from the Line, having very fair weather.

The 23. The ſame wind brought exceſſive heats, and advanced us 26. Leagues and 3. degrees, one minute Latitude.

The 24. VVe got but 22. Leagues, having continual thunder and lightning, which laſted till night.

The 25. The ſame South-eaſt wind carried us 32. Leagues, taking our courſe North-north-weſt; The weather was rainy, with ſtorms, and thoſe winds which the *Portuguez* call *Travados*, which are very ordinary towards the Coaſts of *Guiny*, from which we conceived our ſelves to be then diſtant about 150. Leagues.

The 26. The wind continuing South-eaſt, we got 25. Leagues, and were at ſeven degrees Latitude. The heat was much greater here, then it had been on the other ſide of the *Æquinoctial*, though the Sun were ten degrees further from our Hemiſphere, in as much as the Sun, which had ſo lately warmed the Septentrional Hemiſphere, had not yet had time to warm the Meridional.

The 27. The wind changed and came to North and by Eaſt, which obliged us to change our courſe. We got that day but 13. Leagues, and about noon, were at ſeven degrees, 50. minutes Latitude. And as we came further off from the Coaſts of *Guiny*, we accordingly removed out of the bad weather, which had much incommodated us before.

The 28. The wind came to North-eaſt, which is ordinary in thoſe parts within the 10th. and 20th. degrees, whereas from thence it changes, as it does on our Seas on this ſide. We got that day 30. Leagues.

The 29. The ſame wind carried us 31. Leagues; and at noon, we were got to 10 degrees Latitude. The next day, with the ſame wind, and keeping on the ſame courſe, we got 28 Leagues, to 11. degrees, 13. minutes Latitude. The next, with the ſame wind, the weather rainy, 23. Leagues.

November 1. The ſame wind continuing, we advanced 26. Leagues.

The 2. The wind North-eaſt, we got 24. Leagues, holding our courſe to the North-weſt.

November. The 3. We kept on, with the ſame wind, the ſame courſe, and were, about noon, at 14. degrees, 40. minutes, and conſequently near the Latitude of *Capo Verde*, which is a

Capo Verde. point of the Land reaching from the Continent of *Africk* into the Sea, between the Rivers of *Gambea* and *Sanaga*, by *Ptolomy* called *Promontorium Arſinarium*.

Its Inhabitants. The Inhabitants are black, bulky and well-ſhaped, but miſchievous and dangerous. They are for the moſt part *Pagans*, whereof ſome invocate the *Moon*, and others adore the Devil, whom they call *Cammaté*. Some among them profeſs themſelves to be *Mahumetans*; but all they have of that Religion is only the name and Circumciſion.

They

They are in perpetual wars with their Neighbours, and are expert enough at the management of their Horſes, which are brought them out of *Barbary*, and very ſwift. Their Arms are the Bow, and a kind of Lance or light Pike, which they handle very advantagiouſly. The moſt illuſtrious marks of their Victories are the Privy parts, which having cut off from their Enemies, they preſent them to their *Wives*, who diſpoſe them into Neck-laces, and account them a greater Ornament then Pearls. 1639. *Their Arms*

They marry ſeveral *Wives*, whom they force to work like Slaves, as well in the fields as at home, where the Husband is ſerved up alone, with what his *Wife* hath provided for him; and as ſoon as he hath din'd, he reaſſumes his Arms, and goes either a hunting, or about his buſineſs. The *Women* are accuſtomed to ſuch hardneſs, that as ſoon as they are delivered, they go and waſh the Child, either in the Sea, or the next River. *The women do all the work.*

The Men are for the moſt part much ſubject to drunkenneſs, and ſuch lovers of *Wine*, that ſome have been ſeen to take off a Bottle of *Aqua vitæ* at a draught. Their times of debauches are, at the Funerals of their Friends, at which they ſpend four or five dayes together in weeping and drinking by intervals, ſo that they ſeldom part ere they get their Skins full of Drink. The Entertainments are performed with the Drum and Pipe, and there is ſet at the head of the deceaſed a Pot of *Wine* or *Water*, which is changed twice a day, and that for ſeveral years afterwards. *The men drunkards.*

They believe the dead will riſe again, but that they ſhall be white, and trade there as the *Europeans* do. The *French*, *Spaniards* and *Dutch*, trade much there in the Hides of Oxen, Bufflers, and Elks, Elephants teeth, *Wax*, Rice, Ambergreece, which is excellent there. Here it was that *Peter de la Brouck*, a *Dutch* Merchant, bought in the year 1606. a piece of Amber of eighty pound weight. *Believe the immortality of the ſoul.*

We ſhall here ſay by the way, that the *Portuguez* began their diſcoveries of this Coaſt of *Africk*, in the year 1417. in the reign of *John* I. who had been Maſter of *Avis*, under the direction of the Infanto D. *Eurique* his third Son. Theſe firſt Voyages had not the ſucceſs he expected, till that in the year 1441. *Anthony Gonſales*, having diſcovered the Cape *del Cavellero*, brought away with him certain *Negroes*, whom the *Infanto* ſent to Pope *Martin* V. deſiring him to promote the Zeal he had for the advancement of *Chriſtian Religion*, and to beſtow on him the places he ſhould diſcover upon thoſe Coaſts, which he pretended were poſſeſſed by ſuch as had no right thereto. *D. Eurique diſcovers Guiny.*

The Pope was pleaſed to make him a Preſent of what coſt him nothing, and gave him all he ſhould diſcover in *Africk*, eſpecially in thoſe parts towards the *Indies*, upon condition, that at his death he left them to the Crown of *Portugal*. The *Infanto* had diſcovered all the Coaſt between *Capo de Naom*, as far as a hundred Leagues beyond *Cabo Verde*, and died in the year 1453. King *Alfonſo* V. in the year 1457. beſtowed all theſe Conqueſts on D. *Ferand*, Duke of *Viſeo*, Heir to the *Infanto* D. *Enrique*, and in 1461. the ſame King ordered the building of a Fort in the Iſland of *Arguin*, for the ſafety of Commerce, by *Suero Mendez*, which the King D. *John* II. cauſed to be rebuilt, before his coming to the Crown, as Lord of thoſe Conqueſts, and the Commerce of *Guiny*, by gift from the King his Father. This Prince, in the year 1461. farm'd it out to one named *Ferdinand Gomez*, upon condition he ſhould every year diſcover a hundred Leagues of the Coaſt; ſo that in the year 1479. they had diſcovered the Iſlands of *Fernando del Po*, St. *Thomas*, *Anno Bueno*, thoſe of *del Principe*, and the Cape of St. *Katherine*. The wars which happened between the King D. *Alfonſo*, and the Crown of *Caſtile*, hindred him from ſpending his thoughts on theſe Conqueſts; but the King D. *John* II. being come to the Crown, ſent away in *December* 1481. *Diego d' Azambuja*, who came to *Mina*, *January* 19. 1482. to a place called then *Aldea de dos partes*, and where reigned at that time a King, or Prince, named *Caramanſa*.

This place, on which the *Portuguez* beſtowed the name of *Mina*, by reaſon of the abundance of Gold found there, is ſeated upon the Coaſt of *Guiny*, five degrees, forty minutes South of the *Æquinoctial Line*, between the Kingdoms of *Axen* and *Cara*, where within the ſpace of fifty Leagues is carried on the trade of almoſt all the Gold in thoſe parts. It hath on the North-weſt *Comana*, and on the North-eaſt *Afuto*, ſmall Countries, ſubject to thoſe of *Abarambues*. The Fort is built upon an aſcent, which the ſcituation of the Country makes by little and little at the end of a skirt of Land, which advances into the Sea like a *Peninſula*, having on the North-ſide the *Æthiopian* Sea, and on the South a little River, which ſerves it for a Ditch. It may be eaſily kept by five hundred men, and the Town, which is at the foot of the Fort, hath about eight hundred Inhabitants. But this place is ſo fenny and barren, that ſuch as have ſettled themſelves there upon the account of Traffick, are forc'd to buy Proviſions of thoſe of *Camana* and *Afuto*. *The ſituation of Mina.*

The

1639. The Inhabitants are docile enough, and better natured then the *Negroes*, though not so rational as to matter of Religion. They make Divinities of all they see, that's new and and extraordinary. They had at that time encloſed with a *W*all a great Tree, which they adored, and to which, on certain dayes, *W*ater and Meat was ſerved up by one of their Prieſts, whom they call *Sofo*. They had alſo a veneration for the Bones of a *W*hale, and religiouſly worſhipped a certain Rock, for this reaſon, that it was higher then any other near it. No Nation in the *W*orld is more ſuperſtitious about groundleſs Divinations and Augury, then this is. They take certain pieces of Straw into their mouths, and according to their falling to the ground they judge of the event of things. They all affirm, that they ſpeak to the Devil, and they have a particular reſpect for ſuch as have the reputation of Sorcerers, but indeed are only Cheats and Impoſtors, who make their advantages of the weakneſs of the beſotted multitude.

The Religion of the Inhabitants.

Their Superſtition.

They are very religious in the obſervance of their Oaths, as being perſwaded, that ſuch as violate them ſhall dye ſuddenly, and alledge to that purpoſe, the examples of ſome of their Nation, who having broke the Oath they had taken, not to injure ſome holy perſons, who preach'd the Goſpel in thoſe parts, were all deſtroyed. From this ſincerity, there ariſes an advantage not known elſewhere; which is, that Law-ſuits and differences are decided in a few hours, upon the pure affirmation of the parties. No Crime ſo heynous, but a man may redeem his life with money, unleſs he be ſo loſt to goodneſs, as to fall ſeveral times into the ſame offence.

Religion in their Oaths.

They go naked, and cover only thoſe parts which are not with decency to be named; and they do it with Ape-skins, or pieces of Cloath of divers colours, which they make of their Date-trees. The Ornament they moſt affect is, to make their Bodies ſhine by frequent rubbing them with Oyl, or Fat. Perſons of Quality wear Bracelets of Gold about their Armes and Legs, and tye up their Hair and Beards with ſmall Chains of the ſame Metal.

Their Clothing.

In their wars, they obſerve neither Order nor Diſcipline, and the Inſtruments they make uſe of, are fitter rather to excite laughter, then animate them to fighting. Their defenſive Arms are made of Lions, Tigers, or Leopards skins, and the offenſive are Darts, and ſhort Lances. Their *Hidalgos*, when they go to the wars, are attended by two Pages, whereof one carries the Buckler, and the other a little Stool, on which the Maſter reſts himſelf when any halt is made.

Their Arms.

They regulate the number of their Wives according to their Revenue; and they contract Marriages without any Ceremonies, giving the Brides Father only ten Rials for his Wine, which they are ſuch lovers of, that many times they take of it, till they have loſt their Senſes and Underſtanding.

The *Dutch* have there the Fort called *Boure*, within four Leagues of *Mina*. They have alſo their Factors at *Cara*, *Coromantin*, and *Aldea del Tuerto*, and they quietly drive on the trade of *Mina*, where they return yearly above two millions of Gold, and by that means get out of the *Jazans*, and other Inhabitants of *Æthiopia*, great quantities of Gold; eſpecially ſince their ſettling at this place occaſioned the *Portugnez* to attempt what they did at *Braſil*, contrary to the Treaty they had made with the States of the *United Provinces*. The *Dutch* had already deſtroyed the trade of the *Portugnez* there, upon this ſcore, that they were content with a moderate profit, and treated the *Negroes* with ſo much mildneſs, that they brought them to ſome liking of their Religion, which hath made a conſiderable progreſs among them.

The ſettlement of the Dutch in Guiny.

Chriſtopher Colombo, perceiving King *John* II. to be much inclined to thoſe Voyages went to the Court of *Portugal*, to proffer his ſervice, for the diſcovery of the *Weſt-Indies*. But the buſineſs being taken into conſideration at the Councel, they thank'd *Colombo*, and reſolv'd to proſecute their Conqueſts in the Eaſt. In purſuance of this reſolution, the King ſent away two of the beſt Pilots in the Kingdom, named *Diego Can*, and *Juan Alonſo d' Avero*.

The former took his courſe to *Mina*, and arrived at the Cape *de Lope Conſales*, and afterwards doubling that of St. *Katharine*, he entred the River *Zaire*, ſeven degrees South of the Line, and there took poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Congo*.

Diego Can diſcovers the Kingdom of Congo.

This Kingdom reaches from the Cape of St. *Katherine* Southward, as far as *Cape de Ledo*, and hath on the Weſt, the *Æthiopian* Sea; on the South, the Mountains of the Moon, and the *Cafres*; on the Eaſt, the *Mantabas*; and on the North, the Kingdom of *Beny*, being in length about a hundred and ſixty Leagues, from the ſecond degree, 30. minutes, to the 13. degree beyond the Line. It conſiſts of ſix great Provinces, named, *Bamba*, *Songo*, *Sunda*, *Pango*, *Batta* and *Pambu*.

The Kingdom of Congo.

Its Provinces

The

The Province *Bamba* reaches along the Coaſt, from the River *Ambriſi*, to that of *Coanſe*; the Metropolis, *Bamba*, lying between the Rivers of *Loſa* and *Ambriſi*, 30. Leagues from the Sea. 1639. Bamba.

The Province of *Songo* lies upon the Rivers of *Zaire* and *Loango*, reaching from the River *Ambriſi*, to the Mountains which divide it from the Kingdom of *Loango*. The Metropolis is of the ſame name. Songo.

The City of *Sunda* does alſo derive its name to the Province, whereof it is the Metropolis. It is 8. Leagues in compaſs, and comprehends under its juriſdiction all the Country, which is near the City of *Congo*, (by the *Portuguez* named St. *Salvador*) as far as the River *Zaire*. Sunda.

The Province of *Pango*, which had heretofore its particular King, hath on the North, the Province of *Sunda*; on the South, that of *Batta*; on the Weſt, the City of *Congo*; and on the Eaſt, the Mountains of the Sun. The Metropolis, from which it hath the name, lies upon the River *Barbella*, which hath its Source common with that of the *Nile*. Pango.

The Province of *Batta* lies North-eaſtward, between that of *Pango*, and the River *Barbella*, and reaches to the burnt Mountains. Batta.

The City of *Congo*, is the Metropolis of the Province of *Pamba*, and lies upon a Mountain fifty Leagues from the Sea. There is in the ſame Province, another Mountain which is above ſix Leagues in length, and hath on it ſo many Villages and Hamlets, as find Habitations for above a hundred thouſand perſons. Pamba.

Duarte Lopez, who lived ſeveral years in thoſe parts, and made a particular deſcription of the Kingdom of *Congo*, which *Auguſtinus Caſſiodorus* hath taken the pains to tranſlate into the *German* language, affirms, that the Air is ſo temperate there in Winter, as it is in *Rome* in *October*; and that the greateſt annoyance to the *Europeans*, is the Rain, which falls there every day, for two hours before, and as many in the afternoon, as being rather burning then hot. Their Winter begins the 15. of *March*, and their Summer the 15. of *September*, and during the moneths of *April*, *May*, *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, not a day paſſes, but it rains, ſo that there is hardly a fair day in five moneths. But the dayes and nights are of equal length in all ſeaſons of the year. *The Air of the Country*

The River *Zaire*, which riſes out of the ſame Lake, where the *Nile* hath its Source, is certainly the greateſt River of any in *Africk*, in as much as having received into its Channel, the waters of the *Vambo*, and the *Barbella*, it is 28. leagues broad at the mouth. The River *Goauze* is a common Frontier between the Kingdoms of *Congo* and *Angola*; and in the *Lelonda*, there are abundance of Crocodiles and Sea-horſes. *The River Zaire.*

This laſt Creature is of a duskiſh colour, and hath very little hair; It is in the head like a Cartal, without ears, hath broad noſtrils, and in his jaws two teeth, like the Tusks of a wild Boar. Its hoof hath the form of a three-leav'd-graſs, and he neighs like a Horſe, and runs very ſwiftly. The *Dutch* in their Relations, affirm, that the *Africans* make uſe of them, but avoid watering of them in Rivers, leſt they ſhould overthrow their Riders. *Sea-horſes.*

From the hot Rains we ſpoke of proceeds the fruitfulneſs of the Country, which brings forth Herbs, Fruit and Corn in ſo great plenty, that if the Inhabitants would but cultivate the Ground, the World would not afford a better place.

The Mountains in the Province of *Pamba* afford Gold, and the Forreſts thereof are full of Elephants, which are ſo big, that ſome teeth have weighed two hundred pounds a piece. There is alſo among others, a certain Creature called *Sebra*, which is like a Mule, ſave that it is capable of engendring, and from the back-bone down to the belly, it hath three bars, each of about three fingers breadth, whereof one is black, another white, and the third yellow. This Creature is ſo ſwift, that the *Portuguez*, to expreſs extraordinary ſwiftneſs, inſtance in the *Sebra*. *Gold Mines.*

The *Empalenges* is a kind of Oxe, but leſs and more fierce. The Forreſts there are alſo ſtored with Wolves, Foxes, wild Bufflers, wild Goats, Deer, and Conies, whereof there muſt be abundance, in regard they are never hunted, nor indeed any, but the Civet-cats, which they tame and keep, for the advantage made of them. It is reported there are alſo Serpents fifteen foot in length, which have ſuch wide throats, that they ſwallow down Creatures entire. There are *Amphybia*, but not venomous, for the Inhabitants eat of them, and prefer their fleſh before any Veniſon. There are others on the contrary, ſo dangerous, that ſuch as are ſtung by them die within twenty four hours. *Serpents.*

They have alſo all ſorts of Birds, as Pheaſants, Partridges, Hens, Turky-cocks, Ducks, Geeſe, Turtles, Pidgeons, and all kinds of Hawks and Eagles.

The Mountain of the Province of *Pemba* brings forth all ſorts of Fruits, and very clear

1639. and wholsom Waters, and the Country thereabouts affords a kind of Wheat called *Leuco*, not much bigger then Mustard-seed, but makes better Bread then any in our parts. It is accordingly more esteemed, then that made of Rice or *Turkey*-wheat, which is left to the poorer sort; Citrons, Oranges, and *Bananas*, are as common there, as in the *Indies*; but the Tree yields them most Fruit is the Date-tree.

Cocos. There are two kinds of it, for some bear Dates, other *Cocos*, whereof they make Butter, Oil, Wine, Vinegar, Fruit and Bread, and yet they have withall their use in Physick, since the juyce extracted from them is so great a cleanser of the Reins, that no person of this Country ever complained of the Stone or Gravel.

All Simples are incomparably better there then in any of our parts, as are also the Melons, Cowcumbers and Pulse, which the Country brings forth in great plenty.

No Mountain but is planted with a great number of Fruit-trees, and several others, which keep on their verdant Liveries all the year long: or if they are barren without, they fail not of yielding somewhat within, as Marble, Alablaster, Jasper, Porphyry, nay, some Hyacinths, and particularly that white kind of Marble, which was heretofore so highly esteemed by the *Romans*.

The Inhabitants of the Country are *Negroes*, but the Women not so black as the Men. Their Hair curls, but they have not so great Lips, nor such flat Noses, as the other Moors. It is particularly affirmed of those of *Bamba*, that they are so strong, they will at one blow strike off the head of an Oxe, or cut a Slave in the middle.

Their houses. Their Houses are low, narrow, and ill built, not for want of Materials, but Work-men, in as much as there is neither Mason nor Architect among them, unless a man may say, there is not any place in the World hath more, since every man builds his own House.

They are all Architects and Physitians The same may be said of Physicians; They all understand *Medicine* and *Botanicks*, at least as much as they think necessary for the preservation or recovery of their health. They cure *Feavers* with a little Sandall-wood beaten to powder, the Head-ach by bleeding, and the *Purge* they take is only the *Powder* made of the Bark of a certain Tree.

Their Cloathing. They go most bare-headed, save that some wear a kind of Hats made of Nut-shells, or the Barks of Trees. Some also wear *Plumes* of *Feathers*, which they fasten to their hair with a piece of *Packthread*; and as well Men as Women, put into their Ears very weighty Rings of Gold, with Stones in them, and wear Iron, Tin, or Brass Rings or Plates, about the Arms or Legs, though most of quality are cloathed after the *Portuguez* fashion. They sleep on Mats, and eat upon the Ground, sometimes shuffling flesh, and fish, and fruits together all into the same dish; but persons of quality are otherwise serv'd, and eat alone, having Mats laid under the meat. They never do their necessities, but they lay a stick cross a pit, upon which they fit for their greater ease.

The wealth of the Country. A man may guess at the Wealth of the Country, by the abundance of Gold, Silver, Copper, Cristal, Iron, and other Metals, which their Mines afford, but especially by the prodigious quantity of Ivory sold there. There is also a great trade driven in Civet, and the *Portuguez* and *Spaniards* buy there a great number of Slaves, whom they set at work in the Mines of *Peru*, or the Sugar-mills at *Brefil*.

Their money. Instead of Money, they use shells; whence it comes, that the King of *Congo* hath a Governour in the Island of *Londa*, who hath the oversight of the fishing there, which is of so much the greater importance, in that men find there, what is here sought, though under another name, many times with the hazard of life, and the loss of honour and conscience.

The absolute power of the King of Congo. The King of *Congo* is so absolute, that he doth not only dispose of the lives and estates of his Subjects, but also, there is not a person in all his Country can pretend a propriety to any thing; so that if he were not yearly paid the tribute due to him, he might take all and satisfie himself. He hath his Governours in all the Provinces, who have their residence in the chief Cities. The Governour of *Batta*, being of the Blood-royal, is the first, not only of all the Governours, but also of all the Ministers of State: and in that qualification, his authority is so great, that none of the Councel will contradict any thing he proposes. The King sometimes permits him to eat at his own Table, a priviledge he allows not his own Sons; but when he receives that honour, he does not sit down, but stands all the time. He hath also his Pipers and other Musitians, as the King hath, and he hath only the priviledge of having within his Government, such Guards as make use of Fire-arms. He employes them particularly against the *Giaques*, a people living upon the *Nile*, which makes incursions into the Kingdom, and against which an Alarm is given in the Country, by discharging of a Musket.

The Governour of Batta Minister of State. His priviledges.

The

The Province of *Bamba* is as it were a Cittadel to the whole Kingdom, in regard thence come the beſt Souldiers. It can raiſe above forty thouſand able men, with whom, yet thoſe of *Batta*, where they may raiſe above ſeventy thouſand, are not to be compared; their words which are brought them by the *Portuguez*, are as big as thoſe of the *Swiſſes*, yet they are ſo expert in the handling of them, as ſome among us are in handling ordinary Swords. They alſo uſe Darts, and make their Bucklers of the barks of Trees. 1639.

Their Armies conſiſt only of foot, and fight all at the ſame time, or if they be divided into ſeveral Batallions, the General keeps in the midſt of the Army, and commands, by means of divers inſtruments, by which the other Commanders, whom they call *Mani*, underſtand whether they are to advance or retreat, cloſe, or open, turn to the right or left, fight on, or deſiſt. They have a kind of wooden Trumpets, which make a dreadful noiſe, as do alſo their Drums, which are made of barks of trees, and covered with a skin, which they beat with great ſticks of Ivory. *Their Armies and manner of fighting.*

They have alſo an Inſtrument, made of plates of Iron diſpoſed triangle-wiſe, which they beat with ordinary ſticks; and Elephants teeth made hollow, the noiſe whereof very much animates them to fighting. The General cauſes to be brought into the Army a great many of theſe Inſtruments, which he diſtributes among the inferiour Officers, who thereby anſwer the Signal given them by the General.

Chriſtian Religion was introduced into the Kingdom of *Congo*, by occaſion of an Embaſſie, which King *Caramanſa* ſent to D. *John* II. King of *Portugal*, at the ſecond Voyage made by *Diego Can* into thoſe parts. The chief Embaſſadour, whoſe name was *Caſuta*, being baptized in *Portugal*, the King ſent him back with a Convoy of three Ships, under the command of *Gonſalo de Sonſa*, who being come to *Cabo Verde*, died there of the Plague; as did alſo *Caſuta*. *Ruy de Souſa*, who ſucceeded his Uncle in the charge of General, was forced to put in at the Port of *Finda*, in the Province of *Songo*, where the *Dutch* have now a Factory, and where the Lord or Governour of the place, who was Uncle to the King, was baptized with his Son, and all his Family. The King and Queen followed their example, and were called *John* and *Eleanor*. *How Chriſtian Religion was introduced there.*

This deſign was proſecuted by King *Emanuel*, in the year 1504. but the diſcovery of the *Indies*, and the advantages made in thoſe parts, having occaſioned the diſcontinuance of the Voyages upon the Coaſts of *Africk*, thoſe foundations of Religion were neglected, and the *Dutch* made their advantages thereof, to introduce the *Proteſtant* Religion into that Country.

Let us now ſee, what became of *Juan Alonſo d' Avero*, who left *Portugal* with *Diego Can*. He diſcovered upon the ſame Coaſt of *Africk*, the Kingdom of *Beny*, between the *Mina*, and the Kingdom of *Congo*. It is about fourſcore Leagues in length, and fourty in breadth, and about twelve Leagues or thereabouts from the Sea, a man may ſee the City of *Hugatoo*, upon the River which the diſcoverers of it named *Rio Fermoſo*: a little further within the Countrey, the Metropolis, which derives its name to the whole Kingdom. *Juan Alonſo* was no ſooner arrived there, but the King of *Beny* made a Treaty with him, and promiſed he would be baptized. But this Converſion, being without any motive either of Faith, or knowledge of the Religion he was to embrace, it accordingly came to nothing, as did alſo the Trade they intended to eſtabliſh there; for it was ſoon quitted for that of the *Indies*. *The Kingdom of Beny.*

As to *Cabo Verde*, which *Ptolomey* calls *Promontorium Arſinarium*, and puts at ten degrees, forty minutes, on this ſide the Line, we affirm it for certain, that it is at fourteen degrees, twenty minutes, and lies between the Rivers of *Zanaga*, and *Gambra*, or *Gambea*, which *Ptolomey* ſeems to call *Durago* and *Stachiris*. It is called alſo *Promontorium Heſperium*, from its being ſo much towards the Weſt, and lying over againſt the Iſlands, which the Ancients called *Heſperides*: and it is called *Cabo Verde*, from the Trees and verdure, for which it is remarkable: But though *Ptolomey* affirms theſe Rivers to be very little ones, and that their Sources are hardly known, yet it is certain they riſe out of two Lakes, whereof one is called by *Ptolomey*, *Paulus Chelonides*, now the Lake of *Goaga*, and the other that of *Naba*. The Inhabitants believe they have their riſe from the *Nile*, but there is little likelihood they ſhould. *Cabo Verde deſcribed.*

Ptolomey gives no account of their falling into the Sea; but it hath been found ſince, that the River *Gambra*, which runs throughout the Province of *Mandiga*, having received into its Channel the waters of ſeveral other Rivers, which croſs that Province, falls into the Ocean, at thirteen degrees, thirty minutes: And that the *Zanaga*, changing its name ſeveral times, though its courſe be not ſo long, but ſtreight from Eaſt to Weſt, loſes it quite, at fifteen degrees and a half, where it falls into the River *Geny*, which derives its name to the Country we now call *Guiny*.

1639. *Ptolomey*'s Tables discover, that he knew nothing of the people who live between these two Rivers, so that to speak pertinently of them, we are to credit the modern Relations, which affirm, that the people called *Budumeys* are possest of the Eastern part of the Country, and reach as far as *Cabo Verde*: The *Foules*, and *Berbecines*, are quarter'd further within the Country, upon the River *Zanaga*, and more Northerly then the *Jalofes*, whereof some are subject to the *Foules*, others to the *Budumeyes*. They call their King *Breque*, and their Country is plain and fenny, but very fertile in Cattel, Wine, Cotton, Ivory, wild Fowl, and Horses, by reason of the frequent inundations of the River. They have neither Gold nor Silver, but abundance of Iron, whereof they make all sorts of Instruments, and Utensils. The Air there is very wholsom, though there be no great change of Seasons. The Inhabitants of *Cabo Verde* are accounted couragious, and they have learnt of the *Zeneguezes*, their Neighbours, the Art of mannaging Horses, as they have also *Paganisme*, which they profess.

The Inhabitants of the Cabo Verde.

Are Pagans.

They have this advantage over their Neighbours, that Justice is better administred among them then elsewhere; that they proceed with greater prudence and secrecy about publick Affairs, which concern the greatness and safety of the State; and that they impartially dispose punishments and rewards. The Prince, when he makes choice of any for his Council, regards principally their Age, and he bestows the place of Judicature on such among them as have most experience, and are best acquainted with Affairs. These sit every day to hear Causes, and decide Differences.

Their way of raising forces.

They know nothing of our Military discipline, but their way of making war hath something particular in it, which is this: All that are able to bear Arms, are disposed into several Regiments, and lodged in Quarters appointed for that purpose, under their Colonels, whom they call *Jugarafes*; so that as soon as there is any occasion, the Orders are dispatched from Quarter to Quarter, and by that means a powerful Army is raised in a few dayes, without any need of making new Levies; in as much as the places are kept for the Sons of the Souldiers, who succeed their Fathers, and put the Prince to no charge, but what he allows them by way of salary, since they bring their provisions and baggage along with them.

The names of buying and selling are not yet known among them: for having neither Gold nor Silver coined, they truck and exchange all, as well among themselves as with Forreigners. Their greatest Commerce consists in trucking of Hides and Slaves. Of these they have only such as they take in war, which being many times civil among themselves, they make the best advantage they can of them.

Their Nobility.

They have among them some distinction of Nobility and Peasantry, and call the former *Sahibibos*, who are a kind of Knights, for whom they have a great respect, but not so much as they bear the Grandees, whom they call *Thuhalas*, out of which rank they chuse their King, provided he be full thirty years of age.

The state of the Country when first discovered.

When the *Portuguez* discovered the Country of the *Jalofes*, there reign'd a very powerful Prince, named *Brabiran*, who dying left three Sons, by two several Wives. By the former, he had *Cibitam* and *Camba*, and by the second, who was the Widow of another Prince, Father of *Beomi*, *Biran*, who was chosen King after the Fathers death. His two elder Brethren, envying the greatness of that Prince, declared themselves so openly against him, that *Biran*, who had great assurances of the affection and fidelity of *Beomi*, his Brother by the same Mother, took him so much into favour, that he seem'd to have reserved to himself only the name of King. But that extraordinary favour prov'd fatal to both; for *Biran* was kill'd by his Brethren, and *Beomi*, who thought to make his advantage of that Fratricide, to get himself chosen, took up Arms against the two Brethren. He got together a considerable Army; but being afterwards forsaken by his Friends, he was forc'd to apply himself to *Portugal* for relief. King *John* II. having got him instructed in the *Christian Religion*, had him baptized with all his Family, and sent him back with a considerable Fleet, under the conduct of *Pedro Vaz de Cogna*, whom he ordered to build a Fort at the mouth of the River *Zanaga*, it being his design to get further into *Africk*, as far as the Country of *Prester John*, whereof he had but a confused knowledge. But that great design proved abortive, and miscarried at the beginning, through the cowardice of *Pedro Vaz*, who minding his convenience more then his honour, demolished the Fort he had newly built, and not able to endure the just reproaches which *Beomi* made him upon that occasion, he kill'd him with his own hands, the King of *Portugal* not expressing the least resentment of so base an action.

The Green Islands.

The Islands, which the *Portuguez* call *As Ilhas Verdes*, and the *Dutch*, the *Salt-Islands*, lye over against *Cabo Verde*, and were not discovered by the *Portuguez* till the year 1472. Some are of opinion, they are the *Gorgonides* of *Ptolomy*: but I dare not affirm, that that

great

great Perſon, who hath left us ſo confuſed an account of that Coaſt of *Africk*, knew any thing of theſe Iſlands, whereof the neareſt is 70. and the moſt remote 160. Leagues diſtant from the Continent. They reach from the 15. to the 19. degree, and are in number ten, to wit, St. *Jago*, St. *Antonio*, *Santa Lucia*, *Sant. Vincente*, St. *Nicholas*, *Ilha blanca*, *Ilha de Sal*, *Ilha de Mayo*, *Ilha de Fogo*, and *Ilha de Boa Viſta*. It is probable, the *Portuguez* gave them the general name of *Ilhas Verdes*, or the *Green-Iſlands*, either from the Cape we ſpoke of before, or from the verdure which floats upon the water in thoſe parts, and which the *Portuguez* call *Sargaſſo*, from its reſemblance to Water-creſſes. The Sea is ſo covered therewith, from the twentieth to the twenty fourth degree, that they ſeem to be floating Iſlands, intended to block up the paſſage of Ships. Nay, this Herb is ſo thick thereabouts, that, without a pretty ſtrong Gale of wind, it would be no eaſie matter to paſs that way. Yet can it not be ſaid whence the ſaid verdure comes to that place, where the Sea hath no bottom, there being not any but in thoſe parts, at above a hundred and fifty Leagues from the Coaſts of *Africk*. They were deſert and not inhabited, when the *Portuguez* diſcovered them; but now they are cultivated, and bring forth plenty of Rice, Millet, *Abruin*, or *Turkiſh* wheat, Oranges, Citrons, *Bannanas*, *Annanas*, *Ignanes*, Potatoes, Melons, Citruls, Cowcumbers, Figs and Raiſins, twice a year. The Iſlands of *Mayo*, *de Sal*, and *de Boa Viſta*, are ſo ſtored with Cattle, that they load whole Ships thence for *Braſil*. The ſame Iſlands yield alſo ſuch abundance of Salt, that the *Dutch* have taken occaſion thence to name them the *Salt-Iſlands*. The ſame *Portuguez* brought thither *Barbary*, and common Hens, Peacocks and Pidgeons, which are ſo increaſed there, that with the Partridges, Quails, and other ſmaller Birds, whereof there is plenty, people may fare very well, at an eaſie rate. 1639. Sargaſſo.

There are alſo among others, a kind of Birds, which the *Portuguez* call *Flamencos*, that are white all over the body, and have wings of a lively red, near the colour of fire, and are as big as Swans. They have, above all, abundance of Conies; and the Sea ſupplies them with ſo much Fiſh, that, at all times, a man may find there many *Portugal* Veſſels, fiſhing for the proviſion of *Breſil*. Whence it may be inferred, they lie very conveniently for the refreſhing of ſuch Ships as are bound for the *Indies*, in as much as going thither they may eaſily put in at the Iſland of *Mayo*, and coming thence, at that of St. *Anthony*, ſo as the *Portuguez* who live there cannot hinder them. Flamencos

The Iſland of St. *Jago* is the chiefeſt of them, as being the reſidence of the Governour and Archbiſhop, whoſe ſpiritual juriſdiction extends not only over theſe Iſlands, but alſo over all the *Portuguez* are poſſeſſed of, upon the Coaſts of *Africk*, as far as the *Cape of Good hope*. St. Jago,

November 4. With a North-eaſt wind we got 24. Leagues, keeping our courſe to the North-north-weſt, and were got to 16. Degrees, one minute Latitude. *The Voyage continued.*

The 5. With the ſame wind 31. Leagues, to 17. degrees, 27. minutes.

The 6. With the ſame wind, and in the ſame courſe, 34. Leagues, to 19. degrees, 10. minutes.

The 7. The wind continuing North-eaſt, we got 36. Leagues. Not that we had ſtill the advantage of the *Manſon*, at the Latitude; but it is to be obſerved, that the North-eaſt wind reigns in thoſe parts all the year long, and brings Veſſels as far as the Artick Tropick.

The 8. The wind came Eaſt-north-eaſt, and we run 32. Leagues, and were got to 22. degrees, 35. minutes Latitude. Here we met with abundance of *Sargaſſo*, which I really found like Creſſes, ſave that it was of a more yellowiſh green, and had little ſeeds, like thoſe of green Gooſberries. Some are of opinion, that the wind forces it from the Rocks upon the Coaſts of the *Weſt-Indies*; but this is the more unlikely, in that the North-eaſt wind reigns there all the year long, as we ſaid before.

The 9. The ſame wind continuing, we got 33. Leagues, taking our courſe to the North, and were at 24. degrees, 32. minutes Latitude.

The 10. With the ſame wind, 25. Leagues, taking our courſe to North-north-weſt, at 25. degrees, 40. minutes Latitude.

The 11. The wind came to Eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, and afterwards to South, and towards evening, to North-weſt, with a great Calm; ſo that we got that day but eight Leagues, changing our courſe from North to Weſt, at twenty ſix degrees, forty minutes Latitude. That day we took one of thoſe Fiſh the *Dutch* call *Haye*, which are very common in the *Indies*; but our Sea-men affirmed they had never ſeen any of them in that Sea.

The 12, We got 11. leagues with a North-eaſt wind, keeping our courſe to the North-weſt.

The

1639. The 13. With a North-north-eaſt wind, we got 21. leagues, taking our courſe Weſt-north-weſt.

The 14. With the ſame wind, and in the ſame courſe, we got 22. leagues.

The 15. The wind North-eaſt, we got 20. leagues to North-weſt, at 27. degrees, 30. minutes latitude.

The 16. and 17. With the ſame wind, keeping the ſame courſe, we got theſe two dayes 32. leagues.

The 18. The wind South-eaſt, we run 21. leagues, to the North-weſt, at 29. degrees, 20. minutes latitude.

The 19. The wind chang'd, and came to South-ſouth-weſt, and brought with it Rain, which laſted all day; yet ſo as we advanced 37. Leagues, taking our courſe North-eaſt.

The 20. The wind, North-weſt, we got 12. Leagues, in the ſame courſe.

The 11. The ſame wind carried us 22. Leagues.

The 22. The wind Weſt-ſouth-weſt, we got 40. Leagues to North-north-eaſt, at 35. degrees, 20. minutes Latitude.

The 23. With a South-weſt wind, we got 34. Leagues, to the Eaſt-north-eaſt.

The 24. the ſame wind, and courſe, 35. Leagues.

The 25. With a North-weſt wind, we got 33. Leagues, to North-eaſt, and were at 38. degrees, ... minutes Latitude.

The 26. Being calm weather, we got but 13. Leagues.

The 27. We got but 12. Leagues, taking our courſe Eaſt-north-eaſt, at 38. degrees, 48. minutes Latitude.

The 28. The wind came to South-ſouth-eaſt, and carried us 27. Leagues, taking our courſe Eaſt-ſouth-eaſt.

The 29. The wind South-ſouth-eaſt, we were at noon, at 33. degrees, 30. minutes. We ſaw the Iſlands of *Corvo*, and *de Flores*, which ſome number among the *Aſſores*; and we got that day 24. Leagues, taking our courſe Eaſt-ſouth-eaſt.

The Aſſores. The Iſlands of *Corzo* and *Flores*, are not to be numbred among thoſe which the *Spaniards* call the *Aſſores*, by reaſon of the many Hawks found there, when they were diſcovered. The *Dutch* call them the *Flemmings Iſlands*, hence, that the firſt Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Fajal*, which is one of the ſeven *Aſſores*, were *Flemmings*, either born in *Flanders*, or ſome other Province of the Low-Countries, where they ſpeak Low-*Dutch*. The Poſterity of thoſe *Flemmings* live there ſtill, and obſerve the Cuſtoms of their own Country, and have their habitations on the little River riſing out of the Mountains, which the *Portuguez*, upon that occaſion, call *Ribera dos Flamencos*.

Tercera. The ſeven Iſlands called the *Aſſores*, are *Tercera*, St. *Michael*, *Santa Maria*, *Sau*, *Georges*, *Gratioſa Pico*, and *Fajal*. *Tercera* is the biggeſt of them all, as being fifteen or ſixteen Leagues in compaſs. The Country is mountainous, and all the Iſland is ſo encompaſſed with Rocks, that it is in a manner inacceſſible.

It hath no Haven, but that at the City of *Angra*, which is the Metropolis, not only of *Tercera*, but alſo of all the other Iſlands, and that no Rode where Veſſels might ſafely ride.

The Port of *Tercera* is like a Creſcent between two Promontories, whereof one hath two Mountains advancing ſo far into the Sea, that they ſeem to be quite looſned from the Iſland.

They are called *Breſil*, and ſo high, that a man may from thence diſcover twelve or thirteen Leagues into the Sea. The Governours of the *Aſſores*, and the Biſhop of all thoſe Iſlands, live in the City of *Angra*, within three Leagues whereof lies that which they call *Villa da Praya*, which is well built, but not very populous, in as much as it is a place of no Commerce, by reaſon of a flat ſhore or ſtrand thereabouts, which occaſioned the name of the City.

Angra The City of *Angra* is ſo called from the manner of its ſcituation, it being a term whereby the *Portuguez* would expreſs the Figure of the Mount when it is half open, or the New-moon. It hath two Forts, whereof one which is towards the Mountains, ſerves it for a Cittadel; and the other, called the Caſtle of Saint *Sebaſtian*, is built upon one of the points, which ſhut up the Port, which it defends with the Artillery. On the other point which is forked, there are two Towers, whence they give the ſignal, as ſoon as they diſcover any Veſſels at Sea, either from *Freſil*-ſide, or from *Europe*.

Theſe Iſlands belong to the Crown of *Portugal*; but during the laſt troubles of that Kingdom, there was a *Caſtilian* Garriſon there, under the Command of *D. A. Alvaro de Vizeros*; from whom the *Portuguez* ſoon took the Caſtle of Saint *Seſtaſtian*; but he kept

kept the Cittadel, till famine, and the utmoſt extremity forced him to deliver it up, on compoſition, *May* 6. 1642. After the relief which had been ſent from Saint *Lucars*, *Corogno*, and *Dunkirk*, had proved ineffectual, partly through the treachery of the *Portuguez*, who ſerved in the Fleet, and partly by their vigilance, who had poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Avenues of the Iſland. 1639.

The ſoil of it is very good, nay the very Rocks yield Wine, though they are in ſome places ſo ſteepy, that it is almoſt a miracle how the Rock ſhould thruſt out of its Veins, which are not covered with Earth, the Vine-ſtock, which does not thrive ſo well in the beſt parts of the Valley. 'Tis true, the Wine is none of the moſt excellent, and that ſuch as are able to get better, have it brought from *Madera*, or the *Canaries*: but this hinders not, but it may be affirmed, that Salt and Oyl only excepted, which are brought thither from *Portugal*, this Iſland hath not only what is neceſſary, but alſo what may be accounted delicacy, ſince that, beſides the Wheat whereof, there is ſufficient to maintain all the Inhabitants, they have Apples, Pears, Citrons and Oranges, but eſpecially plenty of Peaches, and of all the kinds thereof. They have alſo Cherries, Plums, Walnuts, and Cheſnuts, but not ſuch quantities thereof, as of other Fruits. Nor do they want any Pulſe, or Pot-herbs. *They have good Fruit.*

They have alſo a Fruit they call *Battatas*, which ſpreads its root juſt under the uppermoſt Superficies of the Earth, as the Vine does, and brings forth a Fruit much like a Raddiſh, ſave that it is much bigger, there being ſome Roots that weigh a pound or more. It is much eſteemed in *Portugal*, but in the Iſland it is of no account, ſo that only the poorer ſort live on it. They have alſo a certain Plant which grows up five or ſix foot high, and is faſtned to the Earth by an infinite number of Roots, yellow as Gold, and as ſmall as the Hair of a Mans Head. The Inhabitants uſe it inſtead of Wooll and Feathers, to fill their Beds and Mattreſſes withall: but would they take the pains to ſpin it, they might make very good Stuffs thereof. *Battatas or Potatoes.*

Cattle is extreamly multiplied there, as alſo all the ſeveral ſorts of Poultry brought thither, and there are abundance of Quails, and ſuch multitudes of little Birds, like the *Canary* Bird, that ſome of the Inhabitants trade in nothing elſe. But there is neither wild Fowl nor Veniſon, and conſequently no hunting, nor any divertiſement of that kind, though there be Forreſt enough, which might be ſufficiently ſtored in a ſhort time.

The Wheat there is very good, but will not keep, in ſo much, that they are forc'd to put it under ground, to preſerve it to the end of the year. Whence it comes, that every Family hath a pit in ſome part of the City, the entrance whereof was ſo big, that a man may go in, into which they diſpoſe their Wheat, ſeal it with the mark and ſeal of the Owner, and leave it there till *Chriſtmaſs*, and then they have it conveyed to their Houſes, and put it into Cheſts of Bull-ruſhes, where it keeps the remainder of the year, ſo as that there is no need of ever ſtirring it. *Their Wheat will not keep.*

There is no Province in *Europe*, where Oxen are ſo fair, and ſo ſtrong, as in the Iſland of *Tercera*, or have fairer and larger Horns; and they are withall ſo tame, that they impoſe names upon them, as we do on Dogs, that they may go or come when they are called. *Tercera Oxen very large.*

To hear the noiſe which the Rocks make when people go over them, as if they were going over a Cellar, a man would think the Iſland were all hollow; and its probable, that the Air which is rarified in its Concavities, occaſions the frequent Earthquakes, whereto it is ſubject, as are alſo moſt of the other Iſlands. There happened ſo great a one in this of *Tercera*, on the 24. of *May*, 1614. that it overturn'd, in the City of *Angra*, eleven Churches, and nine Chappels, beſides private houſes; and in the City of *Praya*, it prov'd ſo dreadful, that there was hardly a houſe left ſtanding: and the 16. of *June* 1628. there happened ſo horrible an Earthquake in the Iſland of Saint *Michael*, that not far from it, the Sea opened, and thruſt forth at a place, where there was above a hundred and fifty fathom water, an Iſland above a League and a half in length, and above ſixty fathom high. *Is ſubject to Earthquakes.* *An Iſland ſtarted of a ſudden.*

There are alſo, in theſe two Iſlands, certain places, out of which there iſſues forth a ſulphurous ſmoak, whence it may be inferred, there is fire hidden under the earth, that gives heat to the Springs of ſcalding water, which are to be ſeen thereabouts.

There is a Spring within three Leagues of *Angra*, which petrifies Wood; whereof there is an evident demonſtration in a Tree, the root whereof is abſolutely petrified, as far as it was covered by the water, whereas otherwiſe it is not changed at all. *A Spring that petrifies wood.*

In the Iſland of *Pico*, there is a certain Wood called *Texio*, which is as hard as Iron, and being cut, is full of Waves like Chamlet, and as red as any Scarlet. The Cabinets *A kind of wood hard as Iron.*

1639. Cabinets made of this Wood are so highly esteemed, that the Wood is kept for the Kings use.

Cedar. Cedar is so common, that they do not only make all sorts of Houshold-stuffe thereof, but also Waggons and Boats; Nay, sometimes it serveth for firing.

The Trade of these parts is not very great; for, *Woad* only excepted, whereof they make great quantities in these Islands, the Inhabitants have few other Commodities to Trade withall; unless it be some provisions, which they sell to the Ships that are bound for the *East-Indies*, and take in refreshments at these places, in their way.

St Michaels Island. The Island of Saint *Michael*, whereof we spoke before, lies at twenty seven or twenty eight Leagues, South-east, from the Island of *Tercera*, and is above twenty Leagues in length.

Its Metropolis is called *Punta Delgada*, and its Soil is incomparably more fertile then that of the other, and produces such plenty of Wheat, that it is able to relieve its Neighbours. There are made yearly in this Island above two hundred thousand *Quintals* of *Woad*, wherewith the Inhabitants drive a great trade, though it hath neither Haven nor Road, where Ships may ride secure from all wind.

St. Maries Island. Twelve leagues South from that of Saint *Michael*, lies the Island of Saint *Mary*, which is about ten or twelve leagues in compass, and affords only Provisions, and Potters-earth, wherewith the Inhabitants trade into the neighbouring Islands.

Gratiosa Island. The Island *Gratiosa* is not above five or six Leagues in compass, and lies North-north-east from that of *Tercera*, from which it is about seven or eight leagues distant. The pleasantness of it, and the Fruits which grow there in great abundance, occasioned its having that name given it.

St. Georges Island. The Island of Saint *George* lies about eight or nine Leagues North-west from that of *Tercera*, and is twelve leagues in length, and two or three in breadth. It affords plenty of Provisions, but little *Woad*. The Country is rough and full of Mountains, which yield great store of Cedar, wherein the Inhabitants drive a considerable Trade, with the Joyners of *Tercera*, where most Tradesmen have settled themselves, in regard there it is the Ships put in, and that they can best put off their Commodities.

Fayal Island. Seven leagues from Saint *Georges* Island, to the South-west, lies the Island of *Fayal*, which is seventeen or eighteen Leagues in compass, and is no doubt the best of all the *Azores*, next those of *Tercera*, and Saint *Michael*. The Inhabitants drive a considerable Trade in *Woad*, as also in Provisions and Fish, whereof they carry whole *Caravels* loaden, to the Island of *Tercera*, where they are distributed among the Fleets which put in there. Its Metropolis is called *Villa Desta*, where live those who are Originally *Flemmings*, as we said before.

Pico Island. *Pico* Island, which hath its name from the high Mountain within it, called *Pico*, and which is conceived to be as high as that of the great *Canary*, whereof we shall speak anon, lies three Leagues South-east from the Island of *Fayal*, four South-west of that of Saint *George*, and twelve West-south-west of that of *Tercera*. The Inhabitants live by their Cattle and Tillage, the earth answering their expectations, and requites the pains they bestow on it, as being more fertile here, then in any of these seven Islands.

The Island de Flores. The Island *de Flores*, whereof we spoke before, and which we discovered the 29. of *November*, is seventy Leagues distant from that of *Tercera*, more to the West, and consequently so far from these Islands, that it is unjustly numbred among the *Azores*, or *Flemmish Islands*, as is also that of *Coruo*, which is distant from that of *Flores*, about a League to the North; though both are subject to the Crown of *Portugal*, and submit to the Governour of *Tercera*. *Flores Island* is about seven Leagues in compass, and affords some *Woad*, but not much.

The convenience of these Islands. The *Portuguez* are so much the more jealous of the preservation of these Islands, the more convenient they lye, for the relief and accommodation of such Ships, as are bound for the *East-Indies* and *Brasil*. Whence it comes they permit not Strangers to compass the Island of *Tercera*, which serves for a Cittadel to all the rest, (which have no Haven, where Vessels may ride secure as to all winds, nor any fortified place for a retreat) least they should discover the weakness of the Island, and take notice of those places where people might land. Before the *English* became Masters of *Jamaica*, their Ships kept for the most part between the *Azores* and the Island of *Flores*, and there waited for the Fleet, which comes every year from the *Havanna* for *Spain*.

The Air very sharp in the Azores. The Air is very healthy in all these Islands, but so piercing, that in very few years it consumes Iron and Stones. Whence it comes that ordinarily they use in their buildings, the Flints, which they find by the Sea-side, under water, in regard they better bear the sharpness of the Air.

The

The wind coming to the South, we kept on our course to the North-east, leaving the Islands of *Flores* and *Corvo* East of us, so that we soon lost sight of them. 1640.

But ere we prosecute our Voyage, we shall here take occasion by the way to speak a word or two of the *Canary* Islands, which lye upon the Coast of *Africk*, near the Streights of *Gibralter*. *The Canaries.*

They were discovered in the year 1342. The Ancients called them *Insulæ Fortunatæ*, by reason of the wholsomness of the Air, and fertility of their soil. They are seven, to wit, *Lanzarotta*, *Fortuentura*, the *Great Canary*, *Teneriffa*, *Gomera*, *Fierro* and *Palma*, and reach in a manner upon the same Line, from East to West. *When discovered.*

They who affirm that the Discoverers thereof gave them the name of the *Canaries*, from their finding many *Canes* or *Dogs* there, are mistaken. For it is certain, that as well *Pliny* and *Solinus*, as *Ptolomey*, name one of these fortunate Islands *Canaria*, though the two former give the others very different names from those we find in *Ptolomy*.

So that it may probably be said, that *Canaria* being the biggest of all the *Fortunate Islands*, derived its name to all the rest of them, as that of *Tercera* communicates its name to all the *Assores*; and *Flanders* its name to all the *Low-Countries*; and *Holland* its, to all the *United Provinces*, under the States General.

About the year 1348. *Lewis*, Count of *Clermont*, Son of D. *Alonso dela Cerda*, surnamed the *Disinherited*, made ready a Fleet upon the Coasts of *Catalonia*, under the protection of *Alphonso* King of *Aragon*, with a design to go and take possession of the *Canary* Islands, which the Pope had bestowed on him, conditionally he would cause the Gospel to be preached to the *Barbarians*, by whom those Islands were inhabited. *Lewis Count of Clermont conquers them.*

He could not go along with them himself, by reason of the Wars in *France*, and the battel of *Crecy*, at which he was in the service of King *Philip* of *Valois*; Yet so as this hindred not, but that the Conquest of them was made in his name, and he was called the *Fortunate Child.*

About the end of the same Age, the *Besques*, and *Adaluzians*, having made an agreement among themselves, for the division of these Islands, which had been forsaken ever since the death of D. *Lewis de la Cerda*, set forth certain Vessels, and surprized the Island of *Lanzarotta*, whence they brought so much wealth, that the King of *Castile* had even then attempted the Conquest of these Islands, had not the Wars, he was ingaged in with his Neighbours, hindred him.

Some time afterwards, *John de Betancourt*, a *French* Gentleman, made a Voyage thither, with a Commission from *Henry* III. King of *Spain*; provided, that after the Conquest thereof, he should acknowledge the Kings protection, and do homage for the same to the Crown of *Castile*. He took the five lesser Islands, but the Inhabitants of the two greater ones defended themselves so well, that he was forc'd to sit down with his former Conquests. The King of *Castile* being thus Sovereign thereof, sent thither a Bishop, to instruct the Islanders in the *Christian Religion*; but *Betancourt*'s Nephew, who had succeeded his Uncle, not able to brook any Authority that might eclipse his own, would needs drive him thence, and grew so high, that the King was forc'd to interpose in their difference. He sent thither, one named *Pedro Barba*, who became Master of them, to his use, and sold them afterwards to one named *Peraza*, who gave them upon a Contract of Marriage, to his Son-in-law, named *Herrera*. This last assumed the quality of King of the *Canaries*; but not able to conquer the two greater Islands, he sold four of them to *Ferdinand*, King of *Aragon*, surnamed the *Catholick*, and reserved to himself only the Island of *Gomera*, with the quality of *Count*. King *Ferdinand*, who was the most fortunate of any Prince in his time, sent a Fleet thither, and conquered also the two greater Islands, for the Crown of *Castile*, whereto they have belonged ever since. *A French Gentleman conquers them by Commission from the King of Castile; Belong to the Crown of Castile.*

The *Great Canary* hath above nine thousand Inhabitants, and among others a Bishop, the Inquisition, and the Councel, which governs all the other Islands. From the excellence of its Wine, which is much beyond that of *Spain*, a man may judge of the fruitfulness of the Country, which produces Wheat, Barley, Honey, Wax, Sugar-Canes, Cheese and *Woad* in great abundance, and breeds such plenty of Cattel, that the Leather sold there is not one of the least Commodities the Inhabitants trade in, not only with those of *Sevil*, and several other Cities of *Spain*, but also with the *English*, *Dutch*, *Hamburgers*, and other Nations of *Europe*, especially the *Spaniards*, who bound for the *West-Indies*, take the most of their refreshments at this place. *Great Canary.*

1640. Teneriffe. In the Isle of *Teneriffe* there is a Mountain, called *El Pico de Terraira*. It is certainly the highest Mountain in the World, since that a man cannot get it up in less then three dayes, and that must be too either in *July* or *August*, in as much as all the year besides, it is covered with Snow, though there never fall any in those Islands. It is so high, that it may be seen at the distance of sixty Leagues, and from the top of it, a man may discover, and easily count all the other *Canary Islands*, though some of them be above fifty leagues distant from this.

Fierro Island. The Island of *Fierro* is also one of the most considerable of all the *Canaries*, and I conceive that name to be given it upon this account, that its soil, not affording so much as a drop of fresh water, seems to be of *Iron*. And indeed there is in this *Island*, neither River, nor Rivulet, nor Well, nor Spring, save that towards the Sea-side there are some Wells, but they lie at such a distance from the City, that the Inhabitants can make no use thereof. But the great Preserver, and Sustainer of all, remedies this inconvenience by a way so extraordinary, that a man will be forced to sit down and acknowledge, that he gives, in this, an undeniable Demonstration of his Goodness and infinite Providence.

A miraculous Tree. For, in the middest of the *Island*, there is a Tree, which is the only one in its kind, in as much as it hath no resemblance to those mentioned by us in this Relation, nor to any other known to us in *Europe*. The leaves of it are long and narrow, and continue in a constant verdure, Winter and Summer, and its branches are covered with a Cloud, which is never dispelled, but resolved into a moisture, which causes to fall from its leaves, a very clear Water, and that in such abundance, that the Cisterns, which are placed at the foot of the Tree, to receive it, are never empty, but contain enough to supply both men and beasts.

Some affirm, that above a hundred leagues West of the *Canaries*, there is sometimes seen an *Island*, called St. *Borondon*, which, they say, is very delightful and fertile, and inhabited by *Christians*; yet can it not be said, what Language they speak, nor how the *Island* came to be peopled. The *Spaniards* of the *Canaries* have often endeavoured to find out the said *Island*; but whether it be that it is alwayes covered with a thick mist, which hinders it from being discovered, or that the current of the water thereabouts was so strong, that it is a hard matter to land thereat; certain it is, that as yet, it subsists only in the opinion wherewith most Sea-men are prepossessed, that, certainly there is an *Island* in those parts.

The Voyage continued. The 30th. of *November*, the wind South-south-west, we got 31. leagues to the North-east, and were at noon got to 40. degrees, 32. minutes Latitude.

DECEMBER. *December* 3. With the same wind we got 34. Leagues, taking our course North-east.

The 4. The wind North-east, carried us twenty seven Leagues, to East-north-east.

The 5. The wind came to South-west, and continuing the same course, we got 34. leagues. This day it was just eleven moneths that we had been tossed up and down the Sea; for we left *Surat* the 5. of *January*, though our Voyage had been prosperous enough ever since our departure from the *Island* of *Madagascar*.

The 6. The same wind was heightned into a tempest, but having it Easterly, we got 50. leagues that day.

The West-wind reigns from the Azores to England. When a man is once come to the *Azores*, he may assure himself all the year after of a West-wind, which will bring him into *England*, and never almost turns to South or North, though it may sometimes vary some points of the Compass from one side to the other.

The 7. The wind came to the North-west, and we got 39. Leagues to East-north-east.

The 8. The wind turn'd to South-west, and was so high, that we got 47. leagues, keeping on the same course.

The 9. The wind South-south-west, we got 31. leagues, to North-north-east. We were this day at 49. degrees, 13. minutes. It was very cold, and we found bottom at 68. fathom, the Sand very white.

In the evening we sounded again, and found some change in the Sand, which was yellower then that in the morning, at fifty three fathom water. The wind changed at night, and coming to North-east, was just in our teeth.

The 10. About noon, the wind came to South-west, and we found we had got 22. Leagues.

The

The 11. At break of day we saw two *English* Vessels, and soon after, we discovered on our left hand, that point of *England* which is called *The Lands end*, and in the County of *Cornwal*. The wind was against us, which oblig'd us to endeavour doubling the point by Laveering. We made shift to get that day 16. Leagues. 1640

The 12. The wind still contrary, we continued Laveering. We saw another *English* Vessel, but could not come near it.

The 13. The wind South-west, and South-south-west; we continued our course to East-south-east, and to East, with a point towards the South. We got that day 64. Leagues, and were at 49. degrees Latitude.

Then we chang'd our course, taking it to East-north-east, to get into the channel which divides *England* from *France*. *Come into the Channel*

The 14. we saw two *Scotch* Ships, and a *Dunkirker*. We came somewhat near them, but the Sea made such a noise, that we could not possibly hear one the other.

The 15. We continued our course to East-north-east, and met three *Dutch* Ships bound for *Brasil*.

That day we passed in sight of the Isle of *Wight*, which lies at 50. degrees, 36. minutes Latitude, and at 19. degrees, and 4. minutes Longitude. *The Isle of Wight.*

The 16. About 10. in the morning we passed in sight of *Dover-Castle*, and at noon came to the *Downs*. We cast Anchor near three men of war which lay at Anchor in the same Road; and thus we compleated our Voyage, in the 12. month after our departure from *Surat*. Dover.

There were in the same Road above a hundred other ships lying at Anchor, in expectation of some change of weather, which was then so boystrous, that for two days we could not get out of our Ship. The Lord Admiral who commanded the Men of War, ventured to send his Shallop to our Ship, to congratulate the Presidents safe return.

The 19. The wind being somewhat laid, the Admiral invited the President to dinner. I went along with him, and participated of the civility wherewith he received him. I must confess, I was somewhat surprised, to see upon the Sea such a prodigious quantity of silver Plate; and a Table as well furnished, as that I may boldly say, the King was not better served at *London*, then the Admiral was in his Vessel. We were so well treated there, that night began to draw on ere we got away.

Our Ship was not above a Musket shot from the Admiral's but we were no sooner got into our boat, ere there rose such a Tempest, as not only hindred us from getting aboard, but forced us to Sea, the waves so filling our little Vessel, that we were forced to cast out the water with our hats. *The President and Mandelslo like to be cast away in the Haven.*

In the precedent part of this Relation, the Reader may have observed, that we had been in many great dangers ere we got to the Coasts of *England*; but certain it is, that we were then in, was far greater then any we had escaped; since we were in all probability to perish in sight of our dear Country, and to be wrackt in the Port, whereto we were already arriv'd. We were above four hours in these extremities, and at last we discovered a little Vessel, which had lost all its Anchors but the last, which was not so fastned, but that the wind forc'd it towards the Sea. We were in water up to the waste, but that hindred us not from setting our selves to the Oares, so that with much adoo we got to the said Vessel. Assoon as we were got into it, we found that it was as unsafe to be there, as to continue in our own; in regard the Anchor being not able to stay it, we were in danger of being cast on a certain bank, which is one of the most dangerous of any about that Coast. And indeed, we should hardly have recovered our selves out of that fear, had we been in a condition to reflect on the danger we were in: but the cold we had endured, the good chear we had made, the salt water we had swallowed down in our boat, and the violent and extraordinary motion of that little Vessel, put us so out of order, that we were better then half dead, when we were brought the next day to our Ship, where we were received as persons risen from the dead, inasmuch as all who had seen our boat carried away by the violence of the winds, had given us over for irrecoverably lost; nay, so far did they despair of ever seeing us again, that they had already bewailed our death.

December 24. There rose so dreadful a Tempest, that in the same Road, which is accounted one of the safest and best in the World, 24. Ships, were forc'd to cut off their Masts. We were our selves put to the same extremity, but not so much by reason of the violence of the winds, as to avoid the running upon us of two men of War, which were got loose from their Anchors, and would otherwise have run foul upon ours. *Another tempest. Canterbury.*

1640. *Canterbury.* The 26. We got ashore, and reach'd that night to *Canterbury*, the Cathedral whereof is without doubt the noblest of any in *England*, and may be compared with the best structures in the World.

Come to London. The 27. We came to *Gravesend*; the 28. to *London*, where certain Deputies of the *East-India* Company expected the President in eight Coaches at *Black-wall*. There came along with them the President's Lady, whom he had not seen in seven years before. He would needs have me salute her, according to the *English* way, and obliged me to take up my lodging at his own house, and to participate of all the honours done him upon his arrival.

December 30. I went to see the *East-India* House, and thank'd the Overseers there for all the civilities I had receiv'd from the President. They invited me to the entertainment which they made that day for him.

1640. *JANU. S.* Edmund Wright. The next day, and the 1. of *January*, we were at other treatments, and *January* 2. the Lord Major sent to invite us. He was so pleased with the Presidents discourse, that he prevail'd with him to come again the next day. The Lord Major was indeed himself very excellent for discourse, and having heard what dangers he had escaped in that great Voyage, he would shew us that they were not to be compared with such as some others had been in. He gave us the story of a *Dutch* Sea-man, who being condemned for a crime, his punishment was changed, and he was ordered to be left in St. *Helens*'s Island, a place we have spoken of before. This unhappy person representing to himself the horrour of that solitude much beyond what it really was, since it came not near that we shall have occasion to speak of anon, fell into a despair, that made him attempt the strangest Action that ever was heard of.

A strange attempt of a Dutch mariner. There had that day been interr'd in the same Island an Officer of the Ship: This Sea-man took up the body out of the Coffin, and having made a kind of rudder of the upper board, ventured himself to Sea in it. It hapned fortunately to him, to be so great a calm, that the Ship lay as it were immoveable, within a League and half of the Island; but his companions seeing so strange a kind of boat floating on the water, imagined they saw a Spectre, and were not a little startled at the resolution of the man, who durst hazard himself upon that Element, in three boards slightly nail'd together, which a small wave might have overturned, though he had no confidence to be received by those, who had so lately sentenc'd him to death. Accordingly it was put to the question whether he should be received or not, and some would have the sentence put in execution; but at last, they concluded in *mitiorem*, and he was taken aboard, and came afterwards to *Holland*, where he lived in the Town of *Horn*, and related to many, how miraculously God had delivered him.

Whereto the *Lord Major* added, that it was a great mistake in the said Sea-man, to take so desperate a resolution, upon pure thoughts of the solitude of that Place, since the *Spaniards* leave their sick there from year to year, to recover themselves of the inconveniences of their long Voyages, and that he could give them an example, which condemned the fortunate temerity of that man, whom fear caused to do what the most resolute courage would never have attempted.

An example of a dreadful Solitude. In the year 1616. a *Flemming* named *Pickman*, well known in *England* and *Holland*, for the Art he had in getting out of the Sea the great Guns of that *Spanish* Fleet, which was forc'd upon the Coasts of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, in the year 1588. coming from *Dronthem* in *Norway*, with a Vessel loaden with boards, was overtaken by a calm, during which, the current of the Sea carried him upon a Rock or little Island, towards the extremities of *Scotland*, where he was in some danger to be cast away. To avoid a wrack, he commanded some of his men to go into the Shallop, and to tow off the Ship. These having done so, would needs go up into a certain Rock to look for Eggs; but assoon as they were got up into it, they at some distance perceived a man, whence they imagine there were others lay lurking thereabouts, and that he had made his escape thither to avoid some Pirats which might surprise their Ship: so that they made all the haste they could to their Shallop. and returned to their Ship. But the calm continuing, and the current of the Sea, driving the Vessel against that Island, they were forc'd to get into the long boat, and tow her off again. The man they had seen before was in the mean time come to the brink of the Island, and made signs to them with his hands, intreating them to come nearer, and falling on his knees, and joyning his hands together, begg'd relief from them. At first, there was some difficulty made; but coming nearer the Island, they saw something, which was more like a Ghost, then a living person, a body stark naked, black and hairy, a meagre and deformed countenance, and hollow and distorted eyes, which raised such compassion in them, that they proffered to take him into the

boat

boat; but the Rock being ſo ſteepy thereabouts, that it was impoſſible to land, they went about the Iſland, and came at laſt to a flat ſhore, where they took the man aboard. They found nothing at all in the Iſland, nor graſs, nor tree, nor ought whence a man could derive any ſubſiſtance, nor any ſhelter, but the ruines of a boat, wherewith he had made a kind of Hut, under which he might lye down, and ſhelter himſelf from the rain and injuries of the weather. 1640.

The Sun was ſet ere they got to the Ship, and immediately, there roſe a wind, which forc'd them off from the Iſland; whence they imagined that what they had brought with them was not a man, ſince he had not the Figure of one; whereupon they would know of him who he was, and how he came to that uninhabitable place. He made anſwer, *He was an* Engliſh-man, *and that about a year before, being to paſs in the ordinary paſſage boat from* England *to* Dublin *in* Ireland, *they were taken by a* French *Pirate, who being forced by the Tempeſt which immediately roſe, to let go the paſſage boat, left us to the mercy of the waves, which carried us between* Ireland *and* Scotland *into the main Sea, expecting to be caſt away every minute, as at laſt we were. For the bark being ſplit againſt the Rock where you took me in, I eſcap'd with one of my comrades into the Iſland, in a more wretched condition, then if being ſwallowed up by the Sea, we had been delivered out of the extremities we were in for want of meat and drink.*

Of ſome of the boards of our boat, we made the Hut you ſaw, and we took ſome Sea-mews, which we ſet a drying in the wind and Sun, and ſo eat them raw. We found alſo, in the crevices of the Rock, upon the Sea-ſide, ſome Eggs, and thus had we wherewithal to ſubſiſt, as much as ſerved to keep us from ſtarving; but what we thought moſt inſupportable, was thirſt, in regard the place affording no freſh water, but what fell from the ſky and was left in certain pits, which Time had made in the Rock, we could not have of it at all ſeaſons, by reaſon the Rock being ſmall, and lying low, the waves came over the Iſland, and fill'd the pits with ſalt-water. We lived in that condition ſix weeks, comforting one another, and finding ſome eaſe in our common misfortune, till that being left alone, it began to grow inſupportable to me. For one day awaking in the morning, and miſſing my comrade, I fell into ſuch a deſpair, that I had ſome thoughts of caſting my ſelf down headlong, and ſo putting a final period to that affliction, whereof I had endured but the one half, while I had a friend divided it with me. I know not what became of him, whither deſpair forc'd him to that extremity; or whether getting up in the night, not fully awake, he fell into the Sea; but I am of opinion, he fell in through careleſneſs, as he looked for Eggs in the crevices of the Rock, which as you ſaw was very ſteepy, on that ſide; Inaſmuch as having obſerved no diſtraction in him, I cannot imagine, he ſhould of a ſudden fall into that deſpair, againſt which he had fortified himſelf by continual and earneſt prayers. I loſt, with my comrade, the knife wherewith we killed the Sea-dogs, and the Mews, upon which we lived; ſo that not able to kill any more, I was reduced to this extremity, to get out of one of the boards of my Hut a great nail, which I made a ſhift ſo to ſharpen upon the Rock, that it ſerved me for a knife. The ſame neceſſity put me upon another invention, which kept me the laſt winter, during which I endured the greateſt miſery imaginable. For finding the Rock and my Hut ſo covered with Snow, that it was impoſſible for me to get any thing abroad, I put out a little ſtick at the crevice of my Hut; and baiting it with a little Sea-dogs fat, I by that means got ſome Sea-mews, which I took with my hand from under the Snow, and ſo I made a ſhift to keep my ſelf from ſtarving.

I lived in this condition and ſolitude above eleven months, and was reſolved to end my days in it, when God ſent you hither to deliver me out of the greateſt miſery that ever man was in.

The Sea-man having ended his diſcourſe, the Maſter of the Ship treated him ſo well that within a few dayes he was quite another creature. He ſet him aſhore at *Derry* in *Ireland*, and ſaw him afterward at *Dublin*, where ſuch as had heard what hapned to him, gave him wherewithal to return into *England*.

Thus the Lord Major made us acknowledge, that in all we had ſuffered, there was nothing extraordinary, and that long Voyages, are never without great dangers and inconveniences. He urged it to us, that as Ships are now built, and conſidering the knowledge men have of the courſe taken for the *Indies*, there is no more danger in thoſe long Voyages, then in ſuch as are made in the ſight of Land, which Sea-men fear moſt.

To this purpoſe he related a ſtory, wherein we could no leſs admire the ſtrange Reſolutions of two men, then the goodneſs of God in their deliverance beyond all expectation.

A ſtrange reſolution of two Slaves

Four *Chriſtian* ſlaves being in the Ship of an *Algire*-pirate, reſolved to make their eſcape in a boat, which one of them, who was a Carpenter, undertook to build. The Carpenter ſet himſelf on work about making on woodden Pins, and other pieces neceſſary for the faſtning of the boards, whereof the boat was to conſiſt.

The

1640. The *Turkiſh* Captain asked him one day what he did, and was ſatisfied with the Anſwer the other made him, that it was only to avoid being idle, and to have things in readineſs to mend the long boat, when need were. Having appointed a time for the execution of their deſign, they took off five boards from the room, where the proviſion was kept, whereof they uſed two for the bottom, two others for the ſides, and the fifth for the prow and the poop, and ſo made up ſomewhat that was more like a trough then a boat. Their quilt ſerved them for tow, and having pitcht the boat well, they ſet it into the water: but when they would have got into it, they found that two men loaded it ſo, that being in danger of ſinking, two of the four deſiſted from an enterpriſe, wherein they thought to meet with more danger, then in ſtaying a while longer among the *Turks*, ſo that only two, one *Engliſh* man, the other a *Dutch*-man, ventured themſelves in it. All the tackling they had was only two oars, and a little Sail; all the proviſions, a little bread and freſh water; and ſo they put to Sea, without either Compaſs or Aſtrolabe; inſomuch that being the firſt day overtaken by Tempeſt, which at every wave fill'd their boat, they were forc'd to go as the wind drove them, without keeping any courſe. They were continually imploy'd in caſting out the water; the Sea had ſpoiled their bread; and they were almoſt quite ſpent, inaſmuch as they could not take any reſt, when they were caſt upon the Coaſts of *Barbary*. There they found a little wood, wherewith they ſomewhat enlarg'd their boat; but they narrowly eſcap'd being taken and kill'd by the *Moors*, and had much ado to get to Sea again. What troubled them moſt, was thirſt; but they made ſome ſhift for that, with the blood of ſome Tortoiſes they took, and at laſt, after ten days floating up and down, they arrived upon the Coaſts of *Spain*, at the Cape of St. *Martin*, between *Alicant* and *Valentia*. Thoſe of the Country ſeeing them at a diſtance, ſent a boat to meet them, carried them bread and wine, treated them very civilly, and found them paſſage for *England*.

The ſixth of *January*, being *Twelfth-day*, the King of *England* touched many that were troubled with the *Evil*. The Ceremony ended, my Lord of *Strafford* brought me to his *Majeſty*, who was pleaſed to honour me with the kiſſing of his hand. The next day, the ſame Lord procured me the like Honour from the Queen; beſides which he did me ſeveral other extraordinary favours, upon all occaſions. Afterwards I went often to Court, where their Majeſties were pleaſed I ſhould entertain them with ſome particulars of my Travels; eſpecially as to what I had obſerved in *Muſcovy* and *Perſia*.

I continued at *London* near three months, partly to refreſh my ſelf after ſo long a Voyage, and partly in expectation of ſome mony from my own Prince, that I might make ſome acknowledgments of my Obligations to thoſe who had treated me ſo kindly, from the day of my arrival at *Surat* to that time, and ſet my ſelf in a poſture of returning into my own Country. Of the time of my abode in *England*, I ſpent ſome at Court, where I had made ſeveral acquaintances, and ſome in viewing the publick and private Structures of the famous City of *London*; as alſo ſeveral places near it; as among others, *Enfield*, *Tibulls*, *White-Hall*, *Saint James's*, *Hampton-Court*, *Windſor*, *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the *Abbey*, the *Tower*, *Greenwich*, &c.

[*Of the places above mentioned here in* England, *as alſo ſome of thoſe he paſſed through in the Low-Countries, the Author gives a ſhort deſcription. But in regard what he ſays of the former, is known to moſt* Engliſh-men, *who are in any meaſure acquainted with the things remarkable in their own Country; and what he delivers of the latter affords no extraordinary ſatisfaction to the curious, for whoſe diverſion works of this nature are intended; we thought fit to forbear the inſertion thereof, that we might make the more haſte to bring him to the end of his Travels, which ſhall be done according to his ordinary method.*]

MARCH. Mandelſlo leaves London. *March* the 20. I left *London*, taking water at *Graveſ-end*, whence I went to *Rocheſter*, and ſo came the twenty fourth to *Dover*. The next day, I embarked thence for *Dunkirk*, whither I got the ſame day.

The

The next, I embarked thence for *Newport*, where I ſtayed only one night, and got the next day to *Bruges*. 1640

The 29th. I came to *Gaunt*, which I left the firſt of *April*, and got that night to *Bruſſels* the chief city of the Dutchy of *Brabant*.

At *Bruſſels* I ſtaid two dayes, and came the fourth to *Louvain*, which I left the fifth, and got the ſame day to *Mecchlin*, about four Leagues diſtant from *Louvain*.

The 6th. I left *Mecchlin*, and came to *Anwerp*, where having ſtaid two dayes, and leaving it the ninth, I got the next day to *Breda*, where I ſtayed only the remainder of it, and went the next day to *Bois-le-due*, or *Boldue*, five Leagues from *Breda*.

April the twelfth, I went to Saint *Gertrudenberg*, with an intention there to take boat for *Rotterdam*, as I did the ſame day.

The thirteenth I came to *Rotterdam*, whence I went the ſame day to *Delf*; thence to the *Hague*, thence to *Leiden*, and thence to *Haerlem*.

This City is the biggeſt of any in *Holland*, next *Amſterdam*, and pretends to the invention of *PRINTING*, and would have the Glory of it due to one of its Citizens, named *Laurence Coſter*, who in the year M. CCCC. XX. framed the firſt Characters of Beech-wood, and afterwards found out the Ink, now uſed by *Printers*, nay, changed the Wooden Characters into Leaden ones, and afterwards thoſe into Tinne; in ſo much, that in the year 1440. the *Myſtery* was almoſt in its perfection.

They are ſo fully perſwaded, as to this in the City of *Haerlem*, that the Senate would Eternize the Memory of *LAURENCE COSTER*, by the Inſcription ſet upon the Houſe he lived in.

Which is this;

MEMORIÆ SACRUM.

TYPOGRAPHIA,

ARS ARTIUM OMNIUM

CONSERVATRIX,

NUNC PRIMUM INVENTA

CIRCA ANNUM

CIↃ. CCCC. XL.

I left *Haerlem*, about ſix in the Evening, and came at nine the ſame night, to *Amſterdam*. Of this place I had heard ſo much, even in the *Indies*, that I had framed to my ſelf, a certain Idæa of its greatneſs: but what the more ſurpriſed me, was, That going out of my Lodging the next morning, I had much ado to get through the throng of peo-

ple,

1639. ple, walking up and down the Streets, in such numbers, as if there had been some Faire. All the other parts of the World seem'd to have sent their Factours thither, and that the East and North had brought thither all their Commodities; whereof there were in the shops but the Patterns, whereas the main Stock was disposed into Store-houses, publick Weighing-places, upon sledges in the streets, upon the Kayes, in the flit-bottomed boats, which unload the great Ships, and others which serve for Store-houses for the Wheat.

I was at some loss, which I should rather admire in that great City, whether the Commerce of it, which is greater then that of all the other Cities of the Low-Countries put together; the neatness of its Streets, especially that of the New City; the sweetness and cleanliness of its houses; the Magnificence of its publick and private Structures; the abundance of Ships and Barks, which come thither, and go thence every day; the largeness of its Port, wherein there are at all times seven or eight hundred Ships; or the Order and Policy observed by the Magistrate, in all things relating to the quiet of the City, the well-fare of its Inhabitants, and the improvement of Trade, by which only the City subsists, and causes to subsist that powerful State, whereof it is a considerable part.

As to its Commerce there is no City in the world, where the Inhabitants of *Amsterdam* have not their Factors and correspondents. All the maritime towns of *England*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, are full of them, as are also those of the *Baltick-Sea*, and *Muscovy* it self. It is in a manner impossible to number the Ships it sends away every year to *Archangel*, *Reuel*, *Riga*, *Koningsberg*, *Dantzick*, to the Coasts of *Pomerania*, and into *Norway* where they put off their Spices and Silk, and *Woolen* stuffs; for *Wheat*, Timber, Pitch, Ashes, *Wax*, Furs, and other things they stand in need of, either for the building of their ships and houses, or the carrying on of their Trade in the other parts of the world. These Fleets go away commonly twice or thrice a year; but there go some every day West-ward, and every hour, for the other Cities of *Holland*, and the Neighbouring Provinces; yet does not all this hinder but that its Ports and Channells are so covered with boats and ships, that it may be questioned, whether the water be not there as much inhabited as the land, and whether there be more people in the houses or the ships. There is such abundance of *Wheat*, *Wine*, Hemp, Flax, *Wood*, and Spices, as if all other Provinces of the world were emptied of their wealth, to make *Amsterdam* a publick Treasury of all they produce: so that it may be said, it is in this City properly, that a man may see those Miracles, which the famous *Scaliger* attributes to all *Holland*.

Though a man should consider only the House belonging to the *East-India* Company, he would be forc'd to confess, that every Trade were enough to enrich all its Inhabitants. I had seen some Ships loaden at *Surat*, but when I saw the Store-houses, and Magazeens reaching at a great distance, from the *East-India House*, full of Spices, Silk, Stuffs, Purcelane, and what ever *China* and the *Indies* afford that is most rare, I thought *Ceylon* had sent thither all its Cinamon; the *Molucas* all their Cloves; the *Islands* of *Sumatra* and *Java*, all their Spices, *China* all its rich stuffs; *Japan* its excellent works of several kinds, and the rest of the *Indies* its Pepper and Silk. Nay, it may be said this Company is a kind of particular Common-wealth in that little world; since its Magistrates, Officers, Armies, Fleets, Generals, Governours of Provinces and Cities, and its subjects, seem to have no other dependance on this City, then a particular State hath on the Universe.

It is since the year 1595. that the *Dutch* have made Voyages into the *Indies*, upon the instigation of a Merchant named *Cornelius Houtman*, who living at *Lisbon*, informed himself, from the *Portuguez*, of all the particulars of those Voyages, and prevailed so far with some Merchants of *Amsterdam*, that in the year 1595. they sent out four Ships, which they sent along the Coasts of *Africk*, and the *Cape of good Hope* into the *Indies*; inasmuch as the design, which some others had to find out a passage Northward, had not proved effectual. About two years and four months after these Ships returned to *Amsterdam*; and though the profits of this first Voyage answered not the expectations of the persons concerned, yet were they such as engaged several other Merchants in the same design; so that in the year 1598. they sent thither a second Fleet, consisting of eight great Ships. They would not stay the return of this Fleet, but in the year 1599. set forth another, and much about the same time some other Merchants made up a new Company, and set out a particular Fleet, insomuch as to prevent the destruction of Trade likely to be occasioned by many different interests, the States of the United Provinces, in the year 1602. brought the persons concern'd to an agreement among

among themſelves, and reduced them into one common Company, under their Authori- 1640.
ty, and the direction of the Prince of *Orange*, as Admiral of thoſe Provinces.

By this Agreement, thus authoriſed by a Grant of the States for one and twenty years, there was a regulation made, according to which the overſight of all that trade was put into the hands of the chiefeſt perſons concern'd therein, divided into ſix Chambers or Courts, which were ſettled at *Amſterdam*; *Middleborough* for *Zealand*; at *Delf* and *Rotterdam* for the *Meuſe*; and at *Horn* and *Enckhuiſen* for *Weſt-Frieſland*.

The firſt conſiſted of twenty Directors; that of *Middleborough* of twelve, and the four others of ſeven a piece, ſo that in all charges, that of *Amſterdam* bore the one half, that of *Zealand* a quarter part; thoſe of *Meuſe* and *Weſt-frieſland* each a half-quarter. It was alſo ordered, that to General Aſſemblies, that of *Amſterdam* ſhould ſend eight Deputies, that of *Zealand* four, and thoſe of the *Meuſe* and *Weſt frieſland*, each of them two, with a ſupernumerary for a caſting voice, which was to be appointed by the Chambers of *Zealand*, the *Meuſe*, and *Weſt-frieſland* alternately.

The Stock of this Company amounted to ſix Millions ſix hundred *French* Livers, which was laid out in the ſetting forth of ſeveral Fleets; and the firſt Voyages proved ſo fortunate, that it was found in the year 1613. that the money of the perſons concern'd had gain'd two hundred and ſixty upon the hundred. But the profits were much greater the year following, as may be ſeen by the Devidents which have been made from time to time.

In the houſe belonging to the ſame Company, I ſaw alſo all the Drugs, all the Fruits, and all the living Creatures which I had ſeen before in the *Indies*.

It were impoſſible to imagine any thing more delightful, or more regularly diſpoſed then the Streets, Water-channels, and Houſes of this City. All the Rivulets are bordered with Line-trees, and the Quays pav'd at the extremities with Brick, and in the middeſt with Flint. The Houſes, eſpecially thoſe of the new City, are ſo many Palaces; ſo neat without, that painting could add nothing thereto, and ſo well furniſh'd within, that there are ſome, whereof only the Pictures were enough to enrich a man. But what moſt ſpeaks the coſt imploy'd about them is leaſt ſeen: For all the Houſes being built on piles, it muſt be confeſſed, the foundations are no leſs precious then the reſt of the Structure, and that there is not ſo noble a Forreſt in the World as that which the City of *Amſterdam* hath under its houſes.

Among the publick Structures the Churches are remarkable; and among others, thoſe called the *Old* and the *New*, and the three others built ſome years ſince by the Magiſtrate. In the former is the Epitaph of *Jacob de Heemskerk*, who, having made two Voyages to *Nova Zembla*, and the *Indies*, was kill'd at the Streights of *Gibralter*, where he ſet upon the *Spaniſh* Fleet, within reach of the great Guns of the Fort.

What a noble and neat place is the Hoſpital and Convent of St. *George*, where there are now received great numbers of Aged perſons of both Sexes, who are maintained there? What more charitable, then the care and tenderneſs wherewith diſtracted perſons are treated? And what ſeverity do they not exerciſe in the ordering of incorrigible perſons; the men in a Houſe, over the door whereof there is in golden Letters,

VIRTUTIS EST DOMARE, CUNCTI PAVENT.

Where they are conſtantly imployed in ſawing Braſil with inexpreſſible pains, or ſome other work, according to the nature of the Crime for which they were ſentenced to that puniſhment; and the women in another houſe by themſelves? But there is not any thing ſo miraculous as the order obſerved there for the education of poor Orphans, who are very well kept, maintain'd, and taught; as alſo in the adminiſtration of their Eſtates who are under Guardians; theſe being obliged to give an account thereof to the Magiſtrate.

1640. The Exchanges of *London* and *Antwerp* are indeed noble places; but there is something more magnificent in that of *Amsterdam*; at least this may be affirm'd of it, that for the number of Merchants daily resorting thither at noon, neither of the other two is to be compared to it.

I may put also among the publick Structures, the Weighing places, the Gates of the City, the three Sluces, which have not their like in the World; the publick School, or Colledge, which the Magistrate hath opened there some years since; The Arsenal, the Theatre for Playes, the Anatomy-Hall, the places appointed for shooting with Long-bow, Cross bow, and the Arquebuse; and if I may be allowed to speak of a thing which is not yet, but no doubt will be within a few years, and whereof I have seen the draught, I mean the Town-house, or Guild-hall, I may boldly say there is not any in *Europe* comes near it.

I stayed at *Amsterdam* eight dayes, and finding something in that City which pleased my fancy beyond what I had observed in any I saw before, I was unwilling to see any more, but having my imagination full of it, I took shipping the twenty third of *April* for *Hamborough*, whither I reach'd the twenty eighth following. I rested my self there one day, *MAY.* and got the first of *May* to *Gottorp*, where *I* presented my self to their Highnesses the Duke and Dutchess of *Holstein*, and so put a period to my long and toilsome TRAVELS.

FINIS.

A

JOURNAL

OF THE

TRAVELS

OF

JOHN ALBERT

De MANDELSLO,

FROM

PERSIA

INTO THE

EAST-INDIES,

And thence back into

GERMANY.

M. DC. XXXVIII.

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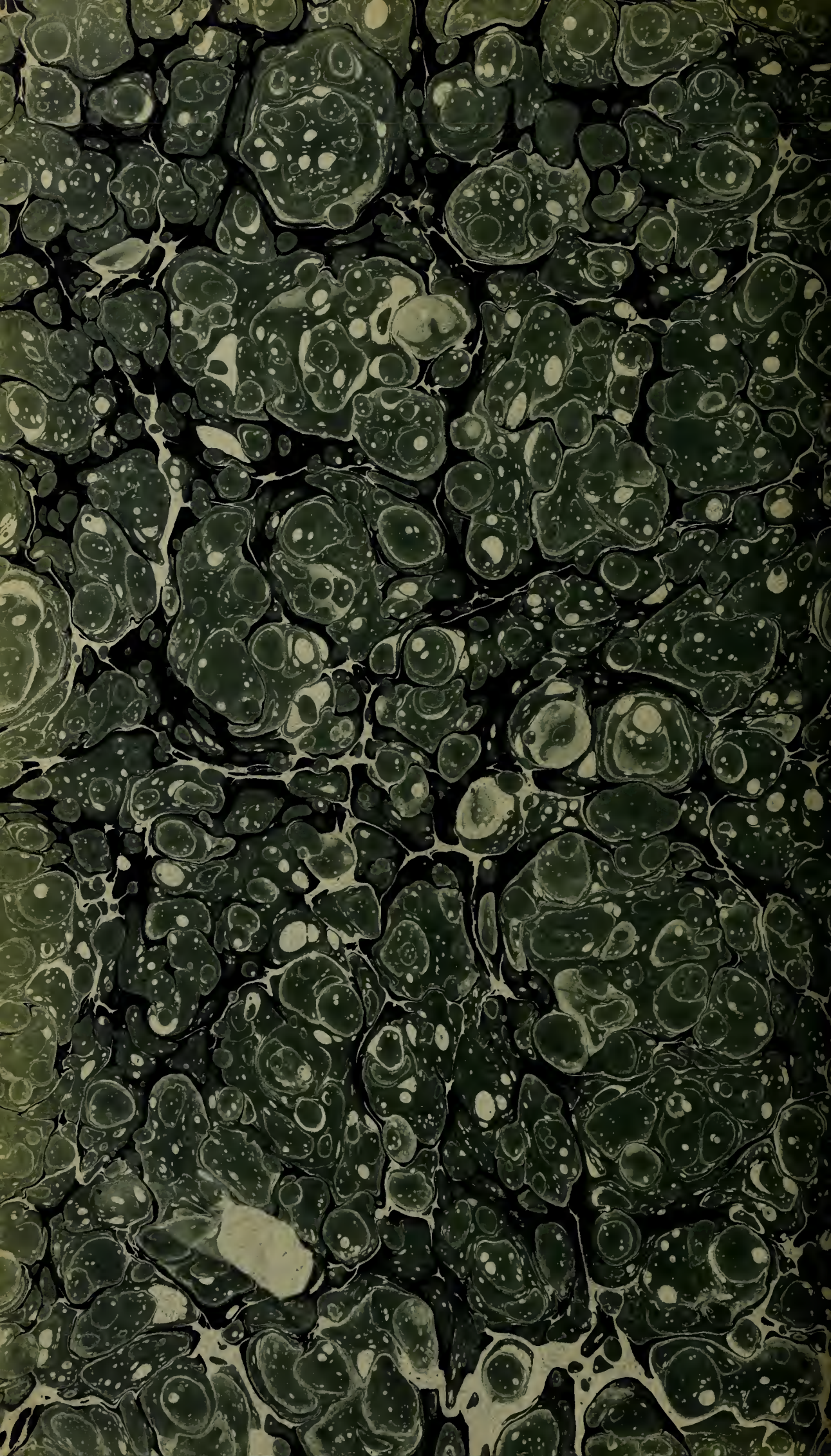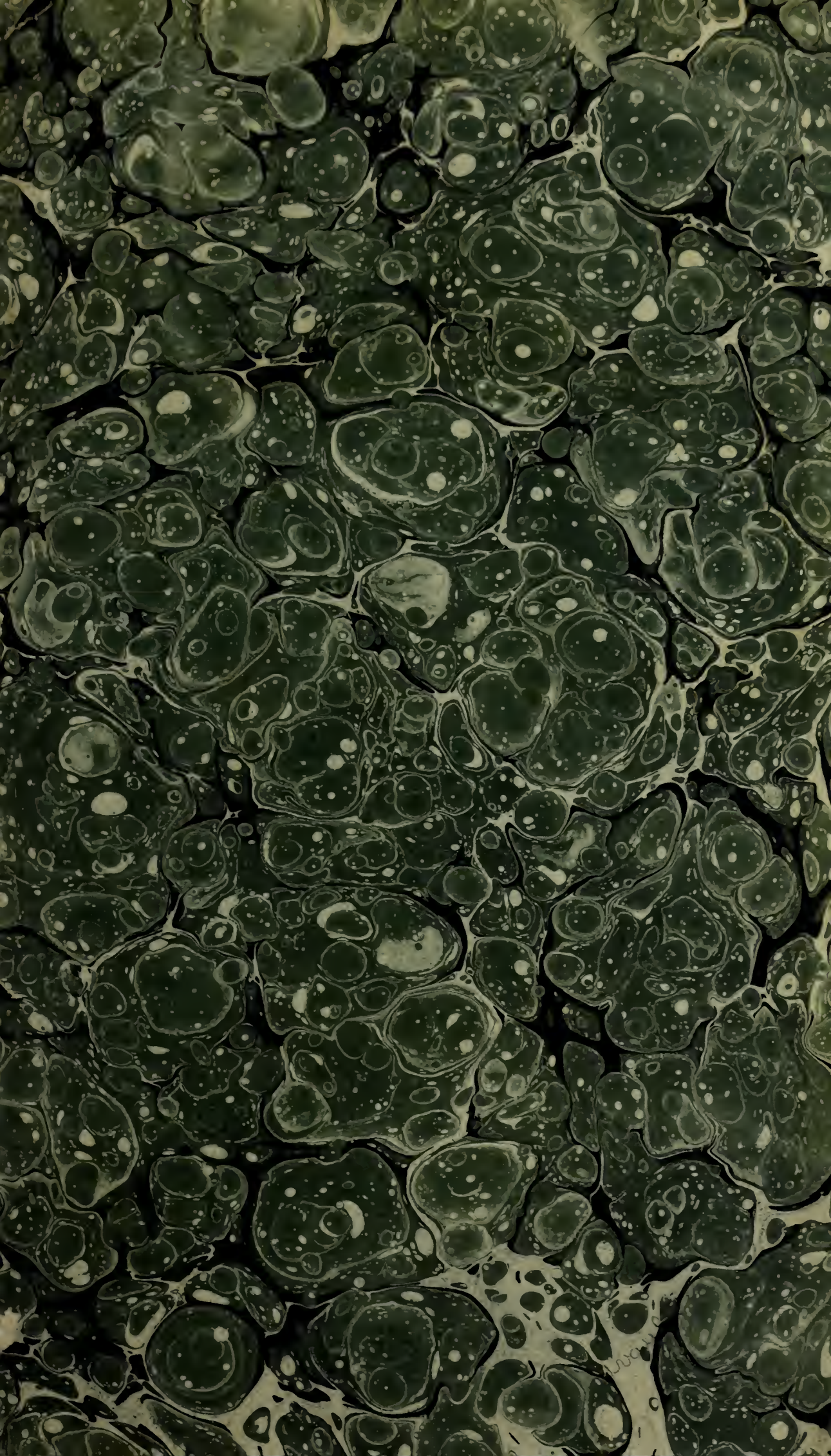
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